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"Truth can never be confirmed enough,
Though doubts did ever sleep."

SHAKESPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe zeigt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß.

GÖTTE.

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PROFESSOR HUXLEY ON HUME AND BERKELEY.¹

I ENTERTAIN the most sincere admiration for Professor Huxley. I admire him as a passed-master of his craft; as a man in the foremost ranks of science; as a consummate reasoner; as an indefatigable worker and a fearless controversialist. Few things have given me greater pleasure than the reading of his *Essays on Controverted Questions*. As an evolutionist and agnostic I find myself in harmony with his teaching. In a word, I may venture to call myself a humble disciple of Professor Huxley.

It was, therefore, with an uncomfortable feeling that I must be wrong, and thick-headed into the bargain, that I found, upon reading the Professor's recently published volume upon Hume and Berkeley, certain arguments advanced and certain propositions laid down which my reasoning altogether declined to follow. It was not merely (or so it seemed to me) that I could not understand them. They appeared to be open to very serious objection. I was like a rider on a refusing horse. I rode my poor intelligence at the obstacles over and over again, with whip and spur, vowing that it should surmount them. But my wretched jade of an understanding would still refuse, and I am still, alas! on the wrong side of the fence.

Under these circumstances it appeared to me that it might be well to set forth my difficulties; not indeed with the view of entering upon a controversy with Professor Huxley (I should feel like an infinitely smaller Ajax defying immeasurably greater lightning), but rather in the hope that when the difficulties which beset such humble students as myself (who are, as the Professor says of Reid, "free from the taint of genius," and whose "common sense" is probably "very common and very dull")² are made known, an explanation adapted to our capabilities may be vouchsafed, and that if annihilated in the process, I may (again to seek a metaphor from the son of Telamon) at least be permitted to die in the light!

And now, *missis umbragibus*, I will state the points of difficulty as they present themselves to my mind.

¹ *Collected Essays*, vol. vi.

² *Huxley's Essays: Hume and Berkeley*, p. 296, Notes.

The Westminster Review.

Professor Huxley, addressing "the untutored if noble savage of 'common sense,'" says (p. 308 of the volume already referred to), "You thought that your sensations were properties of external things, and had an existence outside of yourself. You thought that you knew more about material than you do about immaterial existences"; and upon both these points the ignorance of the noble savage is held to be demonstrated.

Now I have never, since I have been able to reflect upon these subjects, fallen into the first of the above-mentioned errors. I have always considered that sound, *e.g.*, is an effect produced upon the brain by vibration through the apparatus of the ear, as smell is an effect produced upon the brain by external substances acting through processes so well described by Professor Huxley in the *Essay on Sensation and the Sensiferous Organs* (p. 299). I am happy therefore to think that I steered well clear of the absurd error of supposing that my sensations had an existence outside of myself. But the second absurdity, if absurdity it be, I confess that I have fallen into. I have always believed that we know more about material than about immaterial existences. Let us examine this a little more closely.

Berkeley wrote, in a remarkable passage, doubtless well known to philosophers, but which I do not remember to have seen quoted: "It is acknowledged on the received principles that extension, motion, in a word all sensible qualities have need of a support, as not being able to subsist by themselves. But the objects perceived by sense are allowed to be nothing but combinations of those qualities, and consequently cannot subsist by themselves. Thus far it is agreed on all hands. So that in denying the things perceived by sense an existence independent of a substance or support wherein they may exist, we detract nothing from the received opinion of their reality, and are guilty of no innovation in that respect. All the difference is, that according to us the unthinking beings perceived by sense have no existence distinct from being perceived, and cannot therefore exist in any other substance than those *unextended, indivisible, substances* or *spirits*, which act, think, and perceive them."¹

Now I confess, as a "commonplace philosopher," that this passage has always been my despair. Granted, for the sake of argument, that we can conceive of extension subsisting and finding its "support" in the unextended, yet what in the name of reason are "unextended indivisible substances?" Can any one conceive these "spirits," these *substances* which have no extension? They are inconceivable in the true sense of that word as illustrated by Mill when he says, "When I endeavour to conceive an end to extension the two ideas refuse to come together. When I attempt to form a conception of the last point of space, I cannot help figuring

¹ *Principles of Human Knowledge*, § 91.

to myself a vast space beyond that last point. The combination is, under the conditions of our experience, unimaginable."¹ Similarly Berkeley's "spirits" are unimaginable, and I can never think that it is the part of a true philosopher to profess belief in something whereof he is unable even to form an idea. Berkeley, says Professor Huxley, "admits that we can have no idea or notion of a spirit; and the way in which he tries to escape the consequences of this admission, is a splendid example of the floundering of a mixed logician."

Now let us return to the Professor's essay on *Sensation and the Sensiferous Organs*. Here we find it laid down that sensations are "immaterial entities" or "immaterial substances." Thus, after considering at length the operations of the olfactory sense, he writes: "Attend as closely to the sensations of muskiness or any other odour as we will, no trace of extension, resistance, or motion is discernible in them. They have no attribute in common with those which we ascribe to matter; they are, in the strictest sense of the words, immaterial entities."

Further on Professor Huxley writes: "An immaterial substance is perfectly conceivable." Now here it is that I venture to join issue. I assert that no man can conceive a "substance" which, being immaterial, has no extension, and therefore no form. It is Berkeley's "unextended indivisible spirit." No idea can be formed of it in the human mind. It is, in the words of Calverley, "a thing imagination boggles at." Professor Huxley admits that he "cannot conceive four dimensions in space," though he has known men "who seemed to have no difficulty either in conceiving them, or, at any rate, in imagining how they could conceive them."² I trust, therefore, he will be tolerant of a poor "common-sense philosopher," who finds it utterly impossible to conceive an immaterial substance.

But I shall be asked: Would you maintain then that sensations are material? Whereunto I will reply with another question: Is motion material or immaterial? Can we conceive of motion apart from the thing moved? Of vibration apart from the vibrating string, or other material object? And would it not be unreasonable to talk of vibration as an "immaterial entity"? An entity is true being: *id quod per se constat*; something which has real independent existence. Am I then to be told that something having independent existence—an entity, an "immaterial substance"—is called into being every time I experience the sensation of sight, or of smell? If so, the poor "common-sense philosopher" would fain ask what becomes of these immaterial entities when the sensation ceases? Do they go back to that nothing out of which they were apparently called?

¹ *Mill's Logic*, book ii., ch. 7, § 3.

² *Essay on Mr. Gladstone and Genesis*.

I confess that hitherto I had imagined that a sensation could have no conceivable existence apart from the brain any more than motion can have a conceivable existence apart from the thing which is moved; and I confess that I had conceived the brain to be material. And I am still in my sins. I can conceive no "substance" without form and extension. I cannot conceive of vibration as an independent existence apart from the thing that is vibrated. And, after all, Professor Huxley comes back to this, for at the end of his Essay on Berkeley, he says: "In ultimate analysis it appears that a sensation is the equivalent in terms of consciousness for a *mode of motion of the matter of the sensorium*." And similarly he writes in the Essay on Hume: "What we call operations of the mind are *functions of the brain*, and the materials of consciousness are products of cerebral activity." Now this is quite conceivable to the ordinary mind, although, of course, it does not explain what I suppose to be inexplicable—namely, the phenomena of consciousness. But because I have these states of consciousness, because I have experience of the effects of certain "modes of motion of the matter of the sensorium," am I to be told that I know more about immaterial than about material existences? It is here that I cry for "light, more light," for to me, the poor "common-sense" and commonplace philosopher, it still seems that the immaterial must be for ever relegated to the sphere of the unknowable. Of course it is open to any one to deny the existence of matter altogether in the sense wherein Berkeley denied it. He may say that matter has no existence apart from "spirit" which perceives it; and he may profess his faith in "unextended indivisible substances" as alone existing in the philosophic sense. And far be it from me to combat the reasoning of so profound a thinker. But Berkeley admitted that we can have no idea or notion of a "spirit"; yet here is Professor Huxley hinting that we are very poor creatures indeed if we are unable to conceive an "immaterial substance." And still I find that I cannot conceive it any more than Professor Huxley can conceive four dimensions in space, and still I have to confess that I think I know more about material than immaterial existences.

Another difficulty arises upon the consideration of Professor Huxley's attempt to reconcile the doctrine of "necessity" with that of moral responsibility. In his chapter *Concerning Necessary Truths* the Professor speaks with not unmerited contempt of those "highly intelligent persons who rather pride themselves on their fixed belief that our volitions have no cause; or that the will causes itself, which is either the same thing, or a contradiction in terms." Further on, in the chapter on *Volition, Liberty, and Necessity*, he points out that half the arguments concerning the freedom of the will "rest upon the absurd presumption that the proposition, 'I can

do as I like' is contradictory to the doctrine of necessity. The answer is: Nobody doubts that, at any rate within certain limits, you can do as you like. But what determines your likings and dislikings? Did you make your own constitution? Is it your contrivance that one thing is pleasant and another is painful? And even if it were, why did you prefer to make it after the one fashion rather than the other? The passionate assertion of the consciousness of their freedom, which is the favourite refuge of the opponents of the doctrine of necessity, is mere futility, for nobody denies it. What they really have to do, if they would upset the Necessitarian argument, is to prove that they are free to associate any emotion whatever with any idea whatever; to like pain as much as pleasure, vice as much as virtue; in short, to prove, that, whatever may be the fixity of order of the universe of things, that of thought is given over to chance." So far so good. The law of causality applies to human actions as to other phenomena. Action is the resultant of forces, namely, desires.¹ When a man says, in reference to some past action, that in the same circumstances he would now act differently, he obviously has in view the external circumstances only; for given *all* the same circumstances, both external and *mental*, it follows that the resulting action must be the same. All this seems clear enough, but it is not so easy to follow Professor Huxley when he tells us that this doctrine has no bearing upon the question of man's moral responsibility. "A man's moral responsibility for his acts has" (says the Professor) "nothing to do with the causation of these acts, but depends on the frame of mind which accompanies them. Common language tells us this, when it uses 'well-disposed' as the equivalent of 'good,' and 'evil-minded' as that of 'wicked.' If A does something which puts B in a violent passion, it is quite possible to admit that B's passion is the necessary consequence of A's act, and yet to believe that B's fury is morally wrong, or that he ought to control it. In fact a calm bystander would reason with both on the assumption of moral necessity. He would say to A, 'You were wrong in doing a thing which you knew (that is, of the necessity of which you were convinced) would irritate B.' And he would say to B, 'You are wrong to give way to passion, for you know its evil effects'—that is the necessary connection between yielding to passion and evil."

This passage seems to the ordinary mortal a remarkably hard nut to crack. A man's moral responsibility for his acts is said to depend on the "frame of mind" which accompanies them, but if B's passion (in the case supposed) is "the necessary consequence of A's act," how does B's "frame of mind" affect the question? We may well ask also, How is B's frame of mind produced? Is it not like other

¹ It is scarcely necessary to say that "desire" here includes the highest wishes of which the human mind is capable.

things the effect of antecedent causes, and how is it alleged that B is morally responsible for such effect? To assert that B's fury is the necessary consequence of A's act, and at the same time to assert that B is morally blameable for that necessary consequence, seems almost a contradiction in terms. For B is not blameable for his fury unless he might have prevented it, and if he might have prevented it, it was not a necessary consequence. If it is said that B is responsible for his own "frame of mind" and that if his frame of mind had been better he would not have acted in the manner supposed, and that therefore he is morally responsible for his act, it is evident that moral responsibility for acts *has* a great deal to do with the causation of those acts. If, on the other hand, it is said that B's action would have been the same notwithstanding a better frame of mind, it is hard to see how the moral responsibility comes in. As to the "calm bystander," he appears to me an irrelevant prig whose arguments have no weight unless we assume the very point at issue. He reasons, we are told, "on the assumption of moral necessity," and if that expression is to be taken to mean the same thing as moral responsibility, I can only say that his assumption proves nothing at all. He merely represents the ordinary individual who takes for granted the existence of freewill and resulting moral responsibility, and his intervention appears to me to be as useless to the controversy as it would be to the combatants. He would in all probability merely furnish another illustration of the old saying:

"They who in quarrels interpose
Are apt to get a bloody nose!"

Here, then, is another matter concerning which the poor common-sense philosopher finds himself in a parlous state. To me, indeed, the attempt to reconcile the doctrine of necessity with moral responsibility has always seemed as futile as Martin Bucer's middle system between transubstantiation and consubstantiation. If the law of causality applies to human actions; if every act is the effect of antecedent causes, there seems to be no room for moral responsibility. Everybody admits this up to a certain point—that is to say, everybody admits that the power of resisting impulse is, at any rate, much weaker in some than in others. We see a man with low retreating forehead, and with all the cranial features which indicate low intellectual powers. We find that he was born of criminal parents, and was brought up in ignorance, and in an atmosphere of vice. We say at once that such a man could not be expected to go through life without committing crime. All admit that his moral responsibility is far less than that of the cultivated man endowed with high intellectual powers. But, except in the case of the insane, we are afraid to admit the absence of *all* moral

responsibility. We dare not carry our premisses to their logical conclusion—viz., that action is but the resultant of those forces which are called desires. The consequences of such an opinion appear to be too dangerous. Yet, as Hume has well observed, in a passage quoted by Professor Huxley, "It is not certain that an opinion is false because it is of dangerous consequence."

To me it seems that Mr. Lester Ward has given a more true account of this matter: "The strongest desire must prevail. The action follows the strongest inclination. The man yields to the most powerful influence. It is not the *man* who fights the battle and decides the issue. It is the forces within him. It is not the introduction of a third force of his own by which he settles the controversy. He is merely the battleground. The result does not depend upon anything he may do. Whatever he does is the result of the conflict. His impulses and opinions both depend upon circumstances. Hence his acts must also depend upon circumstances. The strength of opinions determines the strength of the volitions to which they give rise, and the strength of those volitions determines the probabilities of the acts which they incite. The impulsive desires are in an equal degree dependent upon all those circumstances which determine deliberative ones. Whichever course the individual adopts, we may depend there will be a reason for it. That reason is a necessary one, an immediate moving cause. It is not his will; it is behind his will and controls it, and through it the action. The only test of what the strongest inclination is, is the act itself. To say that any one ever acts in a manner contrary to the strongest inclination, is equivalent to saying that a body may sometimes move in a direction contrary to the resultant of all the forces acting upon it. Ethics is the science of psychological mechanics.¹

No doubt, as Mill has observed, we can co-operate in the formation of our own character, *if we desire to do so*. But that force of desire must be present. Our volition does not act without a cause, nor (what is the same thing) is it self-caused. Put into Socratic dialogue the argument might run somewhat as follows:

SOCRATES.—Will any man take action with the object of improving his character unless the desire to do so be present to him?

PHILEBUS.—Certainly not.

SOCRATES.—And when we say "take action" I presume we do not allude to one act, but to a series of acts done from time to time with this object?

PHILEBUS.—Unquestionably.

SOCRATES.—But it is possible for a man to desire to do an act

¹ *Dynamic Sociology*, vol. ii. p. 328. It seems scarcely necessary to say that this doctrine does not interfere with the theory of punishment. The desire to avoid punishment constitutes a very potent force to restrain from acts which society believes to be inimical to its welfare.

with the object of improving his own character and at the same time to desire to do another act with a different object ?

PHILEBUS.—Certainly.

SOCRATES.—And if one desire is greater than the other, whether will the man follow the smaller or the greater desire ?

PHILEBUS.—Manifestly he will follow the greater of the two.

"We know," as Mr. Leslie Stephen finely puts it, "that there is a great First Cause ; but we add that there are at this moment in the world some twelve hundred million little first causes which may damn or save themselves as they please."¹ And he proceeds : "The Free-will hypothesis is the device of the theologians to try to relieve God of the responsibility for the sufferings of His creation. It is required for another purpose. It enables the Creator to be also the judge. Man must be partly independent of God, or God would be at once pulling the wires and punishing the puppets. So far the argument is unimpeachable ; but the device justifies God at the expense of making the universe a moral chaos. Grant the existence of this arbitrary force called Freewill, and we shall be forced to admit that if justice is to be found anywhere, it is at least not to be found in this strange anarchy, where chance and fate are struggling for the mastery. The fundamental proposition of the anti-determinist, that which contains the whole pith and substance of his teaching is this : that a determined action cannot be meritorious. Desert can only accrue in respect of actions which are self-caused, or in so far as they are self-caused, and self-caused is merely a periphrasis for uncaused. Now no one dares to say that our conduct is entirely self-caused. The assumption is implied in every act of our lives and every speculation about history that men's actions are determined, exclusively or to a great extent by their character and their circumstances. Only so far as that doctrine is true can human nature be the subject of any reasoning whatever ; for reason is but the reflection of external regularity, and vanishes with the admission of chance. Our conduct, then, is the resultant of the two forces, which we may call fate and freewill. Fate is but the name for the will of God. He is responsible for placing us with a certain character in a certain position. He cannot justly punish us for the consequences ; we are responsible to Him for the effects of our free-will alone, if freewill exists. That is the very contention of the anti-determinist." Then, having shown us in what hopeless difficulties we are involved by this anti-determinist theory, he proceeds : "To escape from Agnosticism we become Pantheists ; then the divine reality must be the counterpart of phenomenal nature, and all

¹ *An Agnostic's Apology*, p. 21, *et seq.* Mr. Fronde wrote ; "In a high transcendental sense I believe Calvinism to be true, i.e. I believe freewill to be an illusion, and that all is as it is ordered to be." See *Daily News*, December 28, 1894.

the difficulties recur. We escape from Pantheism by the illogical device of freewill. Then God is indeed good and wise, but God is no longer omnipotent. By His side we erect a fetish called Free-will, which is potent enough to defeat all God's good purposes, and to make His absence from His own universe the most conspicuous fact given by observation, and which, at the same time, is by its own nature intrinsically arbitrary in its action."

I am not concerned to discuss the matter from a theological point of view, or to recall the interminable controversies concerning "Grace" and "Divine prescience," but I cannot forbear quoting, in conclusion, the following passage from Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, where the much-ridiculed "Bozzy" seems to have very much the best of the argument :

DR. MAYO (to DR. JOHNSON).—Pray, sir, have you read Edwards, of New England, on (Grace?

JOHNSON.—No, sir.

BOSWELL.—It puzzled me so much as to the freedom of the human will by stating, with wonderful acute ingenuity, our being actuated by a series of motives which we cannot resist, that the only relief I had was to forget it.

MAYO.—But he makes the proper distinction between moral and physical necessity.

BOSWELL.—Alas! sir, they come both to the same thing. You may be bound as hard by chains when covered by leather, as when the iron appears. The argument for the moral necessity of human actions is always, I observe, fortified by supposing universal prescience to be one of the attributes of the Deity.

JOHNSON.—You are surer that you are free, than you are of prescience; you are surer that you can lift up your finger or not as you please, than you are of any conclusion from a deduction of reasoning. [This is a sad example of the *ignoratio elenchi* on the part of the great Doctor!] But let us consider a little the objection from prescience. It is certain I am either to go home to-night or not: that does not prevent my freedom.

BOSWELL.—That it is certain you are *either* to go home to-night or not does not prevent your freedom; because the liberty of choice between the two is compatible with that certainty. But if *one* of these events be certain *now*, you have no *future* power of volition. If it be certain you are to go home to-night, you *must* go home.

JOHNSON.—If I am well acquainted with a man, I can judge with great probability how he will act in any case, without his being restrained by my judging. God may have this probability increased to certainty.

BOSWELL.—When it is increased to *certainty*, freedom ceases, because that cannot be certainly foreknown which is not certain at the time; but if it be certain at the time, it is a contradiction in terms to maintain that there can be afterwards any *contingency* dependent upon the exercise of will or anything else.

JOHNSON.—All theory is against the freedom of the will; all experience for it.

"Whereupon," says Boswell, "I did not push the subject any farther." And we may, perhaps, be content to follow his example.

The difficulty then remains, *pace* Professor Huxley, for the poor "common-sense philosopher." He cannot understand the alleged co-existence of "necessity" and moral responsibility. He would rather say that the whole subject is wrapt in mystery; "and what is mystery," asks Mr. Leslie Stephen, "but the theological phrase for Agnosticism?" If then we cannot follow Professor Huxley's reasoning here, we will at least take what he will admit to be the next best course—we take refuge in Agnosticism. And there we will remain until more light is vouchsafed to us.

G. G. GREENWOOD.

THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION.

THE Manitoba school controversy has developed from a purely provincial question into one of national concern. Apart from the fact that Canada is one of our most important colonies, this question is of itself especially interesting to Englishmen from several aspects of view. It comprises educational, religious, political, and constitutional points of the highest importance. The Conservative press, for instance, is endeavouring to use the conflict which has arisen between the provincial and the national governments as an argument against Home Rule, and to represent the religious conflict as lying between Roman Catholicism on the one hand, and Protestantism on the other. A brief sketch of the real facts of the case, which are not and indeed cannot be disputed, will show that the true position of the struggle has been much misrepresented in this country.

The religious and educational aspects of the case may be more conveniently treated separately from the political and constitutional.

The facts relating to the former were clearly stated by Lord Macnaghten, who delivered the judgment of their lordships, upon the hearing of the appeals before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. (*Vid.* City of Winnipeg v. Barrett ; City of Winnipeg v. Logan, L. R. (1892) App. Ca. 445.)

These two appeals were heard together. One was an appeal from the judgment of the Supreme Court of Canada, which had reversed the judgment of the Court of Queen's Bench for Manitoba, which had declared the Public Schools Act of 1890 to be valid. The other was an appeal from the subsequent judgment of the Court of Queen's Bench for Manitoba following the judgment of the Supreme Court. "The judgments under appeal," says Lord Macnaghten in his judgment, "quashed certain bye-laws of the City of Winnipeg which authorised assessments for school purposes in pursuance of the Public Schools Act, 1890, a statute of Manitoba to which Roman Catholics and members of the Church of England alike take exception. The views of the Roman Catholic Church were maintained by Mr. Barrett ; the case of the Church of England was put forward by Mr. Logan." Instead, then, of this being a fight between Protestants and Roman Catholics for the possession of the schools, both those bodies appear before the Privy Council making common cause against the non-sectarian school party.

Prior to Manitoba becoming a province of the Dominion in 1871, the system of education was voluntary and denominational; after the union a system of denominational education was established. The denominational schools formed under this system were supported partly by the province and partly by special school rates. Lord Macnaghten remarks, "It is, perhaps, not out of place to observe that one of the modes prescribed was 'assessment on the property of the school district,' which must have involved, in some cases at any rate, an assessment on Roman Catholics for the support of a Protestant school, and an assessment on Protestants for the support of a Roman Catholic school." From 1876, however, until 1890, enactments were in force declaring that in no case should a Protestant ratepayer be obliged to pay for a Roman Catholic school, or a Roman Catholic ratepayer for a Protestant school.

"In 1890," continues Lord Macnaghten, "the policy of the past nineteen years is reversed; the denominational system was entirely swept away. Two Acts in relation to education were passed. The first (53 Vict. c. 37) established a department of education, and a board consisting of seven members, known as the 'Advisory Board.' . . . One of the powers of the Advisory Board was to prescribe the forms of the religious exercises to be used in schools."

The second (53 Vict. c. 38) enacted "that all Protestant and Roman Catholic School districts should be subject to the provisions of the Act, and that all public schools should be free schools." The provisions relating to religion are as follows:

"6. Religious exercises in the public schools shall be conducted according to the regulations of the Advisory Board. The time for such religious exercises shall be just before the closing hour in the afternoon. In case the parent or guardian of any pupil notifies the teacher that he does not wish such pupil to attend such religious exercises, then such pupil shall be dismissed before such religious exercises take place.

"7. Religious exercises shall be held in a public school entirely at the option of the school trustees for the district, and upon receiving written authority from the trustees, it shall be the duty of the teacher to hold such religious exercises.

"8. The public schools shall be entirely non-sectarian, and no religious exercises shall be allowed therein except as above provided."

The Act further provides for the formation, alteration, and union of school districts, for the election of school trustees, and for levying a rate on the taxable property in each school district for school purposes. The refusal to pay these rates, both by the Church of England as well as by the Roman Catholic party, led to the present actions. The question the Privy Council had to decide was, whether the Public School Acts, 1890, of Manitoba were *ultra vires* or not.

Their Lordships decided that these Acts were not *ultra vires*. It was agreed by all parties to the dispute that, previous to the union, there was no law, or regulation, or ordinance relating to education in force. Their Lordships found, therefore, that there were "no rights or privileges with respect to denominational schools existing by law"; consequently none could have been abolished. They found that certain exemptions in favour of Roman Catholics existed under the Acts, whereas no such corresponding exemptions were to be made in the case of Protestants. "Notwithstanding the Public Schools Act, 1890," continues Lord Macnaghten, "Roman Catholics and members of every other religious body throughout the province are free to establish schools throughout the province; they are free to maintain their schools by school fees or voluntary subscriptions; they are free to conduct their schools according to their own religious tenets without molestation or interference. No child is compelled to attend a public school. No special advantage, other than the advantage of a free education in schools conducted under public management, is held out to those who do attend. It is said that it is impossible for Roman Catholics, or for members of the Church of England, to send their children to public schools when the education is not superintended and directed by the authorities of their Church, and that, therefore, Roman Catholics and members of the Church of England who are taxed for public schools, and at the same time feel themselves compelled to support their own schools, are in a less favourable position than those who can take advantage of the free education provided by the Act of 1890. That may be so. But what right or privilege is violated or prejudicially affected by the law? It is not the law which is in fault. It is owing to the religious convictions which every one must respect, and to the teaching of their Church, that Roman Catholics and members of the Church of England find themselves unable to partake of advantages which the law offers to all alike."

Clearly, then, this was a struggle between the denominational school party and the non-sectarian or free school party. It may be compared to the contest between our board and national schools here. Denominational education has been the chief obstacle to the advance of civilisation: it has been the curse of every country of the Old and New World alike, and it is satisfactory to find that the party of progress in Manitoba has so far prevailed.

That the denominational party has not been unfairly treated will be seen from the following statement made by Professor George Bryce in May 1893. He states that "out of 719 schools in Manitoba when the Act was passed, 91 were Roman Catholic, which are still under Catholic trustees, so that there can be no possibility of a Protestant bias." The only grievance, if it can be called a grievance, which still exists, is that if the trustees allow any text-books to be

used not authorised by the Advisory Board in any model or public school, such school ceases to be a public school and loses its legislative grant.

And it must not be supposed that the non-sectarian party is actuated by secular prejudice. That this is not so is clearly shown by the Rev. J. M. King, D.D., Principal of Manitoba College, one of the leaders of the non-sectarian party. After stating his reasons in opposition to a purely secular school system, he says: "At the opposite extreme there is the system of separate or denominational schools such as now to some extent obtains in this province, a system under which not only is religious instruction given, but the distinctive doctrines and practices of individual Churches are taught. Does the continuance and extension of this system promise a solution of the educational difficulty? By no means. Less injurious probably in its operation, it is even more indefensible in principle than the one which has been so freely criticised. First, it is in direct violation with the principle of the separation of Church and State. It is unnecessary, indeed it would be quite irrelevant to argue this principle. It is that on which, rightly or wrongly, the State with us is constituted. I do not understand it to mean that the State may not have regard to religious considerations such as it shows when it enforces the observances of the Sabbath rest. Second, the system of separate or sectarian schools operated injuriously on the well-being of the State. However useful to the Church or Churches . . . this system is hurtful to the unity and to the strength of the State. It occasions a line of cleavage in society, the highest interests of which demand that it should as far as possible be one. It perpetuates distinctions, and almost necessarily gives rise to distinctions which are at once a reproach and a peril."¹

These views, based upon such lofty and far-reaching principles, will commend themselves to the non-sectarian party in this country. On the question of the practicability of a separate school-system in Manitoba, Mr. H. M. Howell, of Winnipeg, is very clear. "If," he says in his affidavit, "separate schools are granted to the English Church party and to the Roman Catholics, except in centres of large populations, it would be very difficult to support them. And if three systems of schools were established, each system would be very defective, and would be of little use towards general education."

Upon this point Lord Macnaghten, in the judgment previously referred to, made some very practical observations. Their lordships, he said, could not help observing that if the views of the sectarians were to prevail "it would be extremely difficult for the provincial legislature, which has been entrusted with the exclusive power of making laws relating to education, to provide for the educational

¹ *Canadian Sessional Papers*, 1893, No. 83b.

wants of the more sparsely inhabited districts of a country almost as large as Great Britain, and that the powers of the legislature, which on the face of the Act appear so large, would be limited to the useful but somewhat humble office of making regulations for the sanitary conditions of schoolhouses, imposing rates for the support of denominational schools, enforcing the compulsory attendances of scholars and matters of that sort."

In fact, if such views prevail in the coming electoral struggle, the system of national education, one of the greatest glories of Canadian legislative achievement, will fall to the ground. It is obvious that if education is to be public and free it must be non-sectarian, and it is equally obvious that all, irrespective of creed or religion, must contribute to its maintenance.

Such a course may not be perfect, and it may be subject to anomalies; but unless, as for instance in Ontario, separate schools can be efficiently maintained and conducted, it is the only one practicable.

Foiled in this attempt to prove that the Manitoba School Acts were *ultra vires*, the Roman Catholics appealed, under Section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, and of Section 22 of the Manitoba Act, 1870, to the Governor-General in Council. This appeal was dismissed by the Canadian Courts, and finally came before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, when judgment was delivered by the Lord Chancellor on January 29 last.¹ Their lordships decided that the appeal was admissible, inasmuch as the Acts of 1890 affected rights and privileges of the Roman Catholic minority within the meaning of Sub-Section 2 of Section 22 of the Manitoba Act, 1870. They further decided that the Governor-General in Council had power to make the remedial orders asked for; but the particular course to be pursued must be determined by the authorities to whom the jurisdiction had been committed by statute. Whether the remedial legislation should be provincial or national was not for them to decide. "The system of education embodied in the Acts of 1890," said the Lord Chancellor, "no doubt commended itself to and adequately supplied the wants of the great majority of the inhabitants of the province. All legitimate ground of complaint would be removed if that system were supplemented by provisions which would remove the grievance on which the appeal was founded, and were modified so far as might be necessary to give effect to those provisions."

As we write a report has reached this country that a compromise has already been effected under which the rights of the Roman Catholic separate schools are to be preserved by an Act to be passed by the Provincial Legislature. Failing such legislation it would remain for the Dominion Parliament to pass an Act affording the

¹ *Brophy v. Attorney-General of Manitoba* L.R. (1895) Apr. Ca. 202.

protection asked for by the Roman Catholic minority. . When, the other day, Sir Charles Tupper, the Minister of Justice, threatened to resign, not because he disapproved of the Manitoba School Acts, but because he considered that the opinion of the country ought to have been taken before such legislation was attempted, it was generally felt that the Dominion Government would dissolve upon this question.

That there is any danger of an ultimate deadlock between the Provincial Legislature and the Dominion Parliament is extremely improbable. Conflicts of a similar nature, and of as serious a character, have arisen on numerous previous occasions, and have been successfully surmounted, and in spite of the attempt to render this controversy one of Protestantism *versus* Roman Catholicism, it is in the highest degree unlikely that the Canadian people will of their own freewill pull down the national educational edifice they have so laboriously and carefully erected, although they may be expected to extend to the Roman Catholic minority that protection which their own keen sense of justice dictates.

HUGH H. L. BELLOT.

THE WAVERLEY NOVELS—AFTER SIXTY YEARS.

IN the introductory chapter of *Waverley* the author explains that he had thrown back the action of the story sixty years, so as to be able to contrast with his own time a period not too close to it, nor yet too far remote from it. With equal propriety, a critic may, after the lapse of sixty years, consider himself in a position to form a disinterested estimate of the merits of an author. It is now about sixty-three years since the death of Sir Walter Scott, and sixty-four since the publication of *Count Robert of Paris* and *Castle Dangerous*. Thus practically two generations separate us from the time when the last of the "Waverley Novels" was produced, and there is, therefore, little likelihood of personal bias on the part of any critic of our own day. After more than sixty years, the grave may be said to have long closed over the sympathies or antipathies which may have arisen from actual acquaintanceship with an individual. The men who knew Scott, and either loved or hated him, have passed away. We can afford to lose sight of his personal characteristics and the circumstances of his life. It is almost needless to say that the present writer undertakes to judge him from a purely literary standpoint.

It would be idle to deny that the "Waverley Novels" enjoyed a marvellous popularity during the lifetime of their author, and for many years after his death. For some time past the interest taken in them has been more or less academic or, one might say, archæological. There are people who still read *Ivanhoe* and *The Talisman*, and profess to admire them, but such persons mostly belong to the fogey species. An attempt has recently been made to galvanise these now half-forgotten novels into life by an elaborate article in a venerable Review which only sees the light four times every year. In this article—or, rather, panegyric—all the praises ever bestowed by servile critics upon Scott are indiscriminately repeated, and once more, by a critical blunder not without precedent, the unnatural scene in which Bois-Guilbert dies "by the visitation of God" is held up to admiration. But, though we live in an age of literary over-production, novel-readers nowadays are not exactly fools, and they can appreciate "criticism" of this sort at its proper value.

Scott was a prolific writer. He was a kind of literary mill-wheel. He produced an enormous quantity both of prose and verse; but as to the quality of his productions there has been considerable difference of opinion. As Carlyle observed, he was a master of "the extempore style of writing"; in other words, he wrote too rapidly, and often wrote so badly that a journalist of to-day would be ashamed to turn out such ungrammatical sentences embodying trite ideas and depicting nothing but the commonplace. It is true that Scott takes us back to the Middle Ages; but nearly all his historical characters are unreal—mere suits of chain-armour or buff jerkins and jack-boots, with only a stuffed figure inside! Boys may still read the descriptions of the tournaments in *Ivanhoe*, but they are ridiculously unlike anything that ever occurred. The situations in that much-lauded romance are all conventional; and all the personages who figure in it are mere automata. Even the Jewess Rebecca, in whom some critics of the past found a model of all the Christian virtues, is a mere "stick."

It has been said that Scott created the historical romance. This, of course, is not accurate, for Defoe wrote historical works of fiction which are incomparably superior to anything ever produced by the author of *Waverley*. It would be perhaps more correct to say that Scott invented the novel of costume, for a great portion of the interest which he sought to excite in his readers' minds had reference to the contrasts of dress in different centuries. He is very painstaking in his descriptions of the clothes worn by his characters, but he tells us very little about their mental struggles or about the workings of their passions. His heroes are nearly all muscular young men with no aptitude for anything save fighting or falling in love. His heroines have certainly more attractiveness, but, after all, Diana Vernon, to take a typical example, is not a real person, for in the scene wherein the strength of her character is supposed to come out most forcibly, she acts like one of the *dramatis personæ* in a melodrama. Neither can we associate Meg Merrilies, Rob Roy's wife, or Madge Wildfire, with the realities of life at any period of human history. In these so-called historical novels, there is scarcely more vitality than in the contents of a museum. To quote the words of Taine, an acute and by no means unjust French writer on English literature, "the costumes, externals, scenery, are correct, but the actions, speech, sentiment, all the rest, are false—merely embellished and presented in modern guise."

The question may fairly be asked—Has any other writer succeeded in producing a historical work of fiction which can be subjected to the severe test of actuality? The answer is not at all easy. There have been historical tales written which bear some resemblance to the life of the period they severally profess to depict. For instance, take Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame*. That, no doubt, is

a work full of exaggeration, but it gives us a vivid idea of Paris in the reign of Louis XI. Compared with Scott's *Quentin Durward*, it is a book instinct with the strange, half-barbarous life of a bygone time, while Scott's tale is only a piece of mosaic-work, lifeless, grotesque, a mere sham antique. Again, take Flaubert's *Salammbô*. Who can doubt that the lurid scenes which that great French writer represents as having taken place in Carthage in the days of Hamilcar Barca *may* have occurred? If knowledge and imagination combined can make it possible to revive the dead past, such things *must* have happened. Compare with such a book *Count Robert of Paris* with its wretched puerilities! Even in English fiction we have at least one work in which the age of Queen Anne is shadowed forth in a way that would have been impossible to Scott—Thackeray's *Esmond*. Though not a novel of a very high order, *Esmond* is far superior to anything in the nature of historical fiction produced by the fertile but ineffectual story-writer who has been magniloquently called "the Wizard of the North." Of Lord Lytton's well-known work, *The Last of the Barons*, it must be said that, artificial as it is, it is both better written and less automatic than any of Scott's "historical romances." Dickens, with all his buffooneries, knew how to manipulate history more adroitly than Scott, as may be seen from a perusal of those two curious but not entirely unmeritorious works, *Barnaby Rudge* and *A Tale of Two Cities*.

It is manifest, therefore, that the task of writing a historical novel in the true sense is not quite impracticable. The attempt, as we have seen, has been made with some degree of success by Hugo and Flaubert in France, and by Thackeray in England. It might be added, that Carlyle's *French Revolution* has many of the characteristics of a great historical romance.

The Russian novelist, Count Lyof Tolstoi, has also made an experiment in historical fiction; and, in spite of many artistic blemishes, *War and Peace* is a tolerably realistic picture of Napoleon's Russian campaign.

Of none of Scott's historical tales can it be said that they are true pictures of the time they purport to represent. *Ivanhoe*, *The Talisman*, *Peveril of the Peak*, *The Fortunes of Nigel*, *Old Mortality*, *Kenilworth*, and *Woodstock* are all pretentious failures, and the result is that, in the language of a courageous modern critic, Mr. Leslie Stephen, they are rapidly crumbling into "a mere *débris* of plaster of Paris."

If this view be correct, however unpalatable it may be to the blind admirers of Scott—amongst whom Mr. Ruskin must be included—what, then, remains of the great literary reputation of the author of *Waverley*? Something, indeed, is left—not enough to place Sir Walter in the front rank of novelists, but sufficient to secure for him a respectable position as a manufacturer of fiction. In *Waverley*

we have a novel which has decided merits, apart from its historical aspect. The character of the Baron of Bradwardine is a good example of Scott's somewhat superficial, but still real, capacity for portraying oddities. But for the inartistic manner in which *The Heart of Midlothian* was spun out after the *dénouement* had been reached, that work alone would have entitled him to comparison with Fielding and George Eliot, if not with Balzac and Flaubert. But, in spite of his cleverness, common sense, and grasp of intellect, Scott was not a true artist. He lacked both intuition and high imagination. The character of Jeanie Deans has been often referred to as an example of a heroine who is made interesting without the attraction of beauty or talent. But really the interest attached to Jeanie in the story is adventitious, arising as it does out of her association with her sister Effie, whose life she was instrumental in saving. Apart from this, she is not interesting, but commonplace, and, in fact, a mere lay figure. Another work of Scott which deserves to live is *The Antiquary*. There is real power exhibited in the portrait of Steenie Mucklebackit. At the same time, Scott even here draws merely from the outside—"from the skin inwards, not from the heart outwards," to quote Carlyle's meaningful words.

The same lack of depth is manifested in the novel which many people regard as the most romantic of all Scott's works, *The Bride of Lammermoor*. He calls it an "owre true tale." Never was a more unreal story written. Ravenswood is a mere stage figure, or, as Carlyle would say, a tissue of gloomy theatricalities. Then we have in Lucy Ashton another puppet; while her mother impresses us as an unnatural being, a downright monster. We may digest Lady Macbeth, but who could swallow Lady Ashton?

The old Scottish servant, Caleb Balderstone, is the only lifelike person in the story. Here then we have another example of Scott's feebleness as a delineator of character.

This superficiality in the study of character he shares with Dickens, the most artificial and in many respects the most worthless of all novelists. Scott certainly had one advantage over the author of *Pickwick*. He knew a little about his fellow-men's minds as well as about their external aspect; while Dickens contented himself with observing whether people had big mouths or little mouths, crooked noses or straight noses, whether they were long or short, and whether they were fat or thin!

It might appear invidious to compare the Waverley Novels with the series of Irish fiction produced by two brothers under the name of "The O'Hara Family." It has been stated that the brothers Banim imitated Scott; but even if that were true, they improved on him, for in some of their novels there is far more depth of observation and more dramatic power than in any of Scott's works, with the single exception, perhaps, of *The Heart of Midlothian*. Carleton,

too, and Lever may bear favourable comparison with Scott. Le Fanu in *Torlogh O'Brien*, *The Cock and Anchor*, and *The House by the Churchyard* has shown a knowledge of the actual life of bygone days which Scott fails to exhibit in his historical tales.

To sum up, Scott is superficial. His books may suit the careless reader "lying all day long on a sofa," but they neither thrill the reader nor teach him anything new about life. They exhibit absolutely no psychological insight. They are nearly all clumsily written in a diffuse and disjointed style. Those which depend for success on their delineation of historical or quasi-historical events, are, for the most part, nothing better than "mediæval upholstery." We may, therefore, fairly assume that we are anticipating the verdict of posterity in declaring that of the once-famous Waverley Novels only some three or four will be read at all in the twentieth century.

D. F. HANNIGAN.

TWO RECENT BIOGRAPHIES.¹

NEITHER of these volumes can be considered a first-class performance, but both are readable and useful. If they betray the obvious faults which cling to the journalist, transformed for the time into a writer of history, they nevertheless contain a good deal of interesting detail of which it is good for us to be reminded. The appearance of a short and popular sketch of Bismarck soon after a similar sketch of Gladstone suggests at once a desire to analyse and contrast the qualities and achievements of the two most remarkable statesmen in Europe. The warning in an old Greek tragedy that the life of a man should not be judged before its close hardly applies with its usual force to these two men, as their achievements are already a part of history, and their direct influence on affairs is practically over. Both have retired to their country homes to end their days in well-earned quiet and repose.

Mr. Lucy's account of Gladstone is marred to a certain extent by a want of proportion and defect of arrangement. Out of 248 pages only 92 are devoted to his career before 1880, when he became Prime Minister for the second time and had already passed his seventieth birthday. Of the latter 156 pages, covering a period of less than fifteen years, ten are devoted to Mr. Bradlaugh and twelve to the Fourth Party. In a short life of this kind Mr. Bradlaugh and the Fourth Party might have been disposed of in a shorter space more in proportion to their relative importance. Even the burning Irish Question gets more than its due share in a general sketch of the entire life and character of our many-sided statesman. Mr. Lucy's work must be pronounced, on the whole, less excellent than Mr. G. W. Russell's sympathetic account of his friend and leader. But it is not devoid of merit and contains interesting bits of anecdotage, besides being a careful and trustworthy record of parliamentary events. Small incidents in the private lives of statesmen, as well as their casual conversation when they are off their guard, frequently throw more light on their aims and motives than their public utterances.

Mr. Lowe's *Life of Bismarck* is written in a clear and vigorous style, calculated to persuade as well as fascinate his readers. As

¹ *Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.* By H. W. Lucy. *Prince Bismarck.* By C. Lowe. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1895.

correspondent of the *Times* in Berlin he acquired a knowledge of German affairs which few foreigners can obtain, and conceived a warm admiration for the German character and for the great men who bore a leading part in creating a strong and united empire. But his sympathies are too exclusively one-sided; his tone is that of an advocate rather than that of a judge; and he fails to do justice to those who conscientiously opposed his hero. His work is beset with the fault with which Sydney Smith reproached Macaulay, of carrying pitch in one hand and whitewash in the other and rubbing without discrimination. On page 69 Mr. Lowe alludes somewhat sneeringly to Virchow's refusal to fight a duel with Bismarck, and ignores the circumstance that Virchow, who had always opposed Bismarck and his war policy, volunteered as an army surgeon as soon as the Franco-German war broke out. Why, again, should Mr. Lowe go out of his way to insult the Crown Prince Frederick (page 132), Gambetta (page 128), as well as several English statesmen in sundry passages? Furthermore, Mr. Lowe is too readily disposed to ignore internal matters in comparison to foreign policy, and sometimes forgets the imperishable truism that the happiness of the governed is the great test of the excellence of a Government.

If a foreigner who was living in Berlin during the latter months of Bismarck's *régime* may venture to express an opinion, I do not see that Bismarck was entitled to any extraordinary praise in this respect. In spite of his brilliant past and of the benefits he had conferred on his countrymen, no member among the six who were returned to the Reichstag for the capital supported his home policy on the eve of his fall. If Bismarck deserves Mr. Lowe's eulogistic title, "Peace-keeper of Europe," during the last twenty years of his rule, his policy before 1870 was anything but pacific. In 1849 he appealed to the example of Frederick the Great, and talked of rousing the warlike spirit of the Prussians as the only way to solve the German question. The war of 1864 against Denmark is practically now admitted to have been an excuse for aggrandisement ("Machtvergrosserung," to quote Moltke's phrase), and the war between Prussia and Austria, which arose out of it, compelled men of the same race and language to cut one another's throats. It was probably better for Germany to be united under the House of Hohenzollern than under the House of Hapsburg; but the brilliancy of Bismarck's results can never absolutely ennoble, however much they may excuse his terrible means. Mr. Lowe's method of special pleading seems to be derived from the study of Carlyle and Macaulay, who have been termed, not without reason, "Two great corrupters of history." Both were very great writers in themselves, but both are unfortunate models. Macaulay was himself well aware that his real points of excellence were less easy to copy than his mannerisms, and Carlyle's extravagant hero-worship has served to blind the

historical judgment of many writers and students. But, in spite of his hero-worship, his sweeping verdicts, and his fondness for superlatives, Mr. Lowe deserves praise for his work. If he sometimes betrays a want of historical training, and overlooks the complicated nature of most human motives, it is, at any rate, something to provide insular Englishmen with a short and sincere appreciation of the statesman who wielded the greatest influence on the Continent in the years that intervened between the downfall of Louis Napoleon and the *début* of that interesting monarch the present German Emperor.

It would indeed be hard to imagine two personalities more utterly opposed than Bismarck and Gladstone. There is hardly a point on which they could meet, a taste which they might share in common, or an opinion in which they would be likely to agree. Beyond, perhaps, an occasional appeal to Providence, the style and matter of their writings and speeches are completely devoid of resemblance. With men of first-rate genius the mode of expression is part and parcel of the character, and differences of style are a key to differences of thought and temperament. Bismarck's style is marked by a directness and love of homely metaphor, while Gladstone's is essentially laboured and consequent. The difference is that which subsists between the German and the Latin, the original and the regular, the speculative and the logical spirit. In the realm of letters and thought the Latin spirit is usually associated with authority, and the Germanic with freedom. And, paradoxical as the remark may seem, Gladstone's temper is in many respects more essentially conservative than Bismarck's, and far more prone to fall back on historic precedent and prescription.

It is sometimes the habit of writers to deal with what they consider different sides of a man's character apart, as though there were no necessary connection between them. But men of passion and conviction do not usually act by halves, and Gladstone's conservatism in matters of religious faith is quite as much a part of his whole nature as his Liberalism in politics. To many, if not to most, educated Germans this contrast is somewhat perplexing, but much of his political career (his interest in the Bulgarian atrocities, for instance) cannot be explained except by the fact that his religion dominates his conduct. His sympathy with the suffering and the oppressed, and his readiness to espouse the cause of the weak against the strong which form a link between him and many children of modern Europe were not derived in his case from Rousseau or more recent French Liberals, but direct from the New Testament.

Dr. Bamberger, the eminent Bavarian Liberal, once told an acquaintance of mine that he admired Gladstone's humanitarian impulses as opposed to the brutal military spirit now predominant in Europe, but could not understand his admixture of Liberalism

and "church-like humours." The explanation is to be found in the fact that the modern philanthropic spirit which has largely grown up outside churches and creeds owes its ultimate origin to the same source as the most old-world pietism.

But Bismarck has probably been influenced as little by modern humanitarian ideas as by positive Christian tradition. Free-thinkers have claimed him as one of themselves and pointed to the influence which the philosophy of Spinoza is known to have exercised over him at a period of his life. Believers have pointed with equal right to passages in his speeches, and letters indicative of a far more living faith than Spinoza's pantheism. If he seldom frequents churches he nevertheless professes to believe in the immortality of the soul. Probably, he is neither a free-thinker nor an orthodox believer, but possesses the same sort of natural religion as Goethe or Shakespeare, his two favourite writers with whom he is specially familiar. Like them he has probably been acquainted with Belief as well as with Doubt, but can hardly be called a Christian in the same particularist sense in which the word may be applied to his old opponent, the Catholic Dr. Windhorst, or to English Protestants like Wilberforce or Bright.

Judging by the glimpses into his private life which can be derived from published memoirs of his friends (J. L. Motley and Lord A. Loftus, for example) as well as from accounts of various interviewers and journalists, there must be something singularly genial and interesting in Bismarck as a man. But the lustre of his deeds is sufficient to account for the charm his mere name possesses for most of his countrymen. The first time I ever saw him was in Berlin, while he was still Chancellor. It was impossible not to be struck by the haughty imperial frown on his forehead. But when I saw him a few years later making his triumphal entry into Munich, the expression of his face had completely changed and bore witness to a sense of fallen greatness. The speech which he made from the balcony of the painter Lembach's house (May 1892) to return thanks for the enthusiastic popular welcome which had been given him was not exactly a brilliant piece of oratory. It seemed disappointing that a man who had accomplished such a world-historical task should possess such a comparatively weak voice. But the matter of his speech was pithy, and the concluding words, "*In meinem Heimath bis an das Ende meiner Tagen*" rang in my ears like a fragment of a lyric poem. I saw him again driving with Lembach, in the woody environs of the city, and walking through the rooms of the "Glass-Palace," where the Art of all nations was exposed.

The first time I ever saw Mr. Gladstone was in a certain college-chapel to which William Wordsworth devoted two immortal sonnets. His eyes were turned towards heaven in the evening twilight, and

seemed to suggest his own beautiful words, "Everything I think, or do, or say is influenced by my belief in the Divinity of Christ." With the exception, perhaps, of Joseph Mazzini, it would be hard to point to a modern man of action in whom sacred and secular convictions were more completely interwoven than in Gladstone. Whatever may have been the religious notions *in cubiculo* of other European statesmen (of Disraeli or of Louis Napoleon, for instance) their public actions were hardly swayed by them to the same extent as his. Some would be inclined to think that the intensity of his Christian faith has sometimes been the cause of too much forbearance towards rival nations, as the ideal set forth in the Sermon on the Mount scarcely squares with the approved methods of European diplomacy. The great German's cynical outburst, "There is nothing on this earth but jugglery and hypocrisy," proceeds from a view of life very different from that which declares the world to be good and full of benevolent design. Gladstone's belief in human nature as the creation of an all-good and all-wise Being, and therefore supremely capable of good, helped to make him a pioneer of liberty and progress. Bismarck's distrust of human nature not only deepened his aversion to popular principles, but made him sceptical as to the reality of such a thing as progress, and turned him into a stern upholder of force. The pessimistic philosopher Schopenhauer conceived a hatred of democracy for much the same reason, and admired the Prussian peremptory methods of suppressing disorder. But that form of conservatism which makes men prone to accept things on trust and conform to a stereotyped pattern is as foreign to Bismarck's nature as it has been foreign to the greatest German thinkers and poets. Conservative he has certainly been (so far as that word can be applied to any creative genius), but after the fashion of Oliver Cromwell or Frederick the Great, and can hardly be compared with the limited but amiable parliamentary type which has been so salutary and useful at many periods of our history. Typical English Conservatives like Canning, Peel, and Derby (to cite from the present century alone) believed firmly in the advantage of government by discussion, and possessed little or nothing in common with the man of blood and iron.

It has been customary to compare Bismarck to Cavour, with whom he has a certain superficial resemblance. Both of these statesmen pursued a similar aim, and both succeeded. But their tempers were widely different. Bismarck was always the sworn enemy of popular government on English lines; while Cavour, who had listened to many debates in our House of Commons, turned to English statesmen for his model. Bismarck has never scrupled to apply force to crush legitimate opposition; but Cavour declared almost with his last breath that any one could govern in a state of siege. According to him even the debased Neapolitans should be

cleansed and not coerced. If Bismarck's imagination was wider and his work on a larger scale, the palm for purity of motive and method must be awarded to the great Italian.

Not long ago Bismarck observed frankly to one of his many interviewers, that a man who was dominated by principles in politics was like a traveller in a mountainous country who deliberately chose to walk through a forest-path with a pole in his mouth. It has always been Bismarck's habit to grapple with questions as they arose, unfettered by general maxims and ideas. If the world in which we live is essentially changeful and incongruous, this indifference to principle is perhaps a pardonable vice. Like the great reformer, Martin Luther, whom he resembles in certain aspects of his character, Bismarck has been very little under the dominion of logic. His aversion to academic lawyers and professors is strictly parallel to Luther's aversion to Aristotle and the Catholic schoolmen. The parallel may seem profane to those who are unaware that Luther loved "wine, woman, and song," and despised ascetics. But those who consider the private character of both as revealed in their casual utterances will hardly call it far-fetched or fanciful. Both were grand rough men, attractive to some minds, repulsive to others, whose coarseness was inseparable from their strength. Those who believe Bismarck's work could have been accomplished by gentler means hazard the same sort of dubious conjecture as those who deem the work of Luther could have been done by the amiable Erasmus.

Some are in the habit of extolling Bismarck's unique achievement in creating a great military state, as though it stood almost without a parallel since the days of Julius Cæsar. But the great German historian, who deified Cæsar in matchless language, was probably right in rating the issue of the North American civil war above any event of our times. Emilio Castelar, ex-president of the Spanish Republic, who has devoted many years to historical studies and learnt to look at things "*sub specie eternitatis*," admires Bismarck enormously, but places Gladstone above him. In the case of men whose spheres of labour have been so absolutely different it is perhaps "odorous" (as Dogberry would have said) to weigh their greatness in opposing scales. If one can boast the most brilliant creative achievement, the other must bear the palm as a legislator, a financier, and a leader of parliaments. It is hardly too much to call Gladstone's the more *marvellous* personality of the two, when the manifold labours of his life, and the many fields which they have covered, are fairly taken into account. Neither Chatham nor Pitt nor Peel displayed such a capacity for work, or exerted such a hold over the masses, or retained their powers so long. Many a humble cottager dwells affectionately on the varying pictures of the statesman, visiting Neapolitan dungeons, or engaged in quiet study, pleading the cause of the oppressed, or praying by the sick bed of the poor. His suc-

cessor put the matter with his characteristic terseness when he spoke of his leader's sympathy and courage as his two commanding qualities. His chief living opponent generously admits no greater intellect was ever applied to politics in England.

Some light is thrown on the character of men by inquiring from what source they derive their spiritual sustenance. Besides the sacred Scriptures, Gladstone, like his friend Dr. Döllinger, whom he specially admired, owes "*lucem et pocula sacra*" to the perpetual study of Dante. To quote his own words: "Dante has been to me a solemn master; he who lives for Dante lives to serve Italy, Christianity, and the world." Bismarck, on the other hand, has declared that eight volumes of Goethe would make him happy in solitude. Now Dante and Goethe are both religious poets in this sense that both continually soar above the limits of the present, and set us face to face with the Infinite. But what is the essential difference between them? The late poet-laureate expressed it with a poet's instinct when a friend, who was gazing steadfastly at the busts of Dante and Goethe, asked, "What is there in Dante's face which Goethe lacks?" by promptly replying, "The divine." It would be an exaggeration to maintain that the same difference is to be seen in the faces of the two statesmen as that which Tennyson saw in the faces of their favourite poets. But each statesman has some of his favourite poet's loves and antipathies. Like Goethe, Bismarck is the foe of enthusiasm, whether it takes the form of romantic, old-world sentiment, or of passionate zeal in the cause of social progress. This would give a philosophic explanation of the astonishing fact that the coalition which defeated his last legislative proposal was made up of ultramontane Catholics, Radicals, and Socialists. Like Dante, Gladstone seems to blend the Catholic and the humanistic, the reverential and the progressive, the mystical and the inquiring spirit. This strange mediæval and modern admixture, which really underlies so many of our institutions, often perplexes thoughtful foreign observers. In England the modern spirit has been able to clothe itself in antique and apparently ill-fitting forms, simply because no violent catastrophe like the Thirty Years' War or the great French Revolution ever cut us off completely from our past. It would be hard to find a more striking embodiment of this dualism than in the venerable statesman justly termed "a typical Oxford man," whose name is nevertheless, in the words of a foreign writer, "connected with freedom in every quarter of the world."

MAURICE TODHUNTER.

THE MYSTERY OF THE PACIFIC.

EASTER ISLAND AND THE EVIDENCES OF A LOST CONTINENT.

ABOUT 1200 miles off the coast of Chili, in lat. $27^{\circ} 8'$ South, long. $109^{\circ} 24'$ West, separated by many a league of heaving ocean from the nearest atom of inhabited or even habitable territory, lies the island fittingly designated "The Mystery of the Pacific." The epithet is not the result of mere sensation-mongering. The reasons why the term should be applied to it are so apparent to all who visit the spot, while the facts in themselves are so inexplicable, save on one hypothesis, that "mysterious" is the only adjective which seems adequately to comprehend the manifold aspects of the case.

That Easter Island represents the last remains of a long extinct civilisation, utterly diverse from aught with which the world of to-day has, as yet, been brought in contact, I have, for many reasons, been led to conclude. In Central America and in Egypt alone do we discover the analogues of it. Ocean hath her mysteries as profound and startling as those of land. If the evidences of volcanic activity on a colossal scale, in ages long gone by, be present with us in wellnigh every country on the globe, so may ocean carry her indelible records of the same agency, though she veil the characters from our view under fathomless depths of superincumbent water. That such records may exist, not only does analogy, with strong show of probability, permit us to argue, but the catastrophes within comparatively recent years at Tamboro, Krakatoa, and Sangwin, by exhibiting on a small scale what in prehistoric ages occurred on a large, place the matter beyond doubt, that if the surface of the land has been so materially altered by this means, so the relative proportions of land and sea may be equally affected by the submergence of large portions of territory.

The theory of a lost continent has been scouted as improbable by many, simply because any such fact has never been recorded within historic epochs. But do not the processes of denudation and deposition daily revealed to us in the operations of Nature, only confirm what geology asserts as having occurred long ago, "in the deep backward and abyss of time," with regard to "continent-making" and "continent-wearing."

Accepting in accordance with the nebular hypothesis the age of the

world, from the epoch when the natural conditions became sufficiently favourable for cooling by radiation to commence, as dating back many millions of years—not less than 250,000 years having elapsed since the beginning of the last Glacial Period, as calculations founded on the known changes of the eccentricity of the earth's orbit have demonstrated—the lapse of time is more than sufficient to account for the denudation of more than one continent by the ordinary process of weathering and wear, without taking into account the action of the great subterranean forces, volcanoes, earthquakes and the like.

My contention, then, is that as South America is slowly but surely being submerged on both the Atlantic and Pacific sides, Easter Island at one time formed a part of that great continent, then extending from the Azores in the north-east to this extreme point in the south-west; that by the joint action of terrific volcanoes—of which those in the Andes chain convey to us some faint idea—and the patient denudation of the sea, the intermediate portions had been first rent asunder and then worn away, until the existing configuration is presented. I maintain that the story of Atlantis reported by the ancients, though encrusted with an after-growth of myth and legend, was no figment of the perfervid Egyptian and Greek imagination, but a historical fact handed down through the ages and of which strong confirmatory testimony can to-day be cited.

The investigations of the British vessels, *Challenger*, *Hydra*, and *Porcupine*, the German frigate *Gazelle*, and the United States survey-ship *Dolphin*, have accumulated a mass of evidence in favour of the original connection of the islands of the Azores, St. Paul's and Ascension, with the present South American continent. The submarine ridge or plateau, extending from a point in the same parallel of latitude with Land's End to another in that of Rio de Janeiro, has been proved to be wholly of a volcanic nature, and to be covered with volcanic debris, traces of which are to be found right across the ocean to the South American coast. Viewing this fact in conjunction with the tradition respecting the great territory called "Atlantis," I consider the hypothesis of a lost continent as something more than possible, exclusive altogether of the arguments drawn from similarity of language, custom, mode of life, social institutions and architectural remains, between Egypt and the buried cities of Central America, Ecuador and Peru (lately investigated by M. Desiré Charnay) on the one hand, and between the latter and the remains at Easter Island on the other. In other words, I would argue that Easter Island, Central and South America, and Egypt derived their artistic impetus from a common source—Easter Island with its ruins of marvellous buildings on a scale and of a style of architecture suitably designated only by the adjective "Cyclopean"; with its weird colossi or gigantic statuary, in whose impressive features can still be traced the elemental germs of that Egyptian art which found

its highest expression in the solemn majestic grandeur of the Sphinx, or in the godlike repose of the seated figures in front of the southern propylæ of Karnac; as well as the germs of that exquisite Aztec and Toltec sculpture discovered amid the remains of the buried cities of Central and Southern America. That this great empire—for purposes of convenience we may style it Atlantis—was a centre whence radiated culture, the arts, religion, and all the characteristics of an advanced civilisation, to Europe on the east, and to that portion of the vast continent now designated Easter Island on the west, will, I think, be admitted as at least probable when the facts yet to be adduced have been adequately appreciated.

Let it be premised that the results of the *Dolphin* and *Challenger* expeditions, referred to above, have conclusively proved that at some period, not so very remote in a geological sense, the ocean bed in the neighbourhood of the Azores had been visited by volcanic disturbances on a gigantic scale, of which the marks and the *débris* remain to this day. The reader is referred to the volumes descriptive of these expeditions for fuller information on points that can only be adverted to in passing.

The first argument I would adduce is one drawn from the consensus of ancient testimony with the results obtained by recent investigation. Down the epochs of history, unwritten and written, has passed the tradition of a great continent, the cradle of the human race, that was lost through some frightful cataclysm in the grey dawn of human record. The mist of myth has so densely enveloped all accounts of it that the utmost caution must be observed in any survey to distinguish what are really reliable facts concerning a bygone age, from the accessories the reverent fancy of later humanity has added.

In every mythus, however, as Mr. Ignatius Donnelly remarks in his admirable and suggestive work on Atlantis (from which I select several facts bearing upon this question) there is a definite basis of truth, on which depends its existence. In bearing witness to the past existence of a vast continent now no more there is a curious accordance, I have said, between ancient testimony and modern scientific research.

That remarkable extract in Proclus, taken from a work no longer extant, states that, in one of the exterior seas, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, "the inhabitants preserved from their ancestors a remembrance of Atlantis, an extremely large territory, which for a long time held dominion over all the islands in the Atlantic Ocean. Theopompus (400 B.C.), according to Ælian in his *Varia Historia*, is the authority for the record of an interview between Midas, king of Phrygia, and Silenus, in which the latter reported the existence of a continent beyond the Atlantic, larger than Asia Minor, Europe, and Libya (Africa) together. He also affirmed that the inhabitants

were named Meropes, and had built vast cities, larger than any in the then known world.

Didot Müller, in his interesting volume, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, presents certain extracts from the lost work of Marcellus on the Ethiopians, wherein the latter states that the islands in the Atlantic Ocean preserve the tradition of a great country named Atlantis, which had for a long time exercised dominion over the smaller ones, but which had been destroyed by fire from heaven. The Phœnicians, according to Diodorus Siculus, were aware of a large territory in the Atlantic Ocean, many days' sail beyond the Pillars of Hercules. This country was exceedingly wealthy, in soil most fertile, in civilisation far in advance of Greece, in climate delicious. Fish and game existed in abundance, and the trees bore fruit all the year round. Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plutarch, and other ancient writers all make distinct reference to a great empire lying beyond the Pillars of Hercules. Students of theology also will remember that St. Clement, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, speaks of "the other worlds beyond the western ocean."

It is, however, to Plato we owe the most detailed account of this continent, named by him Atlantis. Why his account of the alleged conversation between Solon and the priests of Sais in Egypt should have been characterised, both in ancient and modern times, as an ingenious fable, has always been a mystery to me. Not until the wonders of Toltec and Aztec civilisation had been fully appraised by modern research did the statements of the great Greek philosopher receive singular confirmation from an independent source. The picture histories of the Aztecs proved the correctness of his account.

Not too much is it to say that within the past seventy years the probabilities in favour of a large substratum of fact underlying Plato's account of Atlantis have been increased a hundredfold.

To Solon, according to Plato in the *Timæus*, the priests of Sais conveyed the information of "a mighty country which subjugated the whole of Europe and Asia nearly 9000 years before that date (600 B.C.). That power was situated away out in the Atlantic Ocean, directly opposite the straits called the Pillars of Hercules. The country itself was larger than Libya (Africa) and Asia (viz., Asia Minor) reckoned together, and was directly on the track to other lands which lay beyond it (the American continent before it was broken away). In the land of Atlantis there was a powerful and magnificent kingdom, which exercised authority over the whole continent and all the islands around; and besides had conquered those districts of Libya inside the Pillars of Hercules, extending as far as Egypt, and of Europe even to Tyrrhænia. After some time had elapsed, terrible earthquakes and volcanic eruptions (*σεισμῶν*

ἑξαίσιων καὶ κατακλυσμῶν) occurred, and in a single day and night of floods, all the men-at-arms were swallowed up into the yawning earth, while the land of Atlantis itself also vanished, sinking into the depths of the ocean. To this cause is due the fact that the sea in those places is impassable and dangerous, owing to so great a quantity of shallow mud interfering with navigation, which obstruction was caused by the sinking of the island."

Confirmation of the story recounted in the *Timæus* is discernible in the following facts relative to the Azores—viz., that traces of lava rocks and of volcanic activity on a gigantic scale are everywhere visible. Sir C. Wyville Thomson, in his volume *The Voyage of the Challenger*, when describing a jutting headland, Monté Queimada (the burnt mountain), near Fayal, remarks: "It is formed partly of stratified tufa of a dark chocolate colour, and partly of lumps of black lava, porous, and each with a large cavity in the centre, which must have been ejected as volcanic bombs in a glorious display of fireworks at some period beyond the records of Acorean history, but late in the geological annals of the island."

Precisely similar physical features are visible to-day in Easter Island, where the evidences of volcanic and seismic convulsions, at an epoch historically remote but geologically recent, meet the eye on all sides. Again, in the account in the *Timæus*, Plato refers to the numerous hot springs in Atlantis. Any one who has visited the Azores must be aware that these are a prominent characteristic of the islands in question. Further, the investigations and soundings by the *Dolphin* and *Challenger* Expeditions prove the sudden shallowing of the Atlantic Ocean from a point a few hundred miles off the coast of Ireland right over to Cape Orange on the coast of South America, thence south-easterly towards the African coast near Sierra Leone—leaving only a deep narrow strait a little over 100 miles wide—then trending southerly towards Tristan d'Acunha. On the western side of the South American continent, the shallowest part of the Pacific Ocean is that which covers the long low reef stretching from Caldera, on the Chilian seaboard, over to Easter Island, and, about half the distance across, rising above the surface of the waters in the lonely volcanic island-peaks of St. Felix and St. Ambrose.

Focussing all this evidence upon the question at issue, keeping in view also the fact of the volcanic character of Easter Island and of the whole land intervening between it and the Azores, is there any impracticability in the hypothesis that at one time they were connected and formed part of the same continent? Already the theory has received wide acceptance. The *Scientific American* for July 28, 1877, when criticising it, remarked: "The inequalities, the mountains and valleys (the connecting reefs or ridges) of its surface, could

never have been produced in accordance with any laws for the deposition of sediment, nor by submarine elevation, but, on the contrary, must have been carved by agencies acting above the water-level." In *Nature* for 1877, Mr. J. J. Wild indicated his adherence to the main outlines of the hypothesis; while a member of the staff of the *Challenger*, in a lecture delivered in London soon after the return of the Expedition, declared he had no doubts of the fact that this great submarine plateau constituted the remains of the long-lost continent of Atlantis.

Another strong argument in favour of the existence of some great original continent, whence the existing types of plants and animals in Europe and Asia on the one hand, and America on the other, were derived is furnished by the striking similarity between the *flora* and the *fauna* of the Old World and the New.

A well-known scientist, writing in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for January 1872, on the subject of the former land connection between Europe and America, remarks: "When the animals and plants of the Old and New World are compared one cannot but be struck with their identity; all or nearly all belong to the same genera, while many even of the species are common to both continents. This is most important as indicating that they radiated from a common centre after the Glacial Period." The mass of information Donnelly has accumulated on this point is in the highest degree important. According to him, recent discoveries in the fossil beds of the "Bad Lands" of Nebraska prove that the horse originated in America. Pursuing this line of inquiry, Professor Marsh of Yale University has traced its evolution from a creature about the size of a fox, through the hipparion, to the animal familiar to us to-day. Yet it existed in Europe long prior to its domestication; and in Easter Island there are unmistakable fossil remains of this quadruped, together with carvings on the rocks representing it. Yet it has long been extinct there. But how could it reach such widely separated localities unless uninterrupted communication existed between them?

Again, in India, Africa, Kansas, South America and Easter Island are found the fossilised bones of the camel, while the cave bear, whose remains are discovered in the same strata with the bones of the mammoth and the memorials of Pleistocene man, was very much akin to the grizzly bear of the Rocky Mountains. The extinct musk ox of the Liège caves is still found in arctic America, while Rutemeyer asserts the bison (*Bos priscus*) of Europe to be the same as the prairie buffalo of to-day. The Norwegian elk is simply the American moose under a different name, of which there are also traces in Easter Island, while the tailless hare of the European Stone Age still exists in Alaska. The reindeer of Lapland once had its home in America, and remains of the cave lion of

Europe have been discovered on the shores of the Mississippi; and in February 1893 the quarternary strata of Lake Mulligan in South Australia were discernible portions of the skull and the teeth of the terrible *Thylacoleo*—the “cave lion” under another name. Bones strangely akin to these have also been discovered in Easter Island. To prove the wide distribution of closely allied *fauna* over Europe, Asia, America and Oceania, many other facts could be adduced did space permit, but what has been cited will be sufficient to serve our purpose.

As regards the *flora*, a similarly wide distribution prevails. The Swiss fossil beds of the Miocene Age contain the remains of more than 800 different kinds of flower-bearing plants, to say nothing of ferns and mosses.

As Donnelly says, the majority of these have migrated to America, others to Africa, Asia and Australia, and, as I can personally testify, some of them to Easter Island. The analogues of the *flora* of the Miocene Age in Europe now grow in the forests of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Florida, in the dense bush of Australia and New Zealand, in the undergrowth of Easter Island. Among these are magnolias, tulip-trees, evergreen-oaks, maples, plane-trees, robins, sequoias, ratas, papaws, bluegums and ironbarks. How could these have migrated from Switzerland to the Pacific, if territorial connections did not formerly exist? Professor Otto Kuntze makes a strong point out of the banana or plantain. Indigenous to Asia and Africa, and moreover seedless, it is nevertheless found in America, and not only in Easter Island, but all over the South Sea Islands. How then, asks the Professor, was this plant, which cannot stand the climate of a temperate zone, carried to America? He admits that the roots must have been transported from one country to another by civilised man, but will not allow that it could have crossed the Pacific Ocean from Asia to America, because the Pacific is thrice or four times as wide as the Atlantic. Is not the explanation perfectly simple when we accept the theory of uninterrupted land communication between the two? The cultivation of cotton was known to both the Old World and the New. Herodotus calls it “The tree of India, bearing a fleece as beautiful as that of a sheep.” When Columbus reached the West India Islands he found it flourishing there, as did Cortes and Pizarro in Mexico and Peru. Frequently is the cotton-plant found wild in America, but never elsewhere. Would this fact not seem to indicate the place of its origin? The potato, maize and tobacco plants are commonly credited as owing their introduction into Europe and Asia subsequently to the discovery of America by Columbus. But a traveller who recently visited China remarks: “The interior of China along the course of the Yang-tse-Kiang is a land full of wonders. Plants yielding drugs of great value, the familiar tobacco and potato, maize, white

and yellow corn, and other plants believed to be indigenous to America, have been cultivated there from time immemorial." It may also interest smokers to learn that in the *raths* and *tumuli* of Ireland and Denmark, pipes have been found in which some kind of tobacco was smoked at a period immensely anterior to Sir Walter Raleigh (Report of the Smithsonian Institute, 1875). Of the great cereals—wheat, oats, barley, rye and maize—no original plant in a wild state can be discovered throughout the known world. Either it must have been domesticated from an immense antiquity, says Donnelly, or in some continent which has since disappeared, carrying the original wild plant with it. By these facts, I think, the fact has been established of so close a similarity between the *fauuna* and the *flora* of the Old and New Worlds, only explicable by one of the following hypotheses—either there must have been uninterrupted land communication between the continents of Europe and America, or we must view both as having been colonised from some third continent which has long since disappeared. Both hypotheses favour my theory.

Another very strong argument in favour of the theory of a connection between Easter Island, Egypt and the buried cities of Central and South America, is furnished by the strange similarity existing between their architectural remains. In Easter Island are the ruins of numerous enormous buildings, erected entirely of gigantic slabs of hewn stones, many of them several tons in weight. In front of these edifices are immense platforms also formed of hewn stone, surmounted by colossal statues, exhibiting a strange weird beauty all their own. The chiselling of the features, notwithstanding the thousands of years that have elapsed since the sculptors completed their work, exhibits a vigour of conception and a delicacy in execution, rivalling, and sometimes excelling, the highest type of ancient Egyptian art. The artistic genius of the long vanished race was not only expended on these *colossi*, but on every rock around the island are carved strange and fantastic images of mythical animals—the early gods, human beings, fishes, and pyramids—that are obviously akin to the art of the Toltecs. Within the numerous caves wherewith the lava rocks of the island are honeycombed, and wherein lie the mouldering remains of hundreds of thousands of the ancient inhabitants, also on the walls of the houses, are still variable the fading traces of curious and grotesque frescoes, painted with many coloured pigments, all exhibiting the same curious type of design which, for want of a better term, I must characterise as "Toltec," though they were executed long anterior to the date when the scanty remains which have reached us of that style of art and sculpture were produced.

Again, many of the ruined buildings in Easter Island bear distinct traces yet of their original pyramidal shape; in other places the lava

rocks themselves have, by the hand of man, been artificially shapen, until they too exhibit a similar design. The whole island is filled with the Cyclopean handiwork of these long dead architects and sculptors—*colossi*, ruined edifices, broken pillars (strangely Egyptian in their pattern), carven rocks, and crumbling pyramids meeting the eye everywhere. To the present inhabitants of Easter Island it is vain to look for an explanation of these wonders, for besides being comparatively recent settlers on the island—that is, within the last two or three hundred years, and probably reaching it from Hawaii—they simply invest with legendary fables what they cannot otherwise explain. By comparative archæology, however, some light is let into the almost impenetrable mystery enveloping the remains upon Easter Island. Egypt and Central and South America furnish the key.

I need scarcely reiterate the fact, so well recognised is it, that the origin of Egyptian civilisation has been the enigma of the world for the past twenty-five centuries. Presenting no historic or even mythic infancy, it appears before the world at once as a highly civilised and organic community centuries before Moses was a boy. Upon this subject Renan says: "Egypt has no archaic epoch, but suddenly takes its place in the world in all its matchless magnificence, without father and without mother, and as clean apart from all evolution as if it had dropped from the unknown heavens." Would not an explanation at least feasible be found in the hypothesis that it received its civilisation from some source no longer existing? Menes, the first historic figure in its long line of dynasties—the outlines of whose personality loom up waveringly indefinite but grandly impressive against the deep mythic background of prehistoric story—at least 4500 B.C., conceived and executed enterprises, extorting the warmest admiration from the best engineers of the nineteenth century. Did he not alter the course of the Nile by vast embankments, to gain stable foundations other than in shifting sands for his sacred city of Memphis; construct the artificial lake of Moëris, 450 miles in circumference and 350 feet deep, as a reservoir for the waters of the Nile? Look, too, at the colossal achievements of his successors, in architecture, sculpture, engineering, astronomical, political, medical, social and military science, to say nothing of navigation and theology. Witness the ruins of the Labyrinth recorded by Herodotus, which had 3000 chambers, half of them above ground and half below, a combination of courts, chambers, colonnades, statues, and pyramids. Witness the wonders of the magnificent temple of Karnac which still awakens our admiration—a temple, as Denon says, wherein the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris could be set inside *one* of its halls and yet not touch the walls. Witness the sublime pyramids, originally built in honour of the Sun god *Ra*, and for use as astronomical observatories, the splendours of

Memphis, Thebes, and Heliopolis, of the Sphinx and the obelisks, the statuary, and the numerous temples, with the ruins of which the land is still filled. To merely enumerate these stupendous works of Egyptian genius would require the space of a volume, and more than once has the question been asked, Where can they be paralleled? I would reply, that in Central and South America have been discovered, of recent years, architectural marvels, not only rivalling in their colossal size the wonders of Egypt, but in their design and execution betraying so close an essential identity, amid accessorial differences, as to prove to any unbiassed investigator their development from a common order of genius.

M. Desiré Charnay, to whose excellent volume, *The Buried Cities of Central and South America*, I refer the reader desirous of fuller information, contends that the ancient Toltecs, or predecessors of the Aztecs, living at a period long anterior to the birth of Christ, had then attained to a pitch of civilisation superior to that of Europe in the days of Columbus. To prove this assertion he adduces a mass of information—drawn from all sources—that is very conclusive. To consider the argument from architecture first. At the ancient city of Teotihuacan he remarks that the ocean of ruins visible on every side were not a whit inferior in size to those of Egypt. One building was 2000 feet (666 yards, or exceeding a quarter of a mile) wide on either side; also fifteen pyramids—in shape identical with those of Gizeh—each of which had a base almost as large as the great Pyramid of Cheops. He then goes on to say: “The city is indeed of vast extent, the whole ground over a space of five or six miles in diameter is covered with heaps of ruins of the remotest antiquity, because the very highways of the ancient city are composed of broken bits of pottery and bricks, the *débris* left by earlier populations.” This continent is a land of mysteries. We here enter an infinity of antiquity, whose limits we cannot estimate. The long streets are flanked with the ruins of public buildings and palaces, forming continuous lines, as in the streets of modern cities. Still all the edifices and halls are as nothing compared to the vast substructures which strengthened their foundations.

The ruins at Easter Island exhibit almost identical features with these, nothing striking the observer with more profound astonishment than the enormous strength of the foundations of all the buildings. To Egyptian architecture, M. Desiré Charnay finds the ruins of Central and South America to bear an identity almost complete, and of those at Easter Island I may say the same. The masonry is similar, the cement is the same, the sculptures are alike; both peoples use the arch; in both continents we find bricks, glassware, and porcelain.

• In Egypt, America, and Easter Island the sacred letter “Taw” (T) is discovered on all sides, which must be regarded as the earlier

form of the great Christian symbol of the Cross. On this point, a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* for July 1870 remarks: "Among the earliest known types (of the Cross) is the *crux ansata*, vulgarly called 'The Key of the Nile,' because of its being found sculptured or otherwise represented so frequently on Egyptian or Coptic monuments. It has, however, a very much older and more sacred signification than this. It was 'the symbol of symbols,' the mystical Taw, the 'hidden wisdom,' not only of the ancient Egyptians, but also of the Chaldeans, Phœnicians, Mexicans, Peruvians, &c., and is formed very similarly to our letter T, with a roundlet or oval placed immediately above it. . . . As in the oldest temples and catacombs of Egypt, so this type likewise abounds in the ruined cities of Mexico and Central America, graven as well upon the most ancient Cyclopean and polygonal walls as upon the more modern and perfect examples of masonry, and is displayed in an equally conspicuous manner upon the breasts of innumerable bronze statuettes which have been recently disinterred from the cemetery of Juigalpa (of unknown antiquity) in Nicaragua."

On visiting Easter Island, my earliest efforts were directed towards deciding this point, whether the symbol of the "Taw" was discoverable there. But a cursory examination sufficed to reveal its presence, and thus a connection was established at once between the early inhabitants of the island and those of Central and South America, and, further, between the two and the ancient Egyptians.

In Peru the early civilisation of the Toltecs and Aztecs has left its most splendid architectural remains. The ruins of the capital city of the Chimus in Northern Peru cover an area of twenty square miles. Tombs, temples, palaces, obelisks, are visible on all sides, also immense pyramidal structures, some of them half a mile in circuit; vast areas shut in by massive walls, each containing its immense water tank, its shops, its municipal buildings, as well as the dwellings of its inhabitants, and each a branch of a larger organisation. Prisons, museums, colleges and schools, furnaces for smelting metals, and almost all the concomitants of civilisation existed in the ancient Chimu capital. One of the great pyramids called "The Temple of the Sun," says Charnay, is 812 feet long by 470 wide and 150 high. Donnelly also points out that at Cuclap in Peru some remarkable ruins have been discovered, consisting of a wall of wrought stones 3600 feet long, 560 broad and 150 high, constituting a solid mass, with a level summit. Resting on this "foundation" was another building 600 feet long, 500 broad and 150 high, making an aggregate height of 300 feet. The purposes to which it had been put were those of sepulture, as the cells and recesses remain wherein the mummies were placed—in some instances still occupied by them. In more than one of the Easter Island buildings similar recesses are visible, comparative archæology

here demonstrating a fact that puzzled Roggervin who visited the island in 1722, Cook in 1774, Kotzebue in 1816, and Beechey in 1836, as well as many other more recent travellers.

All over Central and South America, concealed now in many cases by the dense overgrowth of immemorial forests, these buried cities have been traced, and excavations on a large scale are proceeding. The native traditions regarding them, as reported by Baldwin in his interesting volume *Prehistoric Nations*, Bancroft in *Native Races*, and Foster's *Prehistoric Races*, state that "they were built by bearded white men who came to the country long before the time of the Incas and established themselves there." How came this high state of civilisation to exist so far from European influences, yet betraying, in all essential points, an almost complete identity with the culture of Egypt in the best epochs? That the antiquity of the Central and South American remains is immensely greater than that of Egypt is demonstrated, according to Gliddon, by the fact that from the ruins of Nineveh, Babylon, and the cities, pyramids and catacombs of the Nile Valley, we have skeletons and mummies brought to us, at least 3500 or 4000 years old, from which crania have been taken in all respects perfect, while those of the mummies of the Aztec and Toltec cities, preserved by identically the same process, are crumbling into dust through age alone. This fact more than any other would answer the question put by a writer in *Blackwood* many years ago, when considering, in a very able and exhaustive article, the question of the origin of Egyptian civilisation. "What are we to think [says the article] when an antiquary, grubbing in the dust and silt of 5000 years ago to discover some traces of infant effort—some rude specimens of the ages of Magog and Mizraim, in which we may admire the germ that has since developed into a wonderful art—breaks his shins against an article so perfect that it equals if it does not excel the supreme stretch of modern ability? How shall we support the theory that before Noah was cold in his grave his descendants were adepts in construction and in the fine arts? As we have not yet discovered any traces of the rude savage Egypt, but have seen her in her very earliest manifestations already skilful, erudite, and strong, it is impossible to determine the order of her inventions. Our deepest researches have hitherto shown her to us as only the mother of a most accomplished race." The answer, as suggested by the absolute identity of the architectural remains in Easter Island, America and Egypt, is that all of them derived their civilisation from a common source—the cultured land long since buried beneath the ocean—to which, in default of a better name, Atlantis has been given.

Among the ruins of Easter Island, the prevalence of the pyramidal form as the original design of several of the buildings is, I think, beyond a doubt. Were this, however, disputed, the

fact that the pyramid is sculptured on the surrounding rocks, and that many of these rocks themselves have been artificially cut into that shape, is indubitable. Further, the existence of the colossal human heads previously considered to be peculiar to Egypt, as typified by the Sphinx and the *colossi* at Karnac and those now in the Boulak Museum, are additional proofs of ancient affinity. For many ages the pyramid was supposed to be a style of architecture peculiar to Egypt, until India unfolded her wonders in the sacred city of Benares on the banks of the Ganges, where formerly stood the great pyramidal temple of Buidh-Madhw or Vishnu (*vide Thornton's Gazetteer of India*, p. 91), destroyed by Aurungzebe in 1690, to signalise the triumph of Islamism over Brahminism, and the materials of which were employed in building the present mosque. Tavernier, who visited Benares in 1680, prior to the capture of the city by this Moslem Alexander the Great, describes the temple as covering an immense area, and refers to similar structures at Mhuttra on the Jumna, at Elephanta, Ellora, Chillambrun and Salsette. Eclipsed, however, by far are both the Egyptian and Indian pyramids by those in Central and South America. The great pyramid of Cheops in Egypt is 746 feet square, 450 feet high, and covers an area of thirteen acres. The pyramid of Cholula in Mexico, as measured by Humboldt, is 160 feet high, 1400 feet square at the base, and covers an area of forty-five acres. It must be stated with respect to the height, that the structure had originally attained a much greater altitude, but owing to its greater age it is in a much more ruinous state than its Egyptian rival. At Teotihuacan and Cholula are still visible upwards of 400 pyramids, all similar in design and execution to the Egyptian, having, as in the case of the latter, according to Professor Piazz Smyth, their four corners directly facing the four cardinal points of the compass, but differing sometimes in this particular that they do not attain the perfect apex of the Egyptian structures, but are slightly flattened, so as to admit of a small edifice being placed on the top for astronomical purposes. Most of them, however, are absolutely identical with those of the Nile Valley, though they exist now in a more ruinous condition. Upon this point Bradford (*North Americans of Antiquity*) affirms that from a careful survey of all the buildings in Mexico and Peru, it is now the received opinion among leading archæologists that these pyramidal ruins of the Toltecs and Aztecs are of a higher antiquity than those of Egypt, and as they exhibit a perfect identity in their interior arrangement of passages and galleries, they were in all probability intended for a similar purpose. The passages, galleries, and platforms of the structures in Easter Island are also to this day perfectly traceable, albeit, owing to their enormous antiquity, they are in a condition even more ruinous than the other two.

The next argument to which attention is directed to explain the

mystery of Easter Island and to strengthen the hypothesis of its affinity with Central and South America and Egypt is that drawn from tradition and legend lore. The present inhabitants of Easter Island, though mainly an altogether different race, yet through intermarriage may retain a slight strain of the blood of those who anciently peopled the island. They account, as I have previously remarked, by the vagaries of a later and gross mythology for the wonders they cannot sufficiently explain. Still I think I am justified, in instances where their tradition corresponds with that of America, and in some instances with that of Egypt, in esteeming those cases as genuine remains of the more ancient tradition and mythology. As the Maori of New Zealand retains in his religious records distinct references to the original home of his race, to wit, Hawaiki—our modern Hawaii—so the Easter islander affirms the same.

But over and above this, dating from an immensely anterior period, is the tradition of an older migration from a place they designate "Itlan." They assert that their forefathers were much lighter in complexion than now, but that, owing to the anger of the gods, much of their ancient home had been swept away by terrible floods and burned up by fire from heaven; while the survivors were so much scorched by the conflagration that ever afterwards they remained of a dusky hue. Bearing this in remembrance, let us see what we can elicit from America and Egypt.

The flood legends of America, according to Alfred Maury, approach very much nearer to the Bible narrative and to the traditions of the ancient Chaldæan religion than those of any other people of the Old World. Some writers would explain the difficulty by asserting that the traditions reached the American continent from Asia by way of the Kourile and Aleutian Islands. But in that case would not the flood legends then exhibit a nearer approach to those of China and India than to Chaldæa? But the facts are exactly the reverse. Is not Donnelly's hypothesis here preferable, that the legends of the Flood did not pass into America by way of the Aleutian Islands, or through the Buddhists of Asia, but were derived from an actual knowledge of the fate of Atlantis possessed by the people of America, and disseminated to the European colonies of Atlantis by the survivors of that terrible cataclysm?

From the symbolic and picture writings of the Toltecs, Aztecs, and Mixtecs, we learn that after the great flood which happened at Aztlan or Atlán, the Noah of the Mexican Deluge, who was named Coxcox, accompanied by his wife, Xochiquetzal, saved themselves on a raft made of cypress wood. Is not this the "Itlan" of Easter Island? From the Aztec *Codex Chimalpopoca*, the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg translates a flood legend, wherein the man and woman saved are called Nata and Nena, and where it is also stated that, after their release, they offered a great sacrifice to Titlacahuan or

God. Does this not resemble Genesis viii. 20? How came the likeness? They could not be the interpolations of Christian missionaries soon after the discovery of Mexico by Cortes, or Peru by Pizarro, 'because the narratives amidst essential similarities exhibit also radical diversities. But a singular identity *does* exist between the account given by Plato in the *Timæus* of the facts detailed to Solon by the priests of Sais regarding the destruction of Atlantis, and the Toltec, Aztec, and Miztec flood legends. Take, for example, the story of the Deluge as told in the *Popul Vuh*, or Sacred Book of the Toltecs. It runs as follows: "Then the waters were agitated, and by the will of the God of Heaven, and a great inundation fell upon all earthly creatures; because they had offended him by their sins. They were engulfed, and a resinous darkness descended from heaven . . . the face of the earth was obscured, and a heavy darkening rain commenced, rain by day and rain by night. There was heard a great noise above their heads as produced by fire. Then were men seen running and rushing about frantic, and filled with despair. They wished to climb upon their houses, but their houses tumbling down, fell to the ground; they wished to climb the trees, but the trees were uprooted; they tried to enter the caves, but these either closed themselves up before them, or covered them up when they were inside. Water, fire, smoke, thunder, and wind all united to bring about the great ruin to mankind in the great cataclysm of Aztlan."

One of the oldest natives to whom I spoke on the subject, with difficulty making my meaning understood through an interpreter, said, "Our fathers, many many 'seasons' ago, lived far nearer to the sun [viz., further East] than we do now. They lived in the great Itlan, or home of all people; but the great 'Tericacala' being angry with them, because they did not do what he had ordered them, sent a tempest of fiery rain and floods and a mighty wind, and the mountain-gods vomited up flame, and the sea-gods vomited up waters, by the great Tericacala's command, and Itlan and many of our forefathers were swallowed up in one day and were seen no more. But our father Nahata and his wife alone escaped, and after many wanderings came here and built his house here."

The two wonderful picture histories of the Aztecs, preserved, as Donnelly notes, in the Boturini collection by V. Gamelli Careri, gives a record of the migrations of their forefathers after the great cataclysm, and in both of these the original home of the race is designated Atlán, while the older race of the Toltecs, as Bancroft states, traced their generations back to the great emigration of their fathers from their former home at Aztlan, after the general cataclysm (*vide the Relaciones* of the native Mexican historian, Ixtlilxochitl). The Miztec traditions vary the story a little, and would seem to imply

that the migration from the original seat of Aztlan had occurred some time before the great cataclysm. Their records relate "that three sons of the king of the Quiches, upon their father's death, determined to go to the East, over the sea, even unto the place called Aztlan, whence their fathers had come." And Bancroft further relates that at Aztlan, notwithstanding the great offshoots and emigration of population which had occurred from time to time, apparently great state was maintained, and a suzerainty exercised over the American as well as the European colonies. For in his monumental work, *Native Races*, Bancroft records that "the youths went to the East to receive the royalty. Now this is the name of the Lord, of the Monarch of the people of the East, where they came, even Lord Nacxit. And when they had arrived before the Lord Nacxit, the name of the great Lord, the only Judge whose power was without limit, behold he granted them the sign of royalty and all that represents it, and the insignia of royalty, all the things in fact which they brought back on their return, and which they went to receive from the other side of the sea—viz., the art of painting from Tulan, a system of writing, they said, for the things recorded in their histories." That other tributary princes came to Aztlan "from the West over the sea" for a similar purpose, evidence exists in the old Aztec records which detail the splendour of the original empire. Do not these traditions bear out in a marked manner Plato's statements in the *Timæus*—those statements hitherto ranked as a piece of excellent "romancing" on the part of the great Greek philosopher; but now, since the unlocking of the Toltec and Aztec records, proved to contain a very large admixture of truth? Collateral proof of the correctness of Plato's narrative reaches us from India, which ethnological science has demonstrated to have been peopled from Egypt, or at least *through* Egypt, from an original source now lost in the mists of antiquity. Sanskrit scholars will remember that the Bhagavata-Purana and Brahmanism generally contains many legends pointing to the *West* as their original habitation, also to a country "in the West" of surpassing greatness and power, which exercised a lordship over the world, but was lost in a terrible deluge from which only Satyavata escaped.

Another argument in favour of the affinity of Easter Island, Central and South America, and Egypt is derived from theology and ethnology, in the identity of many of the religious ceremonies and customs, either presently or formerly practised in all three. As far as can be discovered now, the "older" worship in Easter Island, before it became corrupted and debased by the introduction of exclusively Polynesian elements, was pure and elevated. The earlier inhabitants, as their buildings indicate, were undoubtedly Sabæans, or sun-worshippers. The representations of the full-orbed luminary are frequently met with on the sculptured rocks, particularly near

Perouse Point and in the vicinity of the village of Maihu. Though cannibalism has prevailed here in historically recent times, that has only taken place, I have reason to believe, since the immigration from Hawaii set in, some two or three hundred years ago. The old worship, in existence before civilisation was completely overthrown by the savage Hawaiians, was directed towards One Supreme Being, whose visible symbol was the sun, and who had many subordinate divinities under him to execute the more mechanical offices of his rule throughout the realms of the natural world. The ancient sacrifices were confined to fruits, flowers, and green boughs. Does not this bear out the remarks of Plato in the *Timæus* with regard to the religious ceremonies of the people of Atlantis, who worshipped a single deity, typified by the sun, and whose sole sacrifices were those of the fruits of the earth and flowers. The majestic *colossi* to which the attention of visitors to Easter Island is always immediately directed, represent the great sun-god along with his subordinate deities, and in one of the great lava quarries of the island there is yet to be seen a huge symbolical statue of the Supreme Deity in an unfinished state, the work having been interrupted thousands of years ago by some great foreign invasion, which terminated adversely to the original inhabitants of the island. There it stands to this day, together with other statues also lacking the finishing touches, affording us a vivid glimpse into the social life of this mysterious and wonderful race.

To the religious customs of the ancient inhabitants of Central and South America all these symbols bear a striking and a close affinity. Differences there are, but such can scarcely be considered worth mentioning.

In Peru a single deity was also worshipped—the sun, as his most glorious representative, being the object of adoration also, to whom however, Quetzalcoatl, the founder of the Aztecs, forbade all sacrifices save of fruits and flowers. In Peru the great annual festival of the sun was termed Ra-mi. Compare with this the earliest religion of Egypt, before the revolution of the Hyksos kings, with whose advent Isis and Osiris became the presiding deities. Was not the worship of Ra, the sun, as pure and simple at Memphis and Heliopolis as afterwards that of Isis, Osiris, and Horus at Thebes and Abydos was magnificent and full of pomp? Does not the similarity in name between the Supreme Being (Ra) in Central and South America on the one hand, and in Egypt on the other, suggest a close affinity? The earliest sacrifices in Egypt also were only flowers and fruit. The Guanches of the Canary Islands, whom Donnelly upon no slight authority considers the purest remnant of the old population of Atlantis, likewise observed precisely the same religious observances, as directed to a deity bearing a name almost identical, to wit, *Rea*. They furthermore believed in the immortality of the

soul, as well as in the corporeal resurrection of the individual, and therefore preserved their dead as mummies. The Egyptians, the Toltecs, Aztecs, and the inhabitants of Easter Island all observed precisely the same method of embalming, as was recorded by Herodotus (Bk. ii. chaps. 86—90). The *Proverbs of Ptah-hotep*, the earliest religious book of the ancient Egyptians, reveal in a most impressive manner the sublime monotheism of the Egyptians in the earlier dynasties of Memphian supremacy. But they do not excel the pure simplicity traceable in the worship of the early Toltecs and Aztecs. Their dead they did not mourn for any length of time. If they had lived righteously, they would be rewarded by Ra, but punished if their actions had been sinful; while after death the soul at once passed to the enjoyment of a pure happiness, not savouring of sensual delights, as in the Mahomedan's Paradise, nor of indulgence in brutal pleasures as in the case of the Scandinavian Valhalla, but of social and intellectual enjoyment, wherein the soul rose to its highest possible development.

Again, the ancient inhabitants of Easter Island, the Egyptians, and the early races of Central and South America, believed in vicarious sacrifice as propitiation for sin; in the cat as a sacred animal; in augurs who practised divination by observing the flight of birds; in solemnly sprinkling the bodies of the dead with water. In the religious ceremonies of all three, the burning of incense constituted an important factor; in all, celibacy was practised as a virtue, while among the Toltecs and Aztecs, as among the Egyptians, and later among the Greeks and Romans, Vestal Virgins existed as a distinct religious order. The Brahmin of India, the priests of Memphis, as well as those among the Aztecs and Toltecs, should the holy light in their temples by chance be extinguished, churned their sacred fire out of a log, by causing a pointed stick to revolve in a circular groove with great rapidity. In ancient Egypt and America huge fires were lighted to stay pestilence, and traces of the same custom exist in Easter Island to this day. The sacred bulls of Apis among the Egyptians find a parallel in the sacred cows of Ra among the Toltecs, and the sculptured figures of the cow on the rocks in Easter Island undoubtedly point to a peculiar sanctity being attached to this animal. The Aztecs and the Egyptians both manufactured a fermented drink from grain, the one distilling it from maize, the other from barley; both pledged toasts, both had the institution of marriage, an essential portion of the rite consisting in the joining of hands, of which also distinct traces remain to this day in the customs of Easter Island, where the bride and bridegroom clasp hands before their relatives and friends in token of union. In Easter Island, divorce was and is only recognised under certain defined circumstances; among the Aztecs and Toltecs, conjugal separation was granted only for reasons closely approximating, and

special courts were appointed to arbitrate in such matters. A similar institution is traceable in the priestly council among the ancient Egyptians, to deliberate upon analogous cases. In Easter Island are still visible the remains of arches evidently commemorative of some triumphal celebration. The Egyptians, the Aztecs, and the Toltecs erected similar tributes to their heroes, those at Teotihuacan in Central America being especially magnificent. Circumcision was undoubtedly practised at Easter Island in ancient times, as extant carvings still demonstrate. That the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Hebrews rigidly observed this rite is beyond a doubt; quite as rigorously also, for hygienic reasons, was it enforced among the Toltecs, Aztecs and Peruvians.

Need more be said to prove the theory? A vast mass of material is still beside me unutilised, all tending to strengthen the hypothesis I have suggested, that the "Mystery of the Pacific" need be considered a mystery no longer, if we admit the key to lie in the ancient connection of this island with Central and South America in ages long gone by. That the affinity between Egypt and the ancient Toltecs and Aztecs, as emanating from a common source, was exceedingly close, may, I think, be at least considered possible. More than this to be admitted at the present state of investigation would be as unfair to expect as it would be unwise to admit. But this at least can, I think, be allowed, that the analogies traced between the remains at Easter Island with those of Egypt and of the buried cities of Central and South America are not the result of accident, but exhibit similarity in design and an identity in execution, which create a strong presupposition in favour of both types of architecture and sculpture emanating from a kindred order of genius, and, as a consequence, from a kindred people.

OLIPHANT SMEATON.

A RATIONAL VIEW OF THE SACRAMENTS AND RITES OF THE CHURCH.

THERE can be no doubt that Christian doctrines which were believed in their literal simplicity in former ages are incapable of being so accepted by well-instructed persons now. Such doctrines, for instance, as those of the Resurrection, Ascension, and Second Advent of Christ, are becoming more and more regarded as symbols of spiritual truth rather than as doctrines to be understood in their prosaic literalism. Doctrines, too, concerning the Sacraments and Rites of the Church, with which the present article deals, are interpreted now by rational believers very differently than for the most part they were by people in bygone times. The leaven of religious reform is in steady operation, and men are beginning, ever more and more, to perceive that the spiritual and moral import of doctrines, and not their literal significance, is what essentially constitutes their worth. Hence, possibly, at no very distant date, they will have become better prepared than they are as yet for such changes in the verbal exposition of antiquated formularies as will harmonise them with modern thought, and make their outward letter, which is dead and valueless of itself, an exacter index of their living spirit.

As an instance of the incompatibility of portions of the formularies of the Church of England with the assured conclusions of contemporary criticism, a collect in the Baptismal Service may be cited, in which the literal truth of the story of the Deluge of Noah is taken for granted. Hundreds of clergymen and laymen, whilst recognising the spiritual import of the narrative, and not denying that it is based on a substratum of fact, are unable to accept it as historically true. And yet, notwithstanding this, they do not scruple to use the collect in question. And, indeed, why should they? Surely, the *intention* of a prayer is the essential part of it. And, plainly, the intention of the collect referred to is to give expression to the humane and charitable wish of the godparents and others that the child brought to be baptized may grow up to be "steadfast in faith, joyful through hope, and rooted in charity," and "may so pass the waves of this troublesome world that finally he may come to the land of everlasting life." This, put in a somewhat poetical form of language, comprises the whole spirit of the prayer, whatever may be the literal meaning of the context.

No doubt, the compilers of the Baptismal Service, like their contemporaries in general, believed in the literal truth of the story of the Flood. Still, it is to be noticed that reference is made to Noah's Ark here, as well as to the passage of the Red Sea, with no special intention of declaring the stories about them to be true, but simply in order to illustrate—as might have been equally well done by other examples—the condition of spiritual security into which baptized persons were believed to have been brought. Noah's ark is produced merely as a pictorial illustration of their presumed safety in “the ark of Christ's Church,” just as it might have been brought forward as an illustration of a baron's safety in his castle, of a crew's safety in a well-built ship, or of a garrison's security in an impregnable fortress; or, indeed, as it might have been used for purposes of illustration in any way whatever—as a mere parable or fable might have been used—

“To point a moral and adorn a tale.”

The allusion, therefore, to the Ark and the Red Sea in the service for baptism is quite reasonably to be regarded as no otherwise than rhetorical. At the same time, being a stumblingblock to many and needful for none, it might, one may think, be judiciously dispensed with.

The service, moreover, when used, in accordance with the rubric, as a service coming in the middle of another service—namely, “immediately after the last Lesson at Morning Prayer, or else immediately after the last Lesson at Evening Prayer”—is tediously prolix and requires abbreviation. How much better, too, would it be, one may be permitted to think, if, instead of a string of queries addressed to an unconscious babe, a plain question such as this were put directly to the sponsors—“Will you carefully see to the Christian training of this child whom you have now brought to be baptized?” Of course, their answering in the place of a witless infant that can neither speak nor think is usually understood to imply that they pledge themselves so to do. This pledge, however, if it be a pledge, is certainly, as a rule, very lightly thought of. And as to the child's being bound by promises which it never made, and which others made for it without its knowledge or consent, many cannot see the sense of such a thing. Hence, the baptismal ceremony, as practised in the Church of England, is frequently regarded by objectors as a solemn farce. This is, perhaps, too hard a name for it. Still, that it sadly wants some alterations to be made in it admits of no reasonable doubt. It is, out of harmony with the times we are living in, tends, amongst the so-called working classes, to lessen the popularity of the Church, and thus diminishes materially her strength and influence.

As to the other sacrament—that of the Lord's Supper—Church-

men of sturdy intelligence can never approve of its being degraded into a counterfeit of the Mass. A pretentious priesthood they hold in contempt, and any approaches to what they deem idolatry they view with positive aversion. What, however, do they behold when they see in some of our churches priests and people prostrating themselves before, and seemingly adoring, such merely symbolic things as are the consecrated eucharistic elements? Do persons who comport themselves in this way believe in transubstantiation, or do they not? Probably, if members of the Church of England, they will say they do not. Yet they evidently hold, in relation to the Lord's Supper, just such notions, and adopt just such practices, as prevailed before the Reformation, and so afford a striking illustration of the lingering survival in our midst of a worthless mediæval superstition. They talk of the Body and Blood of Christ as being really and objectively present before them "under the form of bread and wine," and assert that when communicants eat and drink these visible elements they really and truly eat and drink, as objective and material things, the very Body and Blood of their Redeemer! They sing, in the 309th of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*,

" Word-made-Flesh true bread He maketh
By His Word His Flesh to be;
Wine His Blood; which whoso taketh
Must from carnal thoughts be free."

In what respect such a doctrine as this differs from transubstantiation it would be no easy matter to explain; for if, when communicants partake of bread and wine in the sacrament, they really and literally eat the flesh of Christ and drink His blood, it is evident that the bread and wine must, by some mysterious process, have undergone a substantial alteration. But of this, of course, there is not a tittle of perceptible proof. On the contrary, such evidence as our senses afford us tells all the other way. If miracles reported to have visibly occurred defy belief, how much more such an indiscernible marvel as this!

It may be philosophical to say that phenomena imply noumena; but it would be unphilosophical to say that phenomena *are* noumena. Still more unphilosophical would it be to say that certain particular phenomenal things are not the particular phenomenal things they are, but are different phenomenal things altogether. Now, of course, body and blood are phenomenal things, and bread and wine, or wafers and wine, are different phenomenal things. To say, then, that bread and wine, or wafers and wine, are not the phenomenal things they obviously are, but have been transmuted by an act of consecration into such completely different phenomenal things as are body and blood—without the very smallest evidence that they have been so transmuted at all, but, on the contrary, with the strongest

conceivable evidence that they have not—is not only unreasonable, but is no better than sheer and unmitigated nonsense.

As to the doctrine, then, of the so-called “real presence” of the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament, it must be understood spiritually to be understood reasonably. And by “spiritually” is here meant in an esoteric and symbolical, and not at all in a literal or material sense. Of course, there are no more such things in existence as spiritual body and blood than there are such things in existence as spiritual stones or spiritual drops of water. Body and blood, if things at all, are undoubtedly material things—real material things represented to us by their own particular phenomena. But since there are no phenomena of body and blood in the Sacrament—as there would necessarily be if the doctrine of transubstantiation or the real presence were true—but only phenomena of bread and wine, or wafers and wine, it follows, of course, that no body and blood are there. The bread and wine—whatever priests may say to the contrary—remain bread and wine to the last, and have been transmuted by consecration into nothing different at all.

Plainly, then, the expression “body and blood” in the Communion Service should be understood symbolically. To interpret literally the words in which Christ is recorded to have instituted the Sacrament is manifestly incorrect. When He was handing bread and wine to His disciples at the Last Supper it would be the wildest improbability to imagine that He intended to assert that He was actually handing them His own body and blood. The very supposition is, on the face of it, an absurdity. Quite at the commencement of His ministry, and therefore on an occasion completely unconnected with the institution of the Sacrament, He is reported in St. John’s Gospel to have said, “Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you.” Now, in reference to this particular utterance, He is represented emphatically to have declared, “The words I speak unto you they are spirit and they are life.” If, however, on this occasion, when He told his disciples that they should eat His body and drink His blood, He was speaking, as He asserted, spiritually, why should it be supposed that He was speaking otherwise when He used such words subsequently at the Last Supper? Clearly, He was simply employing an idiomatic and metaphorical form of speech, the object of which was to impress upon the disciples He was addressing that, in order to be His true and devoted followers, they should be imbued with His fervent spirit; that, as soldiers have in them, so to put it, the body and blood, the courageous soul, of a brave general whom they love, so should they have in them the zeal of their great Master. Something of this kind is what Jesus Christ must be conceived to have meant when He told His disciples to eat

His body and drink His blood, and instituted a Sacrament to be a continual reminder to them of His claims upon them.

In a spiritual sense, and in a spiritual sense only, are the body and blood of Christ "verily and indeed," as the Church Catechism expresses it, "taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." In a spiritual sense, and in a spiritual sense only, are their souls "strengthened and refreshed by the body and blood of Christ as their bodies are by the bread and wine." The mediæval notion of the real body and blood of Christ being food for a man's soul, as his ordinary meals are for his body, still lingers vaguely in some people's minds. Hence they speak of frequent Communion as being as necessary for their souls' sustenance as frequent meals are for that of their bodies. The analogy, if taken literally, is misleading, not only implying, as it does, that the body of a man and the soul of a man can be nourished separately and distinctly from one another, but that the soul of a man, conceived to be spiritual, can be nourished, as the body is, by what is material. "By what is material" is said advisedly, since "real" body and blood can only be thought of as material, and any such things as spiritual body and blood no one in his senses could imagine. Of course, however, it is not the real body and blood of Christ, but the spirit of Christ, the mind and disposition of Christ, and not anything material, which we are called upon to appropriate, and, as it were, to incorporate, in our very selves. "In proportion," says Dean Stanley in his *Christian Institutions*, "as the ordinance of the Eucharist enables us to do this, it is a true partaking of what the Gospels intended by the body of Christ; in proportion as it fails to do this, it is no partaking of anything."

High Church people are fond of quoting St. Paul's words in the passage about the Lord's Supper in the eleventh chapter of his First Epistle to the Corinthians, in which he speaks of certain communicants as "not discerning the Lord's body," as if the Apostle meant to say that the Lord's body should be discerned *in the elements*. He intended to teach nothing of the kind. He speaks of the Church—of Christian people themselves—as being the Lord's body (xii. 27), and intimates that the blameworthy disunion exhibited by the Corinthians sufficed to convince him that they did not discern or understand the oneness that should prevail amongst them as members of the Church, which he calls "the body of Christ." That St. Paul, and still less the Corinthians, could have supposed for a moment that the bread of the Communion was really Christ's body is absolutely incredible.

The practice of frequent Communion is often advocated by High Church clerics as in accordance with the example of the primitive believers, and some go so far as to say that as the primitive believers Communicated daily, so, if Church-people did as they ought, should

they Communicate daily now. A precisely similar argument might be used—and, indeed, has been occasionally used by fanatics—in favour of a community of goods. If, it has been urged, the primitive believers had “all things common,” so no Christians now should be permitted to possess any private property of their own. Such reasoning, surely, is not very strikingly convincing. The untenable assumption is made that whatever was done by the primitive believers, singularly unwise as most of them were, should be done by Churchmen now, as if the additional knowledge they possess, and the completely different circumstances in which they are placed, did nothing to falsify the inference. The primitive believers, under the mistaken impression that the world would come to an end in their own lifetime, thought, quite reasonably, that it mattered very little to them whether they possessed any private property or not. Hence, it is said of them in the Acts of the Apostles that they “had all things common, and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men as every man had need.” Surely, however, if the doctrine of the community of goods were carried out by merchants and shopkeepers and people generally now, as it is reported to have been by the primitive Christians at Jerusalem, it would be an effectual means of bringing them to speedy ruin. Indeed, the primitive Christians of Jerusalem were not long in discovering that, as regarded their worldly welfare, the plan they had adopted was a bad one. It brought them to destitution. Consequently St. Paul, a few years later, was under the necessity of pleading earnestly with his converts at Corinth and elsewhere to send them much-needed relief. In short, the community-of-goods system of the primitive believers proved an utter failure, and had to be abandoned as a mistake. Some think, as has been remarked, that, after the example of the primitive believers, daily Communion should be the custom of Church-people now. It should be remembered, however, that the daily Communion of the primitive believers was a very different kind of thing to the ordinance of the Communion as it exists amongst ourselves. It was a domestic ceremony and not a public one, and was conducted in private houses without the intervention of minister or priest. That a more public celebration of it was in vogue afterwards, in still early days, does not, of course, disprove this original fact. But in proportion as it became public, so its frequency decreased. Its frequency is made too much of by many of the bishops and clergy of the present day. They seem to imagine that modern Christians should be tied as much as possible to the practices of the primitive believers, and that their spiritual life as much depends on the frequency of their attendance at the Communion as their bodily sustenance on their daily meals. It is asserted that its daily celebration was prevalent at first. No doubt it was, if the Acts of the Apostles is to be relied on; but then, as has been

remarked, it was rather a domestic rite than a public ordinance, and more resembled a brief form of grace at meals than a lengthy religious ceremonial. When in subsequent times it developed into a service gone through in public, it was no longer, as a rule, administered daily. Indeed, Dean Stanley avers in his *Christian Institutions* that by the second century its daily administration had ceased, and its celebration became confined to Sundays and festivals.

That this sacred ordinance should be religiously venerated and preserved is not here disputed. How often, however, it should be administered is a matter for judicious consideration. Some think—and perhaps wisely—that a very frequent celebration of it is undesirable, as being calculated to make it a mere formal and everyday affair, and so to lessen its dignity correspondingly. Moreover, so tediously prolonged is the Service of the Communion in the Church of England, when more communicants than usual present themselves, that it often cannot be got through within any moderate duration of time, and consequently becomes intolerably wearisome. This, probably, is one reason, amongst others, why so many hold aloof from it. If all superstitious and false notions about it were eradicated from people's minds; if the service for it were used as a distinct service, and not, as it generally is, as an appendage to a service previously performed; and if, furthermore, it were carried out in some reformed mode better adapted to the times, it would probably, one may venture to surmise, be appreciated by many who, as things are now, never think of being communicants at all. "In the primitive Church," says Riddle in his *Christian Antiquities*, "it was the universal custom to administer the Lord's Supper on Thursday before Easter week, as being the day of its institution. A party in the Church urged the propriety of celebrating the Sacrament on that day alone in the course of the year, with a view, probably, to preserve respect for the ordinance and to indicate its superior sanctity." He goes on to tell us that "the sense of the majority of the Church was against this practice." It does not, however, follow that the sense of the majority was right, or that a change which might have been inexpedient then would not in these days be attended with advantage. At any rate, whether frequency of Communion may not be greatly and superstitiously overdone is a question well deserving of reflection.

Towards the end of the Communion Service there occurs a prayer or collect which describes the bread and wine as "holy mysteries," meaning, some fondly suppose, that they have in them, by virtue of consecration, certain mysterious properties which they had not before. However, in proof of this hypothesis they can produce no valid evidence. A mysterious *meaning* after consecration—in the sense in which the epithet "mysterious" was anciently employed—

no doubt the simple sacramental elements may have, but *mysterious* or supernatural properties they have none. Whatever the word "mystery" may now be taken to imply, owing to the change which time makes in the signification of words, it formerly meant nothing more than a sacred sign or symbol. Hence, when the collect referred to asserts that the bread and wine are "holy mysteries," it should reasonably be understood as asserting no more than that they are significant emblems to which a sacred import is attached. In like manner, in the Service for Holy Matrimony and in the Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians, marriage is called a "mystery," not as suggesting that there is anything mysterious about it in the more modern sense of the word, but simply as indicating that the union of man and wife, if they lovingly conduct themselves, may be viewed as an appropriate emblem or type of the union of Christ with the Church. Similarly, when bread and wine are spoken of in the Communion Service as "holy mysteries," all that is meant is that they are sacred signs, not that they are mysterious in any other sense.

The Holy Communion was at first, as has been already intimated, about as simple a religious ordinance as could well be conceived—mysterious, indeed, in the sense of having a sacred significance, but not mysterious as implying that it exercised on the souls of communicants any magical or supersensible efficacy. In process of time, however, as Christianity, in the course of the second century and afterwards, came more and more into contact with the religious mysteries of the Greeks, its ecclesiastical ceremonies and forms were more and more assimilated to those which converted Greeks had introduced into it from their mysteries. That heathen philosophy and heathen practices materially affected the doctrine and ritual of the Church is, as scholars well know, an undoubted fact, and the effect of it is manifest in the ritual for the celebration of the Holy Communion even at the present day; as, for example, in the cabalistic directions to the officiating priest as to how he should manipulate the elements in the act of consecration, and with what precise words he should deliver them into the hands of the kneeling devotees. The practices referred to are certainly reverential, and so far deserve to be esteemed; but whether they should be permanently retained as we have them now may be doubtful. They are, perhaps, a little too minute; since there are still, apparently, some silly people amongst us who regard them, in the hands of a priest, as an accurate and approved sacerdotal method of transmuting bread and wine, during the Service of the Communion, into different things altogether, for which not a grain of evidence can be produced. Clever conjurers, surely, one may imagine Anglo-Catholic ministers to be, not only to be credited with the performance of such invisible

wonders, but also to be able to maintain in the minds of their admirers a belief in so transparent a delusion.

To resort to the Communion as a sort of charm, as some really seem to do, is of course exceedingly superstitious; and equally superstitious, too, on the other hand, is it to shun it as others do, lest by eating and drinking unworthily they should incur the penalty of damnation! Its simple elements of bread and wine are surely neither bane nor talisman. The words used when they are distributed individually to the communicants are no words of mystic signification. They neither save the soul nor imperil it. The sacrament is profaned by those who attend it as a form to be gone through periodically, and is duly honoured only by those who endeavour to display in their lives the spirit of their Master.

And as with the Lord's Supper, so with baptism: it is an ordinance of purely symbolic import. Bread and wine, the outward signs of the former sacrament, are still superstitiously imagined by Roman Catholic believers to be transmuted by priestly consecration into things completely different; but as regards water, the outward sign of the other sacrament, though in the Church of the third and fourth centuries it was believed by many to be converted by priestly consecration into the blood of Christ, is no longer regarded by any as changed in substance by consecration in the smallest degree. From first to last it is assumed, on the testimony of the senses, to be water, and water only.

How, then, does consecrated or sanctified water differ from ordinary water? Why, of course, it differs from it in nothing at all but in the use it is put to. It no more differs from other water than the water we wash our hands in differs from the water we drink, and if by the verdict of everybody its consecration makes no change in its substance, it makes no change in it at all.

And yet, notwithstanding this, the consecrated or sanctified water of baptism, differing in no respect from the water which falls from the clouds and flows in our rivers, is supposed to operate with such an amazing effect upon the soul—that is to say, to express the same thing psychologically, on the human being from a spiritual point of view—as to cleanse it from sin! Common ordinary water—for that, indeed, is all it is—can wash away blemishes from a man's body, but that it can erase defilements from his soul baffles all rational belief. Nevertheless, such was anciently the prevalent and orthodox opinion. As Prebendary Griffith pointed out in his *Gospel of the Divine Life*, such men as Justin Martyr and Tertullian entertained this notion, which obtained more general credence in later days—the former regarding the administration of baptism in the name of the Trinity “as conferring upon the water itself a somewhat magical efficacy,” and the latter beholding in the consecrated water “the thaumaturgic instrument of the new birth.”

Dean Stanley remarks in his *Christian Institutions*: "There was a belief in early ages that baptism was like a magical charm, which acted on the persons who received it without any consent or intention, either of administrator or recipient, as in the case of children or actors performing the rite with no serious intention. There was also the belief that it wiped away all sins, however long they had been accumulating, and however late it had been administered. This is illustrated by the striking instance of the postponement of the baptism of the first Christian emperor, Constantine, who had presided at the Council of Nicæa, preached in churches, directed the whole religion of the Empire, and yet was all the while unbaptized till the moment of his death, when, in the last hours of his mortal illness, the ceremony was performed by Eusebius of Nicomedia."

A survival of the old belief in the efficacy of the baptismal water to wash away sin is, as Prebendary Griffith observes, apparently to be found in certain passages in the Prayer Book. In the service for adult baptism, for instance, "the element of water" is spoken of as having been "sanctified to the mystical washing away of sin." And elsewhere in that service, and in the service for the public Baptism of Infants, the supplication occurs, "Sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin." If, however, according to the Catechism, water is no more than "the outward and visible sign or form in baptism," then these passages, though they might be altered with advantage, cannot possibly be intended by the Church to be understood in a strictly literal sense. They cannot possibly imply that a few drops of water, poured or sprinkled on the body of an infant by an officiating priest uttering certain words can, as if by the incantation of a wizard, render its spirit immaculate; they cannot possibly imply that there is really any such a peculiar virtue in the baptismal water that the soul of a man whose whole previous life had been spent in godlessness and depravity, could be made by it in a moment pure as a summer's sunbeam! Such, however, seems to have been the persuasion of a man so wise in his generation as the Emperor Constantine. Acting, as he no doubt did, under the directions, not quite disinterested, of a clique of episcopal parasites, who were ever ready to give him such counsels as he liked, he deliberately deferred his baptism till he was capable of no longer sinning! On his deathbed he testified his confidence in the doctrine here controverted—a doctrine which to a man such as he had been must surely have been very consoling—that the consecrated water of baptism could cleanse the soul from all its past defilements and render it immaculate from sin! However, a more irrational, not to say a more demoralising doctrine can scarcely be conceived. It is evident, therefore, that any passages in the Anglican formularies which seem to countenance it must be understood in a non-literal sense.

Of course, by no possibility can water wash out stains from the soul. As with bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, so with water in baptism, it is, and can be, no more than a sign or symbol. What is it a sign or symbol of? Well, one property of water is undoubtedly that of cleansing. Thus water, as used in baptism, is a sign of cleansing—a sign to remind people of the spiritual cleanliness they need, of the moral purity they should possess, in order to be worthy members of the Christian body into which baptism is the recognised mode of their introduction. It is said to produce in infants, and also in adult persons who faithfully submit to it, regeneration—that is to say, a new birth. But, surely, on the face of it, such language is metaphorical. Christ, according to the writer of the Fourth Gospel, told Nicodemus that he must be “born anew.” Nicodemus, with a strange lack of acumen, took his words literally, and being, it may be surmised, somewhat advanced in years, put to him the question, “How can a man be born when he is old?” Of course Christ never meant to imply that he really could. As was very frequently His custom, He was speaking figuratively. And, similarly, when regeneration or new birth is referred to in the Church formularies it is obvious that it is only in a figurative or metaphorical sense that it can be true of any one. To take the expression literally is absurd.

As to the ordinance of Confirmation—which holds a position intermediate between Baptism and the Eucharist—it was not anciently performed by bishops exclusively, but much more usually by priests. It was considered to supplement baptism, and, when infant baptism became customary, was administered even to infants of a few days old. From a supplementary rite to baptism it became changed, as time went on, into a passport to Communion, and whereas formerly it was administered to infants, it is never now, throughout the whole of Western Christendom, administered to infants at all. In short, Confirmation, as we now have it, is a completely different kind of ordinance from what it originally was. There is, however, much to be said in favour, if not of retaining it exactly as it now is, at any rate of not discarding it altogether, as has been done by other Protestant Communities. Some ask, what is the good of it? An answer may be found in words uttered by Bishop Butler in his charge to the clergy of Durham. “The usual age,” he writes, “for Confirmation is that time of life from which youth must become more and more their own masters, when they are often leaving their father's house, going out into the wide world and all its numerous temptations, against which they particularly want to be fortified by having strong and lively impressions of religion made upon their minds.”

So, according to Butler, the good of Confirmation consists of the religious impressions which are made upon the minds of the candi-

dates. And in this, surely, he is right. Credulous old dames, who lived in days less enlightened than the present, used to fancy, so story-tellers say, that they found in Confirmation a cure for the rheumatism! They appear to have imagined that a certain mysterious therapeutic fluid dripped down into their shaky frames through the tips of episcopal fingers, and hence are said to have presented themselves frequently at Confirmations in the hope of getting quit of their troublesome complaint. Those who fancy that grace is conveyed into their souls at Confirmation through the Bishop's touch are equally victims of delusion. The benefits derivable from Confirmation proceed far more truly from a bishop's mouth than from his fingers, far more from his mode of addressing the candidates than from any virtue in the ceremony itself. It was so confessedly with Lord Hatherley, who was confirmed as a schoolboy at Winchester, and it has been so undoubtedly with innumerable others. "Confirmation," wrote the late John Addington Symonds, "ought, if it means anything, to exercise a decisive influence over the religious life of the individual—to make a new epoch in his spiritual progress. To some extent it did so with me."

The ceremony of "Laying on of Hands," whether at Confirmation, Ordination, or any other time, is in itself a mere form—a very appropriate form no doubt, but a mere form nevertheless. There is nothing marvellous or magical about it. What people are just before their Confirmation, that they are immediately after; and what candidates for ordination are just before their ordination, that they are subsequently. If, after taking part in the ceremonies in question, they are, in any intelligible sense, spiritually more holy than they were before, it is not owing to any graces they have derived from sacerdotal benediction, but is dependent solely on the fact that their minds have been worked upon to realise their duties, and to determine seriously to fulfil them.

To suppose that confirmed or ordained persons have received any special gifts of which they are none of them able to produce the slightest evidence is unreasonable. It is quite true that in the Second Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy—the Apostolic authorship of which is denied by competent critics—the following passage occurs: "Stir up the gift of God which is in thee through the laying on of my hands." However, interpreted with psychological correctness, though not exactly, it may be, as the sacred writer meant, the passage referred to can be understood to signify nothing otherwise than this: "Stir up the good impressions which were made upon your minds—the pious resolutions that you formed—at the time when by the ceremony of laying on of hands you were set apart for the work of the ministry." No doubt, both persons confirmed and persons ordained are frequently spoken of as having received, through the laying on of hands, "the gift of the Holy Ghost." In the

Confirmation Service the officiating bishop prays for the confirmation, candidates, that they may be "strengthened with the Holy Ghost," and in the Ordination Service for priests, when he lays his hands on the heads of the candidates for the priesthood, he ordains each of them with the solemn words, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God." But what, after all, is the gift of the Holy Ghost? If it be not simply the spirit of holiness and zeal, it is not very easy to comprehend precisely what the words mean. All specially pious persons, in the times of the Gospel-writers, were supposed to have had such a gift—not only persons who had been baptized, confirmed, or ordained, but all specially pious persons whatever. Men and women who were bad or mad were regarded as possessed by devils, and those, on the other hand, who were wise and good were said to have within them the Spirit of God. Zacharias and Elizabeth, because they were pre-eminently pious, were declared to have been "filled with the Holy Ghost." Jesus, likewise, was pronounced to have been "full of the Holy Ghost." And so, similarly, before their ordination, were the seven deacons—the expression "full of the Holy Ghost" simply indicating that they were distinguished for their piety, not that they were different in other respects from the generality of men. Thus, the passage in the Ordination Service, referred to above, should serve to remind clergymen that, as having been set apart by ordination for religious functions, they should be men of piety, but should not puff them up with the ridiculous and flattering delusion that they have had a gift conferred upon them by the imposition of hands which makes them more sacred mortals than other men.

As to the power of forgiving sins which is supposed to be bestowed at their ordination on candidates for the priesthood, it must be denied as fanciful altogether. The bishop, it is true, utters over them the words, "Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained." But then, what do these words mean? Surely no human being can absolve another from his sins as offences against God. It is to be maintained, however, that the Church of England never imagines that he can. In the prayer, for instance, which comes immediately after the form of absolution which occurs in the service for the visitation of the sick—and which might be modified with advantage, as it is so worded that hundreds of conscientious clergymen dare not use it—the sick person visited is not at all represented as having obtained pardon from God through the interposition of the priest, but, on the contrary, as still "most earnestly desiring it," and as, therefore, not having received it. The comfort, consequently, of this form of absolution to a sick man, when used in connection with the prayer that follows it, is not very obvious. Of course, one man can forgive another for offences against himself, and—as when Church discipline

was in vogue, and excommunications were read after the Nicene Creed—an accredited minister could so far forgive a fellow-man for some offence against the Church as to restore him again to her communion; but more than this he could not do. The Ordination Service is marred by the misunderstood words which it puts into the mouth of the bishop, "Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained," seeming, as they do, to confer on a fallible man such a power of forgiving sins as no mortal being can possess. "It is certain," says Dean Stanley, "that, for the first twelve centuries, they"—the words in question—"were never used for the ordination of any Christian minister. It is certain that in the whole Eastern Church they are never used at all for this purpose. It was not till the thirteenth century—the age when the materialistic theories of the sacraments and the extravagant pretensions of pontifical and sacerdotal power were at their height—that they were introduced into the ordinals of the Latin Church. . . . They have become a mere stumblingblock and stone of offence, partly as unintelligible, partly as giving rise to the most mischievous conclusions. Their retention is confessedly not in conformity, but in direct antagonism, with ancient and Catholic usages."

That the formularies of the Church need considerable reform no unprejudiced person will deny, and, when popular opinion is prepared for it, no doubt they will have it. Still, ecclesiastical reformations, like secular reforms of all sorts, are usually slow in their progress, and are never final. They come on, one after another, when the times are ripe for them. As the thoughts of men change with advancing centuries, so, like waves on the seashore, does reformation follow reformation. Another reformation, which is even now to be descried gradually approaching, will bring with it, let us hope, peace and goodwill amongst men, and not warfare, hatred, and confusion, as did *the* Reformation, which created such hubbub in the past.

JAMES COPNER.

DEMOCRACY AT HOME.

WITH, on the one hand, vast wealth and its accumulation in the coffers of the few, and on the other the rapid awakening of the many to a bewildering knowledge of universal rights and privileges, the elements of dissension are not far to seek. The great army of the workers imbued with an extravagant idea of those rights and privileges, and further misled by the adroit perversions of the demagogue and place-seeker, grow envious and discontented. To their eyes the disparity in wealth is too great to be equitable. The too great overplus becomes a crime and the capitalist a transgressor.

The workers, doubtless, have their grievances which cry aloud for redress; but their demands seem less often appeals for justice than the covetous clamourings of envy. The explanation, it is to be feared, is that King Demos has come to his own but ill prepared to govern it; passing through no gradual transitions and with no awakening crash of constitutions from, if not oppression, at least suppression, to power, he has come too early to his birthright, and government in his hands threatens to become a tyranny of self-willed caprice. His is the age of the new. All things time-proven are time-worn. Mutual trust and forbearance, manly faith and truth, time has tried, but he will not. He shapes the world anew, not with the help of experience, but out of vain dreams and petty jealousies; and flourishes over all the old motto with a new meaning—"The working-man upholds all."

Democracy, so long existent as mere vague "murmurings with-out," now jostles the old heroic outworn puppets from the stage, and with rebellious indifference to all the unities, mouths and blusters in its new-found rôle with no little self-glorification. The working-man likes his fare rough and strong, with a "tang" in it. He has not found incompatible the commingling of a roseate if somewhat lachrymose sentiment with a callous disregard and violation of his common duty; and, now he usurps the scene, with a most engaging *naïveté* he tenders the same peculiar fare. The shame and pity of it! Yet he finds supporters amany to applaud and hearten him, for what dog—with a vote—so lame he will not find a generous soul to help him over a stile.

That every man is born free and equal is a great doctrine; but

it does not by any means follow that every man is equal, nor can we admit that the child is entitled to the powers and immunities of the adult; and the working-man in many respects is still a child. His passions are crude and unrestrained, material and brooking no delay in their satisfaction; his observation is astute and fresh, but his reasoning is simple and, it must be admitted, on occasion puzzling. His imagination is vivid, and his desires are the desires of the fairy tale. His demands are for benefits in the concrete, more money, more time to enjoy the spending of it, more power for the getting of those benefits. The cry for free libraries, museums, and the like is only raised by the paid or unpaid preachers of his gospel. He is indifferent to science and the arts, and looks upon them as gulfs where disappears much of the wealth which should be his. His comprehension is actual and present, and cannot extend to the complications of social entanglements. He cannot get beyond the simple formula, "I do the work, yet you make thousands to my tens. Why should not this be set right by some simple process of division?" It is by reason of this simplicity of mind that he clings so tenaciously to any single fixed idea. He cannot entertain at one time two views of a question. Be he Socialist or Conservative, Sectarian or Atheist, he has mastered every argument from his own point of view, and armoured in them is impervious to the keenest thrusts of reason from the dissenting side. The personal bias and onesidedness may be ascribed in great measure to an imagination which is childlike in its vivid presentment of every vague desire and inchoate idea as a personal and real fact. So, the individual, becoming, in multitude, sour and envious levellers and detractors; or at times, by some unaccountable mingling or association, maudlin patriotic, absurdly dazzled by show and glitter, and vainly proud of their country and its institutions. Truly a child and wayward.

The theories of Demos may have a most benevolent object, but his way of realising them is somewhat that of the charlatan, and his arguments to support them have more physical than logical force. The earthly paradise is a beautiful dream, but even its most ardent seeker may be excused if he hesitates to find it in the new social order which has been projected as one vast trades-union wherein government will have sunk to the similitude of an anxious maiden aunt who will cocker and dandle us, and in some wonderful way and regardless of expense provide us with all we may require or desire, and yet bind us from every liberty with an iron mesh of statutory limitations.

The primary work in making a man is his education, and so Demos demands free schools. It is most engaging this gospel of free knowledge; but still some may fail to see why they should pay for the schooling of other people's children when it is proclaimed heinous to contribute to the support of other people's religion.

Putting theology aside, an education in morals, which, indeed, is one of the tenets of the new gospel, is as vital as the acquirement of knowledge. It may be doubted, however, whether this demand is really of the working-man, for in practice he displays no great sympathy with it. In the first place, he most firmly believes that what is cheap is nasty, and the result is that what is lightly had is lightly esteemed. So far as possible under the rule of the compulsory officer, children are more often kept from school than when they carried with them the few weekly coppers. In the second place, it says no great deal for the working-man's love of knowledge that the compulsory officer should be a necessity. It might even be asked whether all this fuss about education is not largely humbug. The system of faddists is to cram children of all classes indiscriminately with spoonfuls of encyclopædic learning; and it is quite pertinent to inquire whether the working-man's or shopkeeper's child, who could add two and two together without the aid of his fingers, and write an ordinary letter without indulging in the vagaries of an impressionist style still further darkened by the mysterious hieroglyphics to which it is committed, would not be better equipped for the battle of life though totally ignorant of the elements of physiology and pure mathematics. Snippets of learning are not knowledge, still less education. They are of no value, and most often but produce a mental confusion which is never entirely conquered. The ability to read, which is generally the total result among the masses of their ill-directed schooling, is usually more provocative of evil than of good. It serves to indulge a taste for the ultra-real, which ranges from the penny dreadful to that curious production the extreme Radical weekly with its coarse invective and general "showing up" of the classes, and its foetid agglomeration of the crimes and horrors of the week. There is yet a lower level in the illustrated libels on humanity which circulate so largely among our future rulers. The working-man certainly likes his fare strong; but he feeds his imagination at the expense of his reason. There are doubtless many individuals who, after stubborn fight with more than common difficulties, have acquired an intimate, if somewhat inelastic and literal knowledge of abstruse subjects—usually applied science—who can quote Huxley and Spencer, or read the New Testament in the original. With rare exceptions, however, these men are far sundered from their fellow-workers, and too deeply absorbed in their pursuits to be among the clamant. The miners, who are perhaps the best organised, and therefore the most formidable division of the army of eruption, are the most contemptuous of book-learning. Reading-rooms are shunned if not provided with other more material recreations, and the younger men are only too apt to jeer at those among them who have any inclination to delve for knowledge. The day's work done, they see no reason to do otherwise than lounge and smoke,

bet and drink, and talk of their "rights." There is no compensating pride in their work. They scamp and neglect it; it is a task of necessity to be got through, and there is an end of it. The result of all this is another great example of "oppression" by the classes, the working-man always remains in the ruck of his own trade. It is the son of the merchant or professional man who is not afraid to use his brains as well as black his face and hands who beats Demos on his own ground and rises to command in the army of labour. This may be an infringement of those eternal rights; but, on the other hand, there stands level with it a neglect of duty. It may be well to concede to objectors the great and famous who have forced themselves above the crowd, but they have done so in disregard of the atonising doctrine of rights and by manful looking to their duties which has too often earned for them the contumely of their fellows and the title of deserters. Demos may boast of his heroes, but he is little prone to follow their example.

A childish liking to be noticed, though hating patronage, and sulking if he is neglected, is a curious characteristic of the working-man. If he does not get on it is because of the injustice of those above him; and if one of his companions is made gaffer it is because he has curried favour with his employer. The employer may be popular; but, as a rule, his representatives who have risen from the ranks are the very reverse, and candidly, apart from the case where it is the reward of more than a mere rule-of-thumb intelligence, the foreman is justly hated. He is a workman spoiled, for Demos is a bad master, and none louder than himself to proclaim it where he is immediately affected. This childish vanity finds vent in many peculiar ways. It gives rise to much rivalry and jealousy among themselves and to much aping of the classes they affect to despise. Tom, Dick, and Harry may be the best of friends in the workshop, but they are recklessly improvident in the attempt to outvie each other in the glory of their personal belongings. The working-man is taken with glitter, and when earning money denies himself in nothing to satisfy this taste. His house is a medley of incongruous rubbish, and his own adornment is a mixture of the pretentious and the tawdry. Every gaudy article that takes his fancy is his, though the inevitable end be the pawnshop. He is a parvenu in his love of display, but with a reversion of method to obtain his indulgence therein. A pitiful feature of this aping of what he professes to abhor is the idea that he is elevating his children by giving them over to the drudgery of an office or the chicanery of a warehouse. It is a misapprehension of his real position in society and a tacit confession of want of faith in his own self-glorification. A man is not necessarily higher in the social scale because his hands are clean, and he would be the greatest benefactor of the working classes who could convince them of this and endue them with the knowledge

that a pride in conscientious work, conjoined to a sound education with special reference to it, will carry their children farther and higher than the futile respectability of shop or office.

The working-man is not religious ; and his morals, if theoretically impeccable, are in practice easy and peculiar. He is not irreligious from conviction, for when he takes thought to himself on the subject he becomes fanatically a sectarian. He is simply indifferent. The placid platitudes of the pulpit have no attraction for him, and he sees in the clergyman only a man who is making a good thing out of an easy job. The answer may be that he loses little when disregarding a confused theology merely existent by habit and association ; yet if that little is a certain moral sentiment which, however vague, is more than an absolute want of it, he loses much, for it is out of the question to expect him to seek a rule of life in any of the more or less satisfying formulæ of thinkers and dreamers. Among themselves—and let us be proud that it is so—danger or trouble still finds at call a ready and open-handed sympathy and the old heroic spirit of comradeship. The history of our mines and workshops is a long record of great deeds greatly done.

The scepticism of ignorance, mean jealousies, and a latent brutality which is roused in the successful bully, are the main obstacles to the working-man's progress. He cannot see that by clearing them from his path his advance would, if slower, be more permanent and of more benefit to those who follow. His bane is the selfish seeking after present benefits and an accompanying improvidence. His trades-unions threaten to become merely organised terrorism, and the privileges obtained through them are more than counter-balanced by a wanton interference with individual liberty and the destruction of all trust between employer and employed. It is by his ardent and ill-regulated desires that the working-man is dangerous ; and this, glimpsed at by many of the bolder and more alert spirits among themselves and seen more plainly by self-seekers among the classes, has brought about the new Radicalism. The dream may be the dream of Demos, but the interpretation is by the voice of the demagogue. Be the leaders true or false, believers in the doctrines they preach or but emulous to be raised on the wings of adulation to the elevation of councillor or mayor or that highest niche in the Temple of Respectability—a seat in Parliament—they have obtained a wonderful hold over the wills of their followers. It shows the susceptibility of Demos to adroit flattery that while he so strongly condemns and mistrusts the man sufficiently awake to his own interests to become in however small a way capitalist or employer, he displays no envy of his well-paid duper, but exalts him as the articulate embodiment of himself. The cataclysmic orator with his wild ravings of the crime of capitalism and the nobility of labour is

regarded by the whole raw levies as the audible manifestation of their will, and strong in this belief they are swayed to whatso is his pleasure with most disastrous results to themselves. This blind faith in the gospel of rant is only too woefully apparent in paralysed industries and ruined trade, the result of aimless and criminal strikes. Trades-union money in enormous sums is most blindly mismanaged. Compulsion is that payment be made to the society, but what light pretext is wanted to fall back upon the accumulated funds. Salaries and expenses to the officials bulk largely in the accounts, while the rank and file live for weeks and months on a miserable pittance, burning the wretched remains of their furniture for fire, and their wives and children kept alive by the charity of the classes they imagine they are fighting for the benefit of humanity. The noisy drone may revel in comfort, but the worker must content himself with the hope of an extra penny or the redress of some slight or imaginary grievance which will never counterbalance what he has lost or may lose as the result of his folly. The momentary increase, less than nominal after wasted funds and cruel hardships, is too often but the prelude to a restricted scope for enterprise, the loss of capital, the withdrawal of commissions, and terrible and often irretrievable disaster which reaps in wide-sweeping strokes its crop of criminals and paupers.

The lapse from a prosperous wage-earning condition to the fitful gleanings of odd jobs brings a general enviousness, and kindling hatred against the well-to-do. The cry is that trade is kept away by the capitalists, and it is insidiously put that they should be compelled to provide work, to create a prosperity which was the slow growth of circumstance, and which evil counsel had caused to be wantonly destroyed. Forced by the grip of necessity, the cry comes for free schools, free this, free that, release from all individual obligations, the land for the people and a tax on the land, the destruction of liberties of slow growth, and the general founding down of society to chaos, that chaos itself may create in a moment the new heaven and earth which humanity has not yet found after its long upheavals and bitter teachings, its trying of this road and that, the lingering agonies of sickness and the bloody throes of amputation. It is not to be conceived that not having reached the ideal after long experiment, we have attained knowledge to destroy, that with a breath we may invigorate the dead wreck to the wished-for stainless and immortal beauty of uniformity.

Great and appalling poverty does exist, but it does not exist because of great wealth. It is the result of blindness to social laws, which are disregarded too much by preachers of the new evangel. What is wanted is a more rational conduct of life. It is for the workers themselves to bring about the revolution. It is right and

just to combine, but it is not right and just that the combination should crush the nonconforming unit. It is but a change from the tyranny of capitalism to the still more deadly tyranny of envy. It is all very well to say a man must not earn less than a certain sum; it would be better to say he should not earn less, but there is no necessity to drive him from society if he would rather earn little than nothing.

It has been said that mere mercenary advantage but poorly fills the place of principle; but this is precisely what the new Radicalism denies. Mercenary advantage solely is its aim; but at what price. Labour is to be reorganised and ruled into divisions and sub-divisions, to be provided with work constant and unvarying, and to be paid a minimum wage, and all absolutely unaffected by the manifold complications of mechanical invention, competition, and the fluctuation of population. Capital is to be decapitalised; genius and ability to be ranked equal with idleness and incompetence; the individual is to have complete enjoyment of himself, yet his slightest action controlled by the decree of the multitude. Were man a little nearer the angel or more of a machine the dream might be realisable; but it is scarcely to be expected that a mere change in the social system, however great and beneficial, will make him otherwise than he is—a strange compound of every vice and virtue. Man will be genius or blockhead, miser or spendthrift, and find the gratification of his desires despite all the laws he may formulate to mould himself to uniformity.

Granting the beneficence of the proposals and the sincerity of their exponents, what are the ideas of the multitude? Who that has gone among the working classes but has found those grandiose ideals degenerated to the completest anarchism. They look to them for the attainment of their individual wishes, and never the remotest thought of any competent exchange. We shall have; but we shall not give.

It is right that labour should be assisted, poverty relieved, age tended, the ignorant taught, the oppressed unburdened, and the slave set free; but it is a holy evangel to set the example of honour, self-reliance, and individual pride, for it is these three which have brought the world so far upon its way and created all in it most worthy of admiration, and it is by them that we hope a way will be found from the present wilderness of sophistry.

It would be amusing were it not pitiful, this spectacle of society like a vast congregation of quacks each crying his nostrum in the market-place as a remedy for his own ill, this propaganda of licence in the name of liberty, and preaching that abandonment to self-created bondage is freedom. It would be appalling did we not know that out of the ferment of evil may come good, for humanity

does not select the individual for experiment, but works upon the mass, and though the mass suffers, ultimately it will benefit. Freedom progresses by no circuitous by-paths, by no steep and broken sheep-trails, where her followers must stumble breathless and doubtful, but drives a broad and level road which remains for each succeeding generation to advance a little further towards the conquest of ignorance, bigotry, and wrong.

J. WILLIAM BRESLIN.

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF TRIAL BY JURY IN ENGLAND.

IN the following pages it is proposed to investigate the origin and growth of "Trial by Jury" in England. It is a subject which ought certainly to be of interest not only to the lawyer but to every Englishman who values the institutions of his country. The national origin of trial by jury, its historical development, and the moral ideas on which it is founded, have all been discussed by a variety of writers with the acute penetration of philosophical research. The foundation of the institution of trial by jury was not laid in any act of the Legislature, but it arose silently and gradually out of the usages of a state of society which has for ever passed away. It used to be the generally received opinion at one time that the founder of this institution was Alfred the Great; but this idea has been dispelled of recent years by an enlightened spirit of historical criticism which has been applied to the subject.

Various and conflicting have been the opinions expressed by writers as to the origin of this institution, some writers even considering it a hopeless task to attempt to inquire into its origin. Thus Bourguignon says: *Son origine se perd dans la nuit des temps.* Blackstone, one of our great legal authorities, speaks of it as "a trial that hath been used time out of mind in this nation, and seems to have been coeval with the first civil government thereof," and he adds, "that certain it is that juries were in use amongst the earliest Saxon colonies." Du Cange and Hickes were of opinion that it was introduced by the Normans, who themselves borrowed the idea from the Goths. Meyer, in his work on *The Origin and Progress of the Judicial Institutions of Europe*, looks upon the jury as partly a modification of the Grand Assize established by Henry II., and partly an imitation of the feudal courts erected in Palestine by the Crusaders; and he fixes upon the reign of Henry III. as the era of its introduction into England. Reeves, in his *History of English Law*, gives it as his opinion, that when Rollo led his followers into Normandy, they carried with them this mode of trial from the North. He says that it was used in Normandy in all cases of small importance, and that when the Normans had transplanted themselves into England, they endeavoured to substitute

it in the place of the Saxon tribunals. He, therefore, speaks of it as a novelty introduced by them soon after the Conquest, and says that the system did not exist in Anglo-Saxon times. Sir Francis Palgrave says, that a tribunal of sworn witnesses, elected out of the popular courts, and employed for the decision of rights of property, may be traced to the Anglo-Saxon times; but that in criminal cases the jury appears to have been unknown until it was enacted by William I. Mr. Serjeant Stephen says, "that we owe the germ of this (as of so many of our institutions) to the Normans, and that it was derived by them from the Scandinavian tribunals, where the judicial number of twelve was always held in great reverence." Many eminent writers have strongly maintained that the English jury is of indigenous growth, and was not derived, either directly or indirectly, from any of the tribunals that existed on the Continent. Some others have held that it is of ancient British or Romano-British origin. Others, again, have considered that the Anglo-Saxon compurgators (or sworn witnesses to credibility), the sworn witnesses to facts, the *frith-borh*, the twelve senior thegns of Ethelred's law, who were sworn to accuse none falsely, the system of trial in local courts, by the whole body of the Shire or Hundred, contain the germ of the modern jury. Yet with the exception of what may be termed Ethelred's Jury of Presentment, not one of these supposed origins would be found, if we examined them closely, to possess much more than a superficial analogy to the inquest by sworn recognitors, the historic progenitor of the existing jury.

The theory which presents the fewest difficulties, and which is supported by very weighty arguments, regards the English system of sworn inquests as being derived from Normandy. There, both prior to and subsequent to the cession of the Neustrian province to Rollo by Charles the Simple, it had existed, as in the rest of France, from its establishment under the Carolingian kings, whose Capitularies contain minute instructions for inquisitions by sworn witnesses in the local courts. But, whatever may be the remote source of this institution, out of which trial by jury grew, two points are at any rate clear: (1) The system of inquest by sworn recognitors, even in its simplest form, makes its first appearance in England soon after the Norman conquest. (2) This system was in England, from the first, worked in close combination with the previously existing procedure of the shire-moot; and, in its developed form of "trial by jury," is distinctly an English institution. When we attempt to inquire into the origin of an institution which has been handed down to us from hoary antiquity we must carefully note under what form it appears when for the first time it receives the notice of contemporary writers. This often differs considerably from the form and character which it assumes in the growth of years. There is one important feature in this institution, and it is

this, that its members give their decision under the solemn sanction of an oath ; but this feature is not peculiar to this institution, for, under the like sanction, the Dicasts at Athens, and the Judices at Rome decided. The same rule also prevailed in the old Norse Thing and German Mallum, where the right of all the inhabitants of the gau or mark to be present in the judicial proceedings of these periodical assemblies became in practice limited to a few, as the representatives of the community. But the distinguishing characteristic of the system is that the jury consists of a body of men taken from the community at large, and summoned for the purpose of finding the truth of disputed facts, who are quite distinct from the judges or the court. Their duty is to decide upon the effect of evidence, so that the court may be able to pronounce a right judgment. Twelve men of ordinary ability are just as capable of deciding to-day on the effect of evidence as they were in the infancy of the institution. Although the technicality of the law has increased, yet it in no way interferes with their fitness to decide on the effect of proofs. And this is the reason why the English jury flourishes still in its pristine vigour, whilst the old juries of the Continent have either fallen into decay or been entirely swept away.

No trace of such an institution as a jury can be found in Anglo-Saxon times, for, if it had existed, distinct mention would have been frequently made of it in the body of Anglo-Saxon laws and contemporary chronicles which we possess, extending from the time of Ethelbert (A.D. 568–616) to the Norman Conquest ; but no mention is made.

With respect to criminal trials, we meet, in the ordinance of King Ethelred II. (978–1016), with a kind of jury of accusation, resembling our Grand Jury, and possibly its direct progenitor. In Gemot of every Hundred, the twelve senior thegns, with the reeve, were directed to go apart, and bring accusation against all whom they believed to have committed any crime. But this jury did not decide the guilt or innocence of the accused ; that had to be decided by compurgation, or the ordeal. This primitive Grand Jury probably continued in use after the Norman Conquest, until it was reconstituted by Henry II. For more than a hundred years after the Conquest the ancient Anglo-Saxon modes of trial, or forms of proof, by ordeal (*judicium Dei*), by oath (compurgation, termed later on “wager of law”), by witnesses and production of charters, continued in general use, alongside the Norman procedure—the wager of battle, and the occasional use of the inquest by sworn recognitors. The Conqueror was doubtless desirous that the English should still continue to enjoy the rights and usages to which they had been accustomed. Consequently we find that the distinctive features of the Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence were retained by the Conqueror. But he made, however, some important changes in the judicial

system ; he separated the spiritual and temporal courts ; he introduced the combat, or duel, as a means of determining civil suits and questions of guilt or innocence ; and he appointed justices to administer justice throughout the realm.

It was only by degrees, however, that the advantages of the principle of recognition by jury in its application to judicial matters were realised. The sworn inquest appears to have been at first chiefly used for the determining of non-judicial matters, such as the ascertaining of the laws of King Edward, the assessing of feudal taxation under William II. and Henry I., and the customs of the Church of York, which the latter monarch, in 1106, directed five commissioners to verify by the oath of twelve of the citizens. On one occasion the Conqueror ordered the Justiciars to summon the shire moots, which had taken part in a suit touching the rights of Ely ; a number of the English who knew the state of the lands in question in the reign of Edward, were then to be chosen, these were to swear to the truth of their depositions ; and action was to be taken accordingly. But still, there are equally early instances of strictly legal matters being decided by the recognition on oath of a certain number of *probi et legales homines*, selected from the men of the county to represent the neighbourhood, and testify to facts of which they had special knowledge. Recognition by jury, was applied by Henry II. to every description of business, both fiscal and legal.

The primitive German courts were tribunals of fully qualified members of the community, capable of declaring the law or custom of the country, and of deciding what, according to that custom, should be done in the particular case brought before them. They were not set to decide, what was the truth of facts, but to determine what action ought to be taken upon proof given. The proof itself was furnished by the oaths of the parties to the suit, and their compurgators, the production of witnesses, and the use of the ordeal : trial by battle, being a sort of ultimate expedient for obtaining a practical decision, an expedient partly akin to the ordeal, as a judgment of God, and partly founded on the idea that when legal measures had failed, recourse must be had to force. The complainant addressed his charge to the defendant in solemn traditional form ; the defendant replied to the complainant by an equally solemn verbal and logical contradiction.

The compurgators joining their hands, in one voice, swore to the purity of the oath of their principal. If the oath was inconclusive the parties brought their witnesses to declare such knowledge, as their position as neighbours had given them, the court having determined the point to which the witnesses must swear, they swore to that particular fact. If the witnesses also failed, the ordeal was made use of. And where the defeated party called in question the

sentence thus obtained, he might challenge the decision of the court, by appealing to the members of it for a trial by combat. This practice, however common among some branches of the German stock, was by no means universal, and was not practised among the native English..

In these proceedings we find circumstances, which when viewed superficially appear to be analogous to the later trial by jury; but on closer examination, we see that they warrant no such impression. The ancient judges who declared the law, and gave the sentence—the *rachinburgii*, or the *scabini*—were by no means the equivalent of the modern jury, who ascertain the fact, by hearing and balancing evidence, leaving the law and sentence to the presiding magistrate. Nor were the ancient witnesses who deposed to the precise point in dispute, more nearly akin to the jurors, who have to inquire the truth and declare the result of the inquiry, than to the modern witnesses, who swear to speak not only the truth and nothing but the truth, but the whole truth. The compurgators swore to confirm the oath of their principal, and the only thing they had in common with the modern jury, was, that they took an oath. Although this is so, yet the procedure in question is a step in the history of the jury: the first form in which the jury appears is that of witness, and the principle which gives weight to that witness is the belief that it is the testimony of the community; even the idea of the compurgatory oath is not without the same element, the compurgators have certain legal qualifications which shall secure their credibility. Beyond this point, modified here as elsewhere by local usages, the Anglo-Saxon system did not proceed. The compurgation, the sworn witness, and the ordeal supplied the proof; and the sheriff with his fellows, the bishop, the shire-thegns, the judices and juratores and the suitors of the court, declared the law.

The Normans generally abolished trial by compurgators in criminal cases, and though the trial by ordeal long continued in force, it began to be looked upon as an impious absurdity. In the year 1215, the year of the granting of Magna Charta the ordeal was abolished throughout Western Europe by the fourth Lateran Council, which prohibited the further use of that mode of trial, so that trial by jury became unavoidably general in England, in order to dispose of the numerous class of cases, when the charge was preferred, not by an injured individual against the culprit in the form of an appeal, but by the great inquest of the country (our modern Grand Jury) in the form of a presentment. For it was only where there was an accusing appellant, that the trial by battle was possible. But still there was for a long time no mode of compelling a prisoner to submit the question of his guilt or innocence to twelve sworn men, summoned from the neighbourhood.

The Thirty-Ninth Section of Magna Charta says: “No free man

shall be taken or imprisoned, or disseised, or outlawed, or exiled or anyways destroyed; nor will we go upon him, nor will we send upon him, unless by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land" (*nisi per legale iudicium parium suorum, vel per legem terrae*). This has been generally taken as establishing the institution of trial by jury. But such cannot be the case, for we find the same expression occurring in a compilation of our laws of earlier date than Magna Charta. We find it in the *Leges Henrici Primi*. Thus: *unusquisque per pares suos iudicandus est et ejusdem provinciae*. Mr. Forsyth, in his learned treatise entitled *History of Trial by Jury*, gives it as his opinion that the *pares* here spoken of have no reference to a jury. He considers that "they may possibly include the members of the county and other courts, who discharged the functions of judges, and who were the peers or fellows of the parties before them." And he goes on to say that, "In a stricter and more technical sense, however, they mean the homage or suitors of the baronial courts, which had seignorial jurisdiction, corresponding to the hall-motes of the Anglo-Saxons, and in some degree to the manorial courts of the present day. And the words above quoted from the laws of Henry I., were taken by the compiler from the Capitularies of Louis IX. of France, where we know that no such institution as the jury existed until the period of the first Revolution." The "*iudicium parium*" of Magna Charta is the enunciation, however, of a general legal principle rather than the technical definition of a mode of trial. "It lay," says Stubbs, "at the foundation of all German law, and the very formula here used it probably adopted from the laws of the Franconian and Saxon Cæsars."

The use of a jury, both for criminal presentment, and civil inquest, is mentioned for the first time in our statute law in the Constitutions of Clarendon. The manner in which the jury is referred to, gives one the impression that it was already in common use. The statute declared that "by the recognition of twelve lawful men," the Chief Justice should decide all disputes as to the lay or clerical tenure of land.

By the Assize of Clarendon, it was ordained that in every county twelve lawful men of each hundred, with four lawful men from each township, should be sworn to present all reputed criminals of their district in each county court. The persons so presented were to be at once seized, and sent to the water ordeal. This was simply a revival, in an expanded form, of the old English institution analogous to a Grand Jury, which, as we have seen, had existed at least since the time of Ethelred II.

It was in the Grand Assize (the exact date of which is unknown) that the principle of recognition by jury, having gradually grown into familiar use in various civil matters, was applied by Henry II., in an expanded form, to the decision of suits to try the right to land.

This Assize is called by Glanvill, a contemporary and the earliest of our judicial writers, a *regalio institutio*. In it we first find the jury in its distinct form, but the elements of which it was composed were all familiar to the jurisprudence of the time. By the Grand Assize the defendant was allowed his choice between wager of battle and the recognition of a jury of twelve sworn knights of the vicinage summoned for that purpose by the sheriff.

The Assisa or Magna Assisa, as it was usually termed, was a mode of trial confined to questions concerning (1) the recovery of lands of which the complainant had been disseised; (2) rights of advowsons; (3) claims of vassalage affecting the civil status of the defendant. A writ was then addressed to the sheriff, commanding him to summon four knights of the neighbourhood, where the disputed property lay, who were, after that they were sworn, to choose twelve lawful knights who were most cognisant of the facts (*qui melius veritatem sciant*), and who were upon their oaths to decide which of the parties was entitled to the land. The defendant was also summoned to hear the election of the twelve jurors made by the four knights, and he might object to any of them. When the twelve were duly chosen they were summoned by writ to appear in court, and testify on oath the rights of the parties. They took an oath that they would not give false evidence, nor knowingly conceal the truth; and by knowledge, says Glanvill, was meant what they had seen or heard by trustworthy information, and this shows most clearly how entirely they were looked upon as mere witnesses, and how different the idea of their duties then was from what it is now. If they were all ignorant as to the rightful claimant they testified this in court, and then others were chosen who were acquainted with the facts in dispute. But if some did and some did not know the facts the latter only were removed, and others were summoned in their place until twelve at least were found who knew and agreed upon the facts. If the jurors could not all agree, others were added to the number until twelve, at least, agreed in favour of one side or the other. This process was called "afforcing" the assise. The verdict of the jury was conclusive; and there could be no subsequent action brought upon the same claim, for it was a legal maxim that *lites per magnam assisam domini Regis legitime decisæ nulla occasione rite resuscitantur impofterum*. If the jurors were guilty of perjury, and were convicted or confessed their crime, they were deprived of all their personal property, and were imprisoned for a year at the least. They were declared to be infamous, and became incompetent to act as witnesses or compurgators in future (*legem terræ amittunt*), but were allowed to retain their freeholds. From this we see that this proceeding by assise was nothing more than the sworn testimony of a certain number of persons summoned that they might testify concerning

matters of which they were cognisant. So entirely did the verdict of the recognitors proceed upon their own prejudgment of the disputed facts that they seem to have considered themselves at liberty to disregard the evidence which was offered in court, however clearly it might disprove the case they had come there to support.

Although twelve was the most usual it was not the unvarying number of the jurors of assise for some years. When the institution was in its infancy the number appears to have fluctuated according to convenience or local custom.

In trial by jury, as permanently established, both in civil and criminal cases, by Henry II., the function of the jury continued for a long time to be very different from that of the jury of the present day. The jurymen were still mere recognitors, giving their verdict solely on their own knowledge of the facts, or from tradition, and not upon evidence produced before them; and this was the reason why they were always chosen from the hundred or vicinage in which the question arose. On the other, hand, jurymen in the present day are triers of the issue; they base their decision upon the evidence, whether oral or written, brought before them. But the ancient jurymen were not impanelled to examine into the credibility of evidence; the question was not discussed before them; they, the jurymen, were the witnesses themselves, and the verdict was, in reality, the examination of these witnesses, who of their own knowledge gave their evidence concerning the facts in dispute to the best of their belief. Trial by jury was, therefore, in the infancy of the institution only a trial by witnesses; and jurymen were distinguished from other witnesses only by customs which imposed upon them the obligations of an oath, and regulated their number, and which prescribed their rank, and defined the territorial qualifications, whence they obtained their degree and influence in society.

Thus we see that the jurors founded their verdict on their personal knowledge of the facts in dispute, without hearing the evidence of witnesses in court. But there was an exception in the case of deeds in which persons were named as witnessing the grant or other matter testified by the deed. And thus an important change was made, whereby the jury, ceasing to be witnesses themselves, gave their verdict upon the evidence brought before them at the trials.

In the time of Glanvill, the usual mode of proving deeds, the execution of which was denied, was by combat, in which one of the attesting witnesses was the champion of the plaintiff. If the name of no attesting witness was inserted in the deed the combat had to be maintained by some other person, who had seen or known of the execution. Another mode of proof was by comparing the disputed deed with others admitted or proved to have been executed by the party; but this, which would at the present day be a question for the jury, was determined then by the court.

Let us now consider the later development, common both to the civil and criminal jury, by which the jurors gradually changed from witnesses into the judges of fact, the proof of which rested exclusively on the evidence. In reality, however, since jurymen were originally mere witnesses, there was no distinction of principle between them and the attesting witnesses, and that gradually in the course of time a separation took place in the reign of Edward III.; for, although we find in the *Year Books* of that period the expression, "the witnesses were joined to the assise," a clear distinction is, notwithstanding, drawn between them. Thus, in a passage where these words occur, we are told that a witness was challenged because he was of kin to the plaintiff; but the objection was overruled on the ground that "the verdict could not be received from witnesses, but from the jurors of assise." And it was said that, when the witnesses did not agree with the verdict in an inquest, the defeated party might have an attaint.

The difficulty that was found of procuring a verdict of twelve caused for a time the verdict of the majority to be received. In the time of Edward IV., however, the necessity for a unanimous verdict of twelve was re-established.

In the *Year Books* of 23rd Edward III. mention is made of witnesses being adjoined to the jury to give them their testimony, but without having any voice in the verdict. This is the first indication of the jury deciding on evidence formally produced in addition to their own knowledge, and forms the connecting-link between the ancient and modern jury. As the use of juries became more frequent, and the advantage of employing them in the decision of disputes more manifest, the witnesses who formed the secta of a plaintiff began to give their evidence before them, and, like the attesting witnesses to deeds, furnished them with that information which in theory they were supposed to possess previously respecting the matter in dispute. The rules of evidence now became more strict. We find that, early in the reign of Henry IV., a still further advance was made. All evidence was required to be given at the bar of the court, so that the judges might be able to exclude improper testimony. From this change two important consequences followed: (1) From the exercise of control on the part of the judges sprang up the whole system of rules as to evidence: (2) the practice of receiving evidence openly at the bar of the court produced a great extension of the duty of an advocate. Henceforward witnesses were examined and cross-examined in open court. Except as regards the right of the jury to found their verdict upon their own private knowledge, the trial was conducted on much the same principles as at the present day. Juries were, however, for a long time entitled to rely on their own knowledge in addition to the evidence. In the first year of Queen Anne the Court of Queen's Bench decided

that if a jury gave a verdict of their own knowledge, they ought so to inform the court, that they might be sworn as witnesses. This, and a subsequent case in the reign of George I., at length put an end to all remains of the ancient functions of juries as recognitors. While the jurymen were mere recognitors, if they gave a wrong verdict, they must usually have been guilty of perjury. Hence, at Common Law, they became liable to the writ of attain. In attain the cause was tried again by a jury of twenty-four. If the verdict of the second jury was opposed to that of the first, the original twelve jurors were arrested and imprisoned; their personal chattels were forfeited to the king, and they became for the future infamous. After the jury became distinct from witnesses, attain gradually fell into disuse. Besides the legal method of attain, there was also another and illegal method of punishing a jury for a false verdict, frequently employed by the Tudor and Stuart sovereigns for political purposes. This was by fine and imprisonment by the Court of the Star Chamber. After the abolition of the Star Chamber, the Crown made use of the judges to intimidate juries. At length the immunity of juries was finally established in 1670 by the celebrated decision of Chief Justice Vaughan in *Bushell's* case. The institution of a jury has thus been traced from the period of its first introduction into England, when the jury acted as mere recognitors, up to the time when they finally became separated from the witnesses, and gave their verdict, not from their own previous knowledge of the disputed facts, but from a consideration of the evidence which was brought before them. An institution like the jury, existing for ages amongst a people, cannot but influence the national character. The very essence of trial by jury is its principle of fairness. The right of being tried by his equals, that is, his fellow-citizens, taken indiscriminately from the mass, who feel neither malice nor favour, but simply decide according to what in their conscience they believe to be the truth, gives every man a conviction that he will be dealt with impartially, and inspires him with the wish to mete out to others the same measure of equity that is dealt to himself.

EDUCATION IN IRELAND, CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT.

BY AN IRISH PROTESTANT.

To the mind of the average Englishman Catholic Ireland seems sunk in mediæval darkness and ignorance, unrelieved, save here and there where the Protestant resident holds aloft the lamp of learning and culture to an ungrateful and inappreciative people. This he has been told over and over again by Irishmen who claimed to speak with authority, and as it eased his conscience somewhat to believe it, he was content to accept this view without making any attempt himself to verify it. It was gratifying to him to believe that whatever education existed in Ireland was due to Englishmen and to their descendants. The extraordinary returns made of illiterates, too, afforded an apparently incontestible proof of what he had been so often told. And yet these returns prove very little. Any one intimately acquainted with the political organisation of the country knows well that in Ireland there are two classes of illiterates—those who are really and according to law illiterate, and those who may be said to have made themselves illiterate for the kingdom of heaven's sake, or, to put it more plainly, to please the priest.

Mr. John Redmond, speaking a short time ago in the House of Commons, provoked laughter when he said that Ireland boasted a fine civilisation when England was but a barbarous province of Rome. It was too much for Englishmen's sense of humour that Ireland should at any time and in anything, education more especially, have been capable of favourable comparison with England. To concede to Irishmen a capacity for, and ready appreciation of, intellectual training was, in a great measure, to give away their own case. And yet the love of learning which animated the early Irish Christians has never wholly died out, and, as I hope to show within the limits of this paper, is now as living a force as it has ever been.

Respect for birth and education has always been the most predominant characteristic in the Irish nature, and there are few parents, however humble, who are not ready to make great sacrifices to help and encourage the ambitions of a boy who was "fond of his

books." This desire for educational superiority, though generally commendable, has its grave disadvantages. I have known many cases of boys who deserted their father's fairly prosperous business for some precarious profession, or for the impecunious respectability of some Government office. In Ireland, unlike England, education engenders contempt for mercantile pursuits, the Celt being ever *ingenio. quam manu promptior*, except at a fair or a faction fight; thus he becomes a more or less lucky politician when he might be a prosperous merchant or an industrious farmer.

However, my object in this paper is to indicate the condition of education in Ireland, rather than to discuss the good or evil resulting from it. I shall first give some account of the teaching in Irish schools, both Catholic and Protestant, before proceeding to discuss the much-vexed University Question.

Despite the hurly-burly of politics and the passionate internecine quarrels between landlord and tenant, although the exhausting tide of emigration still continued to drain the country of the finest of her young manhood, education amongst Catholics has made, during the last fifteen years especially, immense strides. The Protestant schools, on the other hand, show a corresponding decline. Nor is the reason far to seek. The present Anglo-Irish landlord and his class, less patriotic than their forbears, send their sons to the English public schools, or, if their means are insufficient to do this, to some obscure private school, where they may unlearn their "brogue" and acquire a genteel English accent. Not many years ago an attempt was made to remedy this evil by the establishment of St. Columba's College, near Dublin, but though it was extensively advertised as "An English Public School in Ireland," and though all the tutors from the Warden down to the first form master were Englishmen, its success was not of long duration. A year or two ago an Irishman educated at Dublin was appointed Warden, and owing to his energy and good management it is slowly achieving a moderate degree of success. The sons of Catholic parents are almost invariably educated in Ireland. A very small percentage are sent to Catholic schools in England or to ecclesiastical colleges abroad.

To begin with, the Catholic boy has the advantage of being taught by great ecclesiastical orders trained for and devoting their lives to education. If they are not in every case the most efficient and capable teachers, yet the zeal and energy with which they throw themselves into the work, which they regard primarily as a service rendered to God, more than compensates in the case of the lack of other credentials. To these instructors the Catholic boy is sent at a very early age, and so from the first receives a most careful training. The Protestant boy generally begins his education at a preparatory school kept by Miss Smith or Miss Jones, and there remains often till he reaches the age of thirteen or fourteen, partly because his parents think him

too young for a large school, but more often, I believe, from motives of economy. Nothing more confused can well be imagined than the state of the boy's mind when he is let loose from one of these establishments. His first year at a public school is spent correcting and unlearning what he has learned during his early years; his next in acquiring the rudiments which he was supposed already to have mastered.

Protestant schools are, for the most part, manned by young and underpaid teachers who have adopted teaching not as a profession, but as an *ἐν παύρῳ* occupation until something else turns up. As might be expected, the discipline observed in Catholic schools is much stricter. Irish boys are notoriously impatient of restraint and difficult of management. The Catholic schools are governed by ecclesiastics, to whom a double debt of obedience and respect is paid as to spiritual fathers as well as temporal instructors. I had ample opportunity of seeing how perfect this discipline was during a year spent at the Jesuit College of Clongowes Wood in Kildare. It was a very pleasant contrast to my experience of the semi-anarchical state of discipline in several Protestant schools with which I had been connected. It is indeed no easy matter to enforce discipline in Protestant schools. Their existence has been an uncertain and precarious one. They have therefore none of those unwritten laws of tradition which in English public schools rarely need to be enforced, and which are so effectual in curbing the lawlessness of the English youth.

But much as the Catholic boy owes to the advantages which I have mentioned, he owes still more to his own homespun mother wit. He is unquestionably quicker in intellect and more imaginative than his Protestant rival. In connection with this particular point, the headmaster of one of the largest and most successful Protestant schools in Ireland, who had previously had an extended experience of Catholic schools, writes to me: "I am inclined to think that the chief cause of the Roman Catholic schools scoring so many distinctions in examinations is the difference of race. I think the Celt's brain matures sooner than the Saxon's as a rule." This gentleman's opinion is supported by statistics. These statistics prove that whenever Catholic and Protestant compete on anything like equal terms, the Protestant is almost invariably worsted by the Catholic competitor, and by Catholic I mean Celtic, for the two races are still almost as distinct as their religions.

Until about fifteen years ago there was scarcely any opportunity of judging the educational merits of Catholic schools or the capacity of their teachers. The Protestant schools, many of them endowed, prepared and sent up their pupils to the university, and then pointed triumphantly to the results. They had a bloodless victory, for there was practically no competition. The Catholics were discouraged, for

reasons not without justification, from entering Trinity College, and the few who did so were generally educated at English Catholic schools, and their names rarely appeared in the honour lists.

The establishment of the Intermediate Education Examinations by the Government, which offered tempting prizes to the candidates and substantial fees to their instructors according to the scale of results, at once drew all the schools of any standing or importance, Catholic and Protestant, for the first time, into competition. These examinations were conducted on pretty much the same lines as the University Locals in this country. There were three grades—senior, middle, and junior for candidates under the ages of eighteen, seventeen, and sixteen respectively. The amount of knowledge required to obtain a pass in the senior grade was about equivalent to that necessary to qualify for an ordinary degree at Oxford; that required for a pass in the other grades was in proportion. The first examination under the Intermediate Act of 1878 took place in the following year. Both sides made tremendous efforts. Every nerve was strained, for it was acknowledged to be a struggle for educational supremacy in Ireland. I can well remember how very far the Protestant schools were from anticipating any serious rivalry; they contemplated the extent rather than the possibility of their victory. The results were awaited with the utmost impatience. Towards the close of the year they were made public. The astonishment and dismay of the Protestants were complete when it was discovered that the balance of results was, if anything, in favour of their rivals, and that, too, although the examinations were conducted by university men, and the Protestant schools were manned by university men who might be supposed to be more competent, and to know better what was required by the examiners than mere Catholic ecclesiastics. The following table is compiled from the official lists published by the Commissioners in 1879 :

INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATIONS, 1879.

		Junior Grade.	Middle Grade.	Senior Grade.	Total.	Gross Total.
Protestant schools.	{ Exhibitions .	26	3	12	41	212
	{ Honours .	102	35	34	171	
Catholic schools	{ Exhibitions .	19	6	3	28	237
	{ Honours .	126	39	41	209	

In compiling this list it has not always been possible to identify Protestant and Catholic schools; in such cases I have generally given the benefit of the doubt to the Protestants. I have omitted altogether those boys who have returned a private address instead of a school. It will be seen from the above table that Catholics had a slight advantage on the whole, although the Protestants won more exhibitions. This gain, although not a very substantial one, was still an *omen prærogativum* of the results of future contests. Every year

the Catholic schools continued to increase the lead which they obtained in the first year. The following table will show how they stood when the examinations had been ten years in force :

INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATIONS, 1889.

		Junior Grade.	Middle Grade.	Senior Grade.	Total.	Gross Total.
Protestant schools	{ Exhibitions .	63 ...	18 ...	6 ...	87 }	155
	{ Prizes .	37 ...	18 ...	13 ...	68 }	
Catholic schools	{ Exhibitions .	90 ...	24 ...	14 ...	128 }	232
	{ Prizes .	53 ...	36 ...	15 ...	104 }	

In 1892 the Commissioners established a preparatory grade for younger boys. In this grade the Catholic boys carried all before them. I give the table of results for the year 1893 :

INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATIONS, 1893.

		Preparatory Grade.	Junior Grade.	Middle Grade.	Senior Grade.	Total.	Gross Total.
Protestant schools	{ Exhibitions .	28 ...	45 ...	15 ...	8 ...	96 }	180
	{ Prizes .	19 ...	40 ...	15 ...	10 ...	84 }	
Catholic schools	{ Exhibitions .	81 ...	88 ...	21 ...	7 ...	197 }	439
	{ Prizes .	93 ...	64 ...	52 ...	33 ...	242 }	

By far the largest number of exhibitions and prizes in the preparatory, junior, and middle grades was obtained by boys prepared by the Christian Brothers. For many years this order has been doing splendid service in a quiet unostentatious way, and this year it takes first place in the aggregate number of distinctions, which is all the more remarkable, when it is remembered that the majority of the boys educated by the Christian Brothers come from very humble classes.

The above results establish conclusively the superiority of the intellectual training given in Irish Catholic schools ; at the same time it is only fair to say that a few Protestant schools have pluckily continued the uphill fight, notably the Methodist College, Belfast, and the High School, Dublin. Curiously enough the headmaster and the senior science master of the Methodist College received most of their training as teachers in Catholic schools, the former having been eight years a master in the French College, Blackrock, Co. Dublin, and the latter four years at Clongowes Wood College.

In regard to physical training, which in this country is regarded as of equal, if not greater, importance than mental training, the Catholic schools in Ireland show a marked superiority. The authorities consider it a part of their duty to look after the games. In the year 1890, I met Flowers, the famous Notts professional, at Congowes, and he had been preceded there by Barnes, Shacklock, and others. Of the Dublin University Eleven, which in 1893 defeated Oxford, at least half had learned their cricket in Catholic schools. In most Protestant schools it is thought quite sufficient to provide a playground and leave the boys to their own devices. I remember being

at a large public school in Dublin where no football and very little cricket was played. Hockey was played both in winter and summer. Athletic clubs were always looked upon with disfavour as distracting the student's attention from his class work, and the desire to excel in games was sedulously discouraged. The narrow-chested boy at the head of his form who could gabble Latin and Greek verbs was encouraged to sneer at the sturdy young athlete whose place was invariably at the bottom of his class. It was always extremely difficult to obtain permission to absent oneself from school work in order to take part in a football and cricket contest. Often it happened that three-fourths of the team were kept in detention because they had failed to reach a certain standard in the class examinations. In Catholic schools it is different. The ecclesiastical instructors take, in many cases, even keener interest than their pupils in the issue of a game. A half, sometimes a whole holiday is declared on the occasion of a cricket match, and all the school turns into the playground. Such a day I well remember at Clongowes Wood, when the College boys played their annual match with the Curragh Brigade. The scene was a brilliant one, with the bright June sun shining on the emerald sward, the crowds of boys in white flannels, the black-gowned Jesuits flitting here and there, and all the subdued excitement of the preparations for the feast, for Clongowes is remarkable for its hospitality.

But however admirable the Catholic schools may be, they cannot altogether compensate for the disabilities under which Irish Catholics labour, in respect of university education. Catholics are debarred from the splendid educational opportunities afforded by Trinity College. Founded and inspired by the great revolt against tradition and dogma, the College of Elizabeth, true to the spirit which gave her birth, still remains a school of sceptical practicality. Those of her sons who were dreamers of dreams and enthusiastic followers of lost causes found in her no *alma mater*, but a stern and unforgiving stepmother. The University of Dublin has never claimed to be a National University, and although religious tests have ceased to exist, the tone of the place is essentially West-British. While the Catholic population of Ireland is almost without exception national, the Anglo-Irish College is almost emotional in its loyalty to unionism. How little influence it has on Catholics generally may be gathered from the fact that the Provost and thirty-five of the Fellows are Protestants, there being but one Catholic Fellow. The secular Catholic clergy never lose an opportunity of preaching a crusade against Trinity College; and the layman who, in spite of this opposition, persists in sending his son to be educated there must be possessed of rare determination of mind. He may, however, send him to Oxford or Cambridge without fear of ecclesiastical indignation. The Catholic youth seems ever destined to fall between the Scylla of injudicious friends and

the Charybdis of uncompromising opponents. The Protestants have treated the claims of Catholics to an university with contempt. Speaking at the inaugural meeting of the College Historical Society a few years ago, on the subject of a Catholic University for Ireland, an eminent professor of Humanity of Dublin University contended that there was no need for such an university, because its future students would be such creatures as those who all day long basked in the sun at the base of Nelson's Pillar, or, to vary the monotony of this somewhat sedentary existence, leaned over the parapet of O'Connell Bridge, dropping spittle into the river and watching it disappear with the tide. Again, a late distinguished Dublin professor, himself a Catholic, asserted that three-fourths of the intellect of the country were on the side of the Protestants. By Protestants this preposterous statement was received triumphantly as a final confirmation of their superiority; by Catholics with a patient shrug, and without any serious attempt at refutation, although a somewhat violently worded pamphlet was written at the time by an obscure Catholic priest, which only had the effect of still further embittering the feelings of the two parties, and making the possibilities of any sort of compromise more remote than ever. Again, Dr. Walsh, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, speaking at the French College a few years ago, declared that the Catholics of Ireland would never be satisfied until they had an university equal in every respect to Trinity College. This demand is manifestly impossible of fulfilment, for however favourable be the conditions of its foundation, an university's prestige will only come with age. In proof of this, if indeed proof be at all necessary, I need only point to the very qualified success which the richly endowed University of Durham has met with.

To complicate matters still further, the Roman Catholic ecclesiastics and the Roman Catholic laymen are by no means in agreement as to the lines on which an university for Catholics should be founded. The layman is strongly opposed to what he calls a Clerical University; the ecclesiastic will countenance no university or college where his influence and authority are not paramount: and without his approval and co-operation failure is inevitable. A short time ago I had a conversation with a Roman Catholic dignitary. I asked him to tell me what were precisely the nature and extent of the control which the Catholic hierarchy claimed to exercise over an university or college for Catholics. His answer was that they claimed the privilege of accepting or rejecting any work as they thought fit in the university or college course, and also the right of vetoing the election of any Fellow or Professor. In short, the university or college was to be completely under the control of the Irish Catholic bishops. This gentleman expressed his regret that the bishops had not seen their way to accept the scheme proposed some years ago by Mr. Gladstone, saying that they would never get such

good terms again. The main provision in this scheme was the affiliation of a college for Catholics to Trinity College, the university examinations to be conducted by a conjoint board of examiners from both colleges. The feeling amongst lay Catholics is generally in favour of some such arrangement. They have no desire to be separated from their Protestant fellows, and intercourse between them has usually resulted in a higher estimate of each other. I believe the true and only solution of the difficulty will be found in the establishment of a college under the University of Dublin, as Catholic as Trinity College is Protestant, with a Catholic chapel and divinity school, but conceding the right of dissent to non-Catholics. There is ready to hand, as Dr. Mahaffy has already pointed out, in the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham a building admirably adapted for such a purpose, and in some respects possessing advantages even over Trinity College. Trinity College would too, I am sure, reap advantage from the wholesome rivalry of a younger sister; and every year would tend to lessen the intellectual disparity between the two colleges.

Of the Royal University of Ireland, which in 1879 rose from the ashes of the Queen's University, little need be said. It is, like London University, an examining body; the Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway, and the Catholic University College of Dublin being its recognised feeders. The greater number and the most successful of its graduates come from the Queen's College, Belfast, and the University College, Dublin. The Colleges of Cork and Galway, being banned by the Catholic clergy as "Godless Colleges," have few students comparatively to send to the university. Catholic parents who can afford it send their sons to the English universities; the sons of those who cannot afford it enter the Royal University, often in the hope of winning prizes enough there to enable them to proceed later to an English university. The Royal University was never expected to prove a final solution of the Irish University question, and it has not succeeded in satisfying any party. Of course it is non-sectarian, and no books of a contentious or controversial nature are admitted into the curriculum.

I have tried to give here a fairly accurate and exhaustive account of the state of education in Ireland and the obstacles which stand in the way of its satisfactory adjustment, obstacles which I am confident can be readily surmounted by a little more forbearance and mutual concession on the part of the leaders of Catholic and Protestant opinion in Ireland.

H. A. HINKSON.

THE RELIGIOSITY OF THE SCOT.

THE attention paid by the Scottish people to religious observances, and their unctuous use of language having a scriptural savour, have been turned to account in many a waggish story told at their expense, and by none more readily than by Scotsmen themselves—Burns and Scott affording cases in point. I am not aware, however, that any attempt has been made to account for the hold which Protestant Christianity took on the Scottish people, producing those men of iron the Scottish Reformers; the General Assembly, that great republican theocracy which, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, governed Scotland as effectually as ever the Stuarts did;¹ and producing also the Covenanters, the Secession, and the Disruption.

Attendance at church, and the garnishing of one's conversation with quotations from the prophets, do not, of course, constitute religion. They form what is best expressed by Carlyle's word "religiosity." And without implying that the Scotch are not genuinely religious, it is with the theological cast of their minds that I wish primarily to deal, and only secondarily with religion as it finds expression, through conduct and character, in the everyday life of a people.

Whence comes this Scottish austerity and pronounced theological bent? To say that the Scotch are largely a Celtic people, and that the Celts are abnormally imaginative, is an easy answer, but it is an evasive one. For religiosity and imagination are both subjective qualities having objective causes, and if they are interdependent, as I think they are, perhaps we shall find that the causes which account for the religiosity of the Scot at the same time account for the imagination of the Celt. Both doubtless arose, in the first instance, as the results of environment.

Long after England was a country full of towns and villages, with a teeming population, and having plenty of good roads and canals, Scotland was a wild and lonely country, with the towns and villages small and far apart, and often further divided by broad rivers and

¹ Andrew Melville once shook James VI. rudely by the sleeve, and told him he was only "God's silly vassal;" and that is but one among many indications of the power which the Scottish Church held in those days, and the liberties which her preachers could afford to take.

high mountains. The shepherd tended his flocks on the mountain-sides, solitary for weeks it might be save for the company of his dogs and the sheep. The line fisherman plied his calling out on the lonely leaden-coloured sea, his boat now rising high on the ridge of the billow, now down in the trough of the sea, with a wall of water on either hand of him, and through all and over all there would be the plaintive pipe of the gulls and snipes, the creaking of the boat's cordage, the boom of the breakers on the distant shore, the sense and the presence of danger. The ploughman followed his oxen in lonely fields bounded by hills with the blue haze hanging around them, or by deep, dark woods of Scotch fir ; or, if he laboured on the plains, the country around him would consist of desolate moorland and far-stretching bogs, the hillocks of peat blending their black or dun hues with the green and purple of the heather, and the wailing cry of the curlew and the peewit would sound in his ears all day long.

Even in the towns there is often something to remind the Scotsman of the beauty and the majesty of Nature. The people of Edinburgh can see from the heart of the city Salisbury Crags, Arthur Seat, and the Castle crags, scarped and weather-worn by the rains and frosts of ten thousand winters ; and from the higher parts of the city they can look across the Firth of Forth to the sleepy, old-world towns of the Kingdom of Fife, as that county is called. The inhabitants of Glasgow, horrible as Glasgow is in many respects, can look across rich valleys to where Ben Lomond lifts his crest, capped with snow well into the summer, and, again, before the winter has set in on the lower levels. The Invernesians have their beautiful river the Ness, with the Beauly Firth and the Moray Firth meeting just outside their doors, and many a loch and lofty mountain in the near neighbourhood. Aberdonians, again, have the North Sea sweeping into the bay on the east side of their city ; they have the Don on the north, the Dee on the south, and the range of the Grampians running close by and well within view.

This constant presence of the beautiful and sublime in nature necessarily touches the mind of the Scot with a certain amount of awe and a sense of his own insignificance in comparison with the mighty and majestic forces and elements by which he is surrounded. Wherever men are brought face to face with Nature in her wilder moods, and spend much of their time in solitude, they are driven in upon themselves, and the imagination, coming abnormally into play, invests with additional beauties, wonders, and horrors, the pictures which the eye actually sees. Hence I suppose it comes that Scotland has produced more poets and song-writers among the working class than any other country in the world. The ploughman Burns, the Ettrick shepherd Hogg, the handloom weavers Thom and Tannahill, are only the outstanding ones among a host of working-men, bards, who have sung the banks and braes, the woods and streams, the

mountains and glens, of their native land ; who have sung of lads and lasses, of sorrow and feasting—in short, of every aspect and detail of life and nature.

In a great city a man finds his place, his work, and even his amusements in great measure allotted to him. Law and convention curb him ; public entertainers cater for him ; his neighbours set the pace and the pattern as to what he shall do and what he shall avoid. He is part of the great machine of society, and gets pushed along without much conscious effort on his part, either to drive himself or to withstand being driven by others. He imitates his neighbours rather than thinks his own thoughts and chooses his own course. He has not the same tendency to put to himself the questions which the lonely man so often asks and answers : Why am I here ? What is my position, and what are my duties to myself and my neighbours ? What is my relation to the Power that made the everlasting hills, that controls the winds and tides, the rain and snow, the night and the day ? Hitherto Scotland has accepted the answers to these questions which the Church of Geneva has to offer ; and the Scottish people stand pre-eminent among the nations for their knowledge of the Catechism and their understanding of the five points of Calvinism.

Their contact with the sublime and beautiful in Nature, then, will explain why the Scotch should be religious ; but it does not explain why they should be more religious than the Welsh (religious as the Welsh are), than the Swiss, the Norwegians, the Germans of the Hartz Mountains, the inhabitants of Northern Italy, and those of Northern Greece—all of them peoples coming largely under the influence of the sublime and beautiful in Nature. I can only account for the extra religiosity of the Scotch by attributing it to * the excellent parish school education which they enjoyed for centuries before the era of School Boards. The Spaniards of the Sierras, the Turks of the Balkans, the Hindoos of the Himalayas—in short, the inhabitants of most mountainous districts—are superstitious because, as a rule, grossly ignorant. But “the mountain and the flood” which render other peoples superstitious, appear to give the Scot, with his elementary schooling and subsequent reading, a turn for the metaphysic of theology, and sometimes for poetry. The parish school, therefore, is part of the explanation of Scottish religiosity ; but its most important cause by far lies in the environment. If to the influence of scenery and education be added the stern energy, in thought and action, developed by the constant struggle with a poor soil and a harsh climate, very little more, surely, is required to explain why the Scotch are addicted to theology.

Those who fall back upon the Celtic element in the Scottish nature to account for its theological fervour appear to forget that

the Celt himself is not particularly religious; that up to the beginning of last century the Scottish Highlander was, like the Irish Celt, an easy-going Roman Catholic. Although the Highland counties now send to the General Assemblies the most rigid Calvinists that "Caledonia, stern and wild," produces, 150 years ago the chief of the Macleans thrashed his clansmen from the chapel to the Kirk with his cane, gaining for Protestantism in the West Highlands the name of "the religion of the yellow stick."

One is not quite sure that the religiosity of the Scotch makes them so much more virtuous than people who pay less attention to "the means of grace." But while it cannot readily be proved that they have more of the positive virtues than their neighbours, there is at least some reason to believe that they are freer from a few of the ugly vices than their Southron cousins; although when the Scot is bad, he is very bad. When he gives way to drink, for instance, he runs to great lengths; and the percentage of illegitimate births, too, is high in Scotland. But it will be found that there is much less wife-beating (there being nothing in Scotland at all resembling the frightful practice of "clogging" known in Lancashire towns), much less cruelty to children, much more kindness and fellow-feeling among the Scottish people than among the English; while, at the same time, the Scotch are not nearly so clan-nish as the Irish, the Jews, or the Chinese. In his poem on *Nothing*, Rochester has classed "Scotch civility," along with "French truth" and "Hibernian learning," as being non-existent; even Walter Scott causes Mr. Owen to speak of a typical Scot like Baillie Nicol Jarvie as "that cross-grained crabstick of the Salt-market"; and are we not told that the term "Scot" (as well as "Gael"), derived from a word for "wind," means "the violent, stormy people"? In spite of all this, and much more to the same end, the Scot, take him all in all, is not fairly chargeable with being lacking in courtesy. The word "couthy" (the opposite or positive of "uncouth," diminutived by the addition of the terminal *y*) signifying a combination of quiet kindness and sweetness of manner, has no English equivalent, and thus would seem to indicate a peculiarly Scotch quality, which, it may be said, tends to wane considerably with the growth of commercialism, giving place to a brusquery peculiarly the outcome of the "rush" of business, and what Carlyle called the "mere cash nexus" between man and man. Scottish speech abounds in what may be called pet words, which would seem to testify that, whether the Scotch be stormy and sharp-tongued or not, they can upon occasion be as insinuatingly smooth-tongued as the wily Italian himself.

In instituting comparisons between the Scottish and English characters, allowance ought to be made for the difference of economic conditions, which have in all countries a powerful influence on con-

duct and character. In a large number of the relations of life England is more highly commercialised than any other country in the world, with the exception of the United States. This would explain why, in business transactions, one's word is not so readily taken and relied upon in England as in Scotland, as also the fact that there is less of that fellow-feeling, that mutual personal interest, which is characteristic of small communities where everybody knows everybody else. To a Scotsman in England it may seem unamiable, or even positively cynical, that in certain circumstances nothing save cash payment will suffice; but it is to be feared that experience justifies only too fully this lack of faith. As to the dearth of fellow-feeling, in large towns and cities we cannot always tell what our neighbour is doing—whether he be well-off or ill-off—and in England, moreover, there is such a struggle to keep up appearances, that people are apt to be made selfish against their better nature. This aloofness on the part of neighbours is the more remarkable in England because the English people are naturally more communicative—less proud and reserved—than the Scotch. One cannot help thinking that it is in some measure due to the English practice of living in self-contained houses. Under that system, whatever advantages it may otherwise possess, English families are not thrown by any means so much into contact with one another as under the “flat” system, so generally prevalent in the working-class and lower middle-class quarters of the Scottish towns.

The theological and poetical fervour of the Scot is found to be not at all incompatible with a very considerable amount of caution in money matters. He has, in fact, conveyed the impression that he is bent on making the most of both worlds; and one sometimes hears the natives of North Britain spoken of as “the skinny Scotch.” Now, what an impartial observer notices is that, although the Scotch can keep money when they have made it, they are not nearly so anxious to make it as the English are. The Scottish workmen mostly work shorter hours and less overtime than the English do; the shops in Scotland are closed long before similar establishments in England; and for the shopkeeper to live above his business premises, and be always more or less attending shop—that is the exception rather than the rule in Scotland. There the shopkeeper, besides closing earlier, prefers to live at a distance from the place where he makes his money. North of the Tweed, again, working men will not frequently be found sending out their wives to work, and having their children competing with them in the labour market as half-timers, nor do they so often keep beerhouses or general shops, as is the case with artisans in England, where the struggle for a higher standard of comfort is so much keener.

After all, there are really few misers in the world. The hoarding of money merely for its own sake is a species of insanity which can

number among its victims only a very few persons in any community. The Scot has merely a different way of spending his money to that which the Englishman has. The latter smokes cigars, loses money to professional tipsters and "bookmakers," drives his wife out in a trap on Sundays, keeps a bigger house, and spends more money at holidays and week-ends than does the Scotsman. But the Scotsman educates his sons and daughters, pays premiums for them, and pushes them, or enables them to push themselves, into better positions than he ever occupied himself. Frequently he keeps a good library, and occasionally has a taste for pictures and *vertu*. Not a few prosperous Scotsmen and Scotswomen, both at home and abroad, have earned for themselves the reputation of being stingy while they lived, and on dying it has been found that they had struggled and saved money to endow schools or churches, libraries or art galleries, or to found "chairs" or "bursaries" (*i.e.*, scholarships) in the universities of their native land. These may have been accounted misers; but their miserliness was of a kind so altruistic that some more gracious word is surely needed to describe the manner and the purpose of their lives.

This desire for education is, indeed, the best feature in the intellectual temperament of the Scottish people. The well-known ambition of the Scottish mother to have her son "**wag his pow in a pu'pit**" is now somewhat weakened by the opening up of other paths of intellectual achievement; but there is still a widely diffused desire for intellectual in preference to commercial pursuits. It is an indication of the craving which exists for knowledge in general that for every young man who goes to college in England seven go to college in Scotland. In 1885 Scotland, with a population of 3,725,000, had 6500 students attending her four universities, while England, with 26,000,000 of a population, had 6000 attending her four teaching universities. This, it may be supposed, has some connection with the large percentage of Scotch lawyers, doctors, clergymen, and schoolmasters to be met with throughout the English-speaking world. Perhaps, also, it may go some way towards explaining why the present Government should have at its head a Scotch Premier, and why the Cabinet should contain, besides, a Home Secretary, a War Secretary, a President of the Board of Trade, and a Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster—all Scotsmen. The success of "the Scot abroad" is perhaps not entirely, or even mainly, due to his theology; but it was, at any rate, the Scottish Kirk that founded and fostered the Scottish educational system; and as to theology itself, if it has tended to confirm in him that quality of "high seriousness" which Matthew Arnold considered so important a feature in the best type of character, then the Scotsman's theology and its associations have borne a not inconsiderable part in making him what he is.

From an undue desire to appear cosmopolitan, Scots writers have agreed with their southern neighbours as to the alleged defects of the Scottish character—such as parsimony, clannishness, ill-temper, hypocrisy, and (most absurd of all) lack of humour. The temptation to do this has not been any the less from the circumstance that there is a larger book-buying public outside of Scotland than within it. In the controversial part of these notes the endeavour has been to say what could fairly and moderately be said on behalf of the Scot. The other side of the shield has been so long and so much in evidence that he is now fully entitled to have his side presented.

JAMES LEATHAM.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

SCIENCE.

BEFORE any steps can be taken to deal with the habitual criminal it is absolutely necessary to adopt some certain means of identifying those who may come under that designation. It is to be feared that with the system of personal identification hitherto in use in England many first offenders may have been classed as recidivists. Under the Bertillon system of classification, as practised in France, few such mistakes could occur, and the recent introduction of fingerprints as a means of identification will go far to prevent errors in this country. An important contribution to the literature on this subject, by Mr. F. Galton,¹ will much facilitate the classification of fingerprints, this having until recently been the chief difficulty met with in their use. By a combination of the Bertillon method of measurement with the fingerprint system any prisoner can be identified with almost absolute certainty and in a very short space of time. Mr. Galton calculates that the chance of two fingerprints being identical is less than 1 in 64,000,000,000, and when we consider the relatively small numbers of the criminal population, and that other personal evidence would be available in any doubtful case, mistaken identity ought now to be a thing of the past. The method of indexing fingerprints proposed by Mr. Galton is at first sight somewhat complicated; but with a little practice we are told that about five minutes will suffice for the complete verification of any one of 2632 sets forming a directory. A specimen directory of 300 sets is given, together with numerous fingerprints. The method of obtaining the prints is to press the thumb or finger upon a plate of copper which has previously been coated with a very thin film of printer's ink. The inked fingers are then pressed or rolled upon the card which is kept as a record. Although fingerprints have been used as a sign manual from the earliest times, yet it is only recently that they have been studied from a scientific point of view, and the evidence accumulated is as yet insufficient to enable us to realise their value to the anthropologist. Now that a good system of classification has been worked out, it is to be hoped that observers will multiply rapidly, and that the bulk of material at our disposal will soon be considerable.

¹ *Fingerprint Directories*. By F. Galton. London: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Most of those who have made a special study of criminology incline to the opinion that the tendency to commit certain forms of crime is a species of disease, and is in most cases hereditary. Should this prove to be the case, the only effectual means to diminish crime would be to segregate habitual criminals and to prevent them from leaving progeny inheriting their vicious tendencies. Unfortunately, our laws and the public opinion upon which they are based do not treat offenders as criminals until they have attained maturity. We cannot now, for instance, act with such decision as the Areopagus of Athens, who sentenced a child to death for making it his pastime to put out the eyes of quails, on the ground that so wicked a disposition might one day prove fatal to many. But we can, by isolating known criminals, prevent the birth of such children, and there can be little doubt that this course would be productive of enormous economy in the administration of the laws. In former times, when the penalty of death was so frequently inflicted for offences against property, there must have been, at any rate, a partial weeding out of the criminal taint; but at the present time, what with short sentences, and prisons infinitely more healthy than many workmen's dwellings, we are drifting into a state of affairs not pleasant to contemplate. The disinclination to inflict the penalty of death, or even of imprisonment for life, upon the most notorious female offenders, leaves them greater liberty to produce offspring inheriting their vices than they have possessed in the past. It would be of the greatest importance if any means could be found to identify anthropometrically those possessing a criminal taint. Several foreign observers have done good work in this direction, and we welcome with satisfaction an English translation of Professor C. Lombroso and W. Ferrero's work on *The Female Offender*,¹ the value of which is increased by an Introduction from the pen of Mr. W. D. Morrison, of Wandsworth Prison. Professor Lombroso has for many years devoted his attention to criminal anthropology, especially with regard to the female criminal, and he has come to the conclusion that the habitual criminal is a product of pathological and atavistic anomalies, and that he represents a special type of the human race.

One of the chief difficulties with which the student of this subject is confronted is the impossibility of accurately defining a criminal. For instance, Professor Lombroso classes prostitutes among offenders, while our English law does not even place them under police supervision. Taking those females only who would be considered criminals in most civilised countries, it appears that they have three peculiarities as compared with normal women—namely, asymmetry of face, virile physiognomy, and dental irregularities. But although

¹*The Female Offender*. By Professor C. Lombroso and W. Ferrero. London: T. F. Unwin, 1895.

these and other peculiarities may characterise the greater number of criminals, yet they are absent in some of the worst cases; and, on the other hand, they may be found among perfectly honest women; so that we are still without any other reliable means of identifying criminals than their actions. Professor Lombroso's work contains numerous illustrations, and although some of these are not so clear as could be wished, yet allowance must be made for the great difficulty of obtaining photographs of the types described.

What the cell is to the biologist the crystal is to the mineralogist and chemist; and although we are still unable to define the laws according to which the different elements and groups of elements arrange themselves with such marvellous accuracy, yet the classification and arrangement of all known forms of crystals has already attained a high degree of perfection. An important contribution to the study of crystallography has just appeared from the Clarendon Press,¹ which we must now consider the standard work upon the subject. Professor Story-Maskelyne describes very fully the different systems in which various crystals are grouped, and gives complete instructions not only for the use of the goniometer, but also for the subsequent calculation of the angles of crystals. The book will be found of great use to the chemist and mineralogist.

Apostles of pessimism have hitherto been regarded as rather gloomy individuals, but now we have from the pen of one of them—and a distinguished one—an essay on the *Comforts of Pessimism*.² Even if we do not share the author's views, that monism is superior to egotism as the mainspring of the human race, we have yet derived some crumb of comfort from his somewhat sanguine statement of them. Interesting essays are those on "Our Relation to Animals" and "The Need of Books." From the latter we learn that, although the yearly production of books in Germany exceeds those of France and England taken together, yet the sale of really valuable scientific works is becoming more and more limited, so as to cover scarcely a third of the expenses of production. Publishers are stated to receive too small a portion of the price paid by the public, the middleman taking the lion's share of the profits. The new woman, or rather the too new variety of her, will not find von Hartmann's essay on *The Sexes Compared* very agreeable reading. The author considers that there is a fundamental distinction of activity and passivity between the male and female sexes, and that "it is only old maids who consider innocence an estimable quality in young men."

The search for gold in South Africa and Australia has of late years been prosecuted with so much vigour, and such progress has been made in treating complex ores, that a new edition of Mr.

¹ *The Morphology of Crystals*. By N. Story-Maskelyne. The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1895.

² *The Sexes Compared, and other Essays*. By Edward von Hartmann. Selected and Translated by A. Kenner. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1895.

J. W. Anderson's *Prospector's Handbook* has become necessary.¹ Several new features have been added to this edition, especially with reference to the above-mentioned countries, and the methods of testing and treating ores have been brought up to date. The chemical part of the work, however, requires revision, for such expressions as "selinide of mercury" and "molybderite" must be rather puzzling to the average prospector; and although a description of the metal aluminium and of its uses may be interesting, yet it can hardly be of any use to the prospector, as the metal is not found in a native state.

PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

If there are any persons who suppose that social problems are capable of a rough-and-ready solution, or that social difficulties may be conjured away by the touch of some magic wand, they may find a wholesome corrective in Professor Mackenzie's *Introduction to Social Philosophy*.² Looking at the social question, as our author does, in a broad and philosophic spirit, we learn how exceedingly complicated it is, and how the healing of all the diseases of the social body must be a slow and lengthy process, needing not only strenuous attention, but infinite patience. This book is so full of carefully worked-out trains of thought that an analysis of it would occupy far more space than we have at our disposal; so, passing over all preliminary considerations, we shall briefly notice some of our author's conclusions, trusting that many of our readers will obtain the book and study it for themselves. The fifth chapter is devoted to a consideration of the social ideal, and the three ordinarily accepted "one-sided ideals" are subjected to criticism. These are the ideal of liberty, the ideal of equality, and the aristocratic ideal. The weakness of each ideal, when carried out, is clearly set forth: the first leads to administrative anarchy, and the tendency is to crush out some individuals and brutalise others, though it is favourable to a vigorous industrial production, with which, in fact, it has been associated during the present century. The defects of it have led to an exaltation of the second ideal, that of equality, which, carried out, leads to Socialism, the perfecting of social machinery, not altogether incompatible, so Professor Mackenzie thinks, with individual culture, but it would fail by the inefficiency

¹ *The Prospector's Handbook*. By J. W. Anderson. London: Grady Lockwood & Son. 1895.

² *An Introduction to Social Philosophy*. By John S. Mackenzie, M.A. Second Edition. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1896.

of industrial conditions it would be apt to encourage; that is to say, it would take away the stimulus to individual exertion. The weaknesses of the aristocratic ideal are sufficiently plain, though it, too, has its advantages. The true or organic ideal, we are reminded, must include to some extent elements which are represented by the other three. "It must include such a degree of freedom as is necessary for the working out of the individual life. It must include such a degree of Socialism as is necessary to prevent exploitation and a brutalising struggle for existence, as well as to secure to each individual such leisure as is required for the development of the higher life. It must include such a degree of the aristocratic rule as is necessary for the advance of culture and for the wise conduct of social affairs." This necessity of, in some degree, combining these elements is already being recognised, though we may lay more stress upon one or another of them as we are more or less predisposed in its favour. But Professor Mackenzie would add another element, which indeed would be the combining one, and this he calls fraternity, or the recognition of vital relationships. This is an ideal which can only be attained by patient progress, by self-restraint and moral culture—yet our author contends that it is attainable, and not a mirage, like the Socialistic ideal. This leads finally to a consideration in detail of the conditions of social progress, in which there are three elements—(1) the subjugation of Nature; (2) the perfection of social machinery; and (3) personal development.

We can heartily recommend this book to all who are interested in the great social and vital questions of the day. It will not certainly give them any ready-made formulæ with which they may expect to be able to settle every question as it arises, but it will set them on their guard against adopting any hasty and ill-considered schemes which to the superficial may appear to be capable of immediate application; it will perhaps convince them of the necessity for study and patience and self-restraint as the conditions for successfully grappling with the evils they may wish to remove. "He who shall have at once a firm grasp of the concrete ideal of social well-being, and a clear insight into the conditions of its realisation, and the difficulties by which in the actual world it is beset, will be the true social reformer of the future." These are Mr. Mackenzie's own words and not inaptly describe his own qualifications as manifested in this very thoughtful contribution to social philosophy.

We should suppose that there are not many persons who feel a burning interest in the question of the authorship of the Book of Isaiah, which for more reasons than one has always been regarded as amongst the most important of Old Testament documents, but those who are interested in the subject will give a hearty welcome

to Professor Cheyne's monumental work which has just appeared with the modest title, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*.¹ The profound scholarship, the patient labour, the critical insight, the intellectual independence which are manifested in this work, raise Professor Cheyne far above all other English Biblical scholars, should be sufficient to finally settle the questions which are involved in the inquiry as to the origin and purpose of the greatest of the prophetic books. To the ordinary reader, accustomed only to the traditional Church view of Isaiah, the results will no doubt be the source of consternation; but the intelligent student will rejoice at the light they throw upon so much that is obscure if not unintelligible. We often wonder, indeed, if the average listener can attach any meaning at all to the selections from the Prophet which he may hear read in church; if he does, it is probably a meaning as far as possible from that of the original writer, and it is to be hoped, rather than expected, that the clergy will study Professor Cheyne's book, and let their congregations have the benefit of their labours.

It has long been understood, even by persons not especially devoted to Biblical criticism, that the so-called Book of Isaiah really consists of two books, and that the second book, chapters xl. to lxi., are by a different writer, and of much later date than the first: that, popularly speaking, there are two Isaiahs—as we think Matthew Arnold called them—Isaiah of Jerusalem and Isaiah of Babylon. It is unfortunate that the writer of the Exile being anonymous, we have no better and more distinctive way of indicating him. Even Professor Cheyne is so far compelled to yield to the necessity as to refer to these prophets as 1 Isaiah and 2 Isaiah. The first writer, chapters i. to xxxix., was Isaiah; the other is unknown. But it is further commonly supposed that these two books are wholly the work of these two writers, and are so far original and authentic. Professor Cheyne instructs us that, according to the results of the latest and most reliable criticism, this view is crude and untenable, and that both books are more or less fragmentary; that besides the contents which are undoubtedly authentic and the work of the original authors, there is much that is due to other hands, and only after a careful analysis can the authentic portions be pieced together and re-formed into an intelligible whole. How much labour this analysis has involved can only be realised by a study of the volume, though the results may be grasped by referring to the translation of the “undoubted portions,” which are given in the Appendix.

The Christian Church has taught for so many centuries that the second part of Isaiah (chapters xl. to lxi.) were “Evangelical”—

¹ *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*. With an Appendix containing the undoubted portions of the two Chief Prophetic Writers in a Translation. By the Rev. J. K. Cheyne, M.A., D.D. London: Adam & Charles Black. 1886.

that is to say, that they are prophecies relating to Gospel times, to the life of Christ and the origin of the Church—that the average Bible student will learn with interest (or dismay) that they are nothing of the kind, that, instead of being Evangelical prophecies written by Isaiah more than 700 years before Christ, they are the expressions of the fervent religious feelings and patriotic hopes of a writer who lived some 150 or 160 years later. Upon this vital question with regard to the book Professor Cheyne has no doubt at all. He asks, "What, then, is the critical value of the tradition of the Jewish or the Christian Church relative to the authorship of these chapters?" and answers, "None whatever."

"The argument from the historical background, from the ideas, beliefs, and anticipations, and from the language of chaps. xl.-lxvi. (to mention only the leading proofs), is decisive in favour of the theory that they are not the work of Isaiah, but (if they really form a single book) of a writer who flourished at the close of the Babylonian exile." To most students this will, of course, not be new, but Professor Cheyne considers this three-fold argument in detail, and, it appears to us, finally disposes of the traditional view, which is still held by the conservative opponents of the critical view. To those, however, who wish to keep abreast with criticism, Professor Cheyne has more to offer, and that is an analysis of these chief component parts of Isaiah with other fragments, which shows that even these, again, are not respectively the work of one author or one period. Into the details of this analysis we cannot now enter, for it would require much longer time than we are at present able to devote to this work, but those who will take the trouble and spend the necessary time upon it will find themselves well repaid; for, instead of a mass of disconnected and obscure oracles and enigmatical prophecies, they will realise that these books are a reflection of the times in which they were written, and, following Professor Cheyne's guidance, they will have a clearer view of some of the most interesting episodes in the history of Israel than they ever had before.

To Christians generally the story of the sufferings of the pious Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes, in what is known as Maccabean times, is much less familiar than the story of the Babylonian exile, though it is probably referred to by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews in the tenth chapter—"They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, they were tempted, they were slain with the sword," &c.

The martyrdom of Eleazar the scribe, or priest as he is elsewhere called, and Shamóné (or Miriam) and her seven sons, is briefly related in 2 Maccabees vi. and vii.; and a much fuller relation is given in the account attributed to Josephus, which is otherwise known as the *Fourth Book of Maccabees*.¹ It is the Syriac version of this book which the late

¹ *The Fourth Book of Maccabees and Kindred Documents in Syriac*, first edited on manuscript authority by the late R. L. Bensley, M.A. With an Introduction and Translations by W. E. Darnes, B.D. Cambridge: University Press, 1895.

Professor Bensley undertook to edit, but which now first sees the light, being produced under the supervision of Mr. Barnes. Besides this Fourth Maccabees, other related documents are given in the Syriac. Our acquaintance with this tongue is too slight to warrant us in offering any criticism, but Syriac scholars will be grateful to the editors and to the Syndics of the University Press for the opportunity of securing a copy of these interesting texts, which, we believe, up till now have only existed in MS. English readers, however, can appreciate the translations of some of the documents which are here given, for their literary value as well as for the story of the heroic endurance of the martyrs they glorify.

A list of the "other documents" may be useful to readers who cannot at once procure this volume. They are: (i.) A Discourse of Gregory Nazianzen; (ii.) a Discourse of Severus, the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch; (iii.) a second form of Severus's Discourse; (iv.) an anonymous Discourse; (v.) a Madrašā of Ephrem; and (vi.) an anonymous poem in twelve-syllable verse. The translations given are of those documents which are not found in a Greek form.

The Religion of the Crescent; or, Islām, its Strength, its Weakness, its Origin, its Influence—by the Rev. W. St. Clair-Tisdail, M.A. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge)—is rather below the average of this series of little books on non-Christian religious systems. It has an old-fashioned orthodox ring about it, and is depreciatory of Islam to a greater extent than we should have expected.

SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS AND JURISPRUDENCE.

THERE can be no doubt whatever that what is known as the Labour Movement, with all its manifold side-issues, is the question of the hour, and the question above all others in which the mass of the people are most keenly interested. The industrial world is now passing through a transitional period, and the party which takes up in earnest this question in all its bearings is the party of the future. That this party should be the Liberal party is our hope, the party which has hitherto led the van of progress. At the present moment, however, the Liberal party, as a whole, scarcely seems to realise the importance of this question. At any rate, it is obvious that a considerable section of the Liberal members of the House of Commons, composed principally of manufacturers and employers of labour, belong to the school of extreme individualists, and it is this section which is the stumbling-block to the advance of progressive

Liberalism. The appearance of *The Evolution of Industry*,¹ by Dr. Dyer, is singularly opportune. For from this work those gentlemen may learn, as they will, that, although the evolution of industry may be checked, it cannot be stopped; and further, that their material interests are less likely to suffer by a peaceful evolution than by a sudden revolution produced by selfish opposition.

Between the extremes of absolute Individualism and utopian Socialism Dr. Dyer steers a middle course. Dr. Dyer does not attempt to define his position, but it is undoubtedly that adopted by Professor Eley—viz., that of a scientific Socialist. He maintains that under the new system, when the present transitional stage has been left behind, the best principles of Individualism and Collectivism will be assimilated, and that although there may be a certain loss of individualism, there will be more room and greater freedom for the development of the individuality of the individual. While Dr. Dyer's own opinions can be gathered from the text, his endeavour has been rather "to show the tendency of thought among those who are studying the problems connected with labour, and who may be considered authorities regarding them." We venture to think, however, that Dr. Dyer has given rather too much of these authorities; the quotations are too long, and some of the points are too laboured. We should have preferred more of Dr. Dyer himself.

The Better Administration of the Poor Law,² by Mr. W. Chance, is of something more than academic interest. The book teems with highly useful and valuable information. Guardians who are really interested in making the best of the present admittedly defective Poor Law system, will here find much sound advice and many practical suggestions.

The vexed question of in-door *versus* out-door relief receives special treatment. In Mr. Chance's opinion out-door relief is entirely destructive of thrift and providence. Mr. Chance's reliance upon the official statistics of pauperism renders him too optimist. We have frequently pointed out that these figures do not represent the true state of affairs.

The subject-matter is rather loosely put together, and admits of a good deal of condensation. The book forms part of "The Charity Organisation series."

Whether we agree or not with the views expressed in *Aspects of the Social Problem*, we cannot afford to disregard them. This book consists of eighteen essays, of which the Editor, Mr. Bernard

¹ *The Evolution of Industry*. By Henry Dyer, C.E., M.A., B.Sc., Honorary Principal Imperial College of Engineering, Japan; Life Governor, Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College; Member of the Institute of Naval Architects, &c., &c. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

² *The Better Administration of the Poor Law*. By W. Chance, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Hon. Sec. Central Poor Law Conference, and a Guardian of the Poor (Farnham Union). London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1895.

Bozanquet, contributes six, Miss H. Dendy seven, Mrs. N. M'Callum two, and Mr. C. S. Loch, the well-known secretary of The Charity Organisation Society, the remainder.

These studies, we are informed in "The Preface," written on different occasions, with different purposes, appear, when compared together, to have a single principle at their root. The writers have seen and felt, as well as reflected, that the individual member of society, as a whole, is a structure in which will and character "are the blocks with which we build." This is true enough, but the principle which will strike the reader most as permeating the book, is its absolute individualism. The Duke of Cambridge made what is apparently a truism when he said "that reforms when necessary are desirable." These writers, however, whilst admitting that reforms are necessary consider them undesirable. The present institutions and organisations they maintain, if only left alone, will work out all right in the long run. They desire to increase the forces of *Voluntaryism* and to diminish the forces of *Collectivism* or State interference. They are, for instance, quite satisfied with the Poor Law as it is, although not with the way in which it is administered. But surely the Poor Law Act, 1834, was a reform of the older Poor Law system, and was due to State interference. The fact of the matter is that *Voluntaryism* by itself is powerless against the mighty social forces with which it has to contend. But *Voluntaryism* in alliance with social or collective organisations, based upon sound principles, and backed by State or Municipal authority, is invaluable. As Dr. Dyer contends, throughout his work, there is plenty of room for both, and both are necessary.

The work before us, admirable as it is from one aspect, would have gained in breadth of view and practical usefulness if the writers had not been so jealous of anything approaching State interference.¹

It does seem strange that just when our own Australian colonies are beginning to shake off the trammels of Protection that a virulent tirade against Free Trade should appear and that it should be written by an Englishman, hailing from Manchester of all places! Yet here on our table lies the *Perils to British Trade—How to Avert Them*,² by Mr. Edwin Burgis. We admit, unreservedly, that we are prejudiced against Protection, but we have given to this book the most impartial consideration of which we are capable, and we can come to no other conclusion than that Mr. Burgis has completely failed to prove his case.

Mr. Burgis appears to be one of those unfortunate persons who are afflicted with one idea. Protection is his panacea for all our

¹ *Aspects of the Social Problem*. By various writers. Edited by Bernard Bozanquet. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

² *Perils to British Trade—How to Avert Them*. By Edwin Burgis. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1892.

ills. Under our present system our commerce and agriculture, our trade and our finance, are going to the dogs. It is, of course, obvious that Protection would be a godsend to certain small classes, notably the landowners and capitalists, but that the lot of the mass of the population would be relieved remains to be proved, and Mr. Burgis does not strengthen his case by the extreme warmth of his language. We would remind Mr. Burgis that in the Protectionist United States of America and Canada agriculture is in almost as depressed a condition as in this country, and the falling off in the export trade of the former country is increasing to such an extent that the abandonment of Protection in the near future by the United States is not at all improbable.

The answer to this book is to be found in *The Fiscal Superstition*,¹ by Mr. Max Hirsch. Mr. Burgis inveighs greatly at what he terms the deliberate self-deception of the English people. Mr. Hirsch, who writes in favour of Free Trade and to show the true facts which exhibit the influence of Protection upon the condition of the people of Victoria, places on his title-page the following passage: "Credulity is the passive cause, as deception is the active cause, of human misery. For deception alone can win the consent of a people to its own spoliation."

Mr. Hirsch deals with Protection in relation to price, employment, and wages, and produces much valuable information in support of his arguments. As an acknowledged authority upon economic questions, Mr. Hirsch's conclusions are worth reproducing. "If the wages," he sums up, "in the United States had risen instead of falling; if the wages in England had fallen instead of rising; if the wages of the protected workers of Germany and Austria had risen to some measure of equality with those paid in Free-Trade Great Britain; or if wages in Victoria were markedly higher than in New South Wales; even if only one of these things had taken place, there would be some excuse for the delusion that Protection can raise wages and improve the conditions of life for the masses of the people. But no such excuse is available. The exact contrary is the case; everywhere the evidence is plain and conclusive, that Protection is a powerful agency in the reduction of wages and the degradation of the people."

The Great Western Railway Company could scarcely have secured a more enthusiastic historian of its rise and progress, or a more ardent admirer of the eminent engineers to whom its greatness is attributable, than Mr. Sekon. *A History of the Great Western Railway*² is not, however, so much a continuous story of the life of this great undertaking as an account of the "Battle of the Gauges."

¹ *The Fiscal Superstition*. By Max Hirsch. Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide: E. W. Cole. 1895.

² *A History of the Great Western Railway*. Being the Story of the Broad Gauge. By G. A. Sekon. Illustrated. London: Digby, Long & Co. 1895.

It is rather, as Mr. Sekon is careful to point out, "The Story of the Broad Gauge." And it must be remembered that the broad gauge, for the first thirty years or so of the railway's existence, prevailed throughout the whole system. To this extent, then, "The Story of the Broad Gauge" is the history of the Great Western Railway. Mr. Sekon bitterly laments throughout the book the recent conversion. He still maintains that it was a mistake. We agree with him that in point of speed, comfort, and safety the broad-gauge trains were superior to those of the narrow gauge, but there can be no question as to the immense advantages of a uniform gauge for through traffic. We should like to have seen a little more method in the arrangement of subjects: irrelevant matter is frequently introduced, breaking the thread of the argument, and anecdotes inserted which are in many cases not worth reproducing. The composition, too, in many instances is far from faultless. In spite of these blemishes, the book is intensely interesting, and, as an argument for the superiority of the broad gauge, could scarcely be bettered.

A Digest of the Law of Light,¹ by Mr. E. S. Roscoe, contains an ably written summary of the law upon a subject which particularly affects the public at large, and the third edition will be specially welcomed by builders and architects. The forms in Appendix v. are, of course, only of value to the special pleader, but the Appendices generally add much to the practical usefulness of the book.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

WE have at length a complete and comprehensive *History of the United States*, from the pen of Mr. E. Benjamin Andrews, President of Brown University.² No doubt many excellent histories had previously appeared dealing with the Great Republic of the West, but the work of Mr. Andrews embodies more than any other book on the subject the valuable researches of recent years into American archives. The opening chapters give an admirable account of the primitive inhabitants of America, including the Mound-builders of the Mississippi Valley, about whom, as the author says, "painfully little is known." Many of the mounds still remain, and in their

¹ *A Digest of the Law of Light*, with an Appendix of Statutes, Forms, and Plans. By Edward Stanley Roscoe, Barrister-at-Law, Assistant Admiralty Registrar of the Supreme Court. Third Edition. London: Reeves & Turner, 1895.

² *History of the United States*. By E. Benjamin Andrews, President of Brown University. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

way they are as mysterious and interesting as the pyramids of Egypt. The skeletons exhumed from them frequently fly into dust when exposed to the air. In some mounds trees five hundred years old have been cut, which could not have begun their growth till long after the earth-works had been deserted. We find a very scanty notice of the Aztecs in the work, but, no doubt, the author rightly assumed that this extraordinary race had very little connection with, the historical development of the United States.

The chapters dealing with the struggle between the French and English for supremacy in North America will be read with deep interest. The French appear to have, as a rule, been more successful in winning the sympathy of the Indian tribes. The English, however, prevailed, owing both to their numbers and their grit.

Some fearful pictures of Puritan intolerance are given in the work, including the vile treatment of Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, who was banished by the General Court of Massachusetts merely for advocating liberty of conscience.

The war between England and the colonies, which resulted in their liberation from the sway of the mother country, is described at very great length. Full justice is done by the author to the character of Washington, who has not been uniformly praised by American writers.

In the second volume the question of slavery and the great Civil War which won freedom for the negroes are exhaustively dealt with, and, while the North is held up to admiration, the bravery of the South is adequately recognised. The closing chapters treat of the material progress of the United States, and the author concludes with the following somewhat enigmatic words:—"We do not prophesy, as more than one voice out of Europe itself has of late done, that the United States will some day cross the Atlantic as a conqueror. This, indeed, may be. The Old World reels under its crushing burden of national debts and military taxes, and in material resources cannot long compete with us, free from such burdens. But it is to be hoped that we shall express our superiority in the form of ideas, not of arms, and use it in elevating mankind to richer culture and a nobler life."

America is, however, far behind France and England as yet in artistic culture, and it has much to learn from the Old World. The United States have produced one great writer of romance—Nathaniel Hawthorne—but no poet of the first rank. The efforts of Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, and Whitman, can scarcely bear comparison with the poetry with which Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Tennyson and Browning in England, and Victor Hugo, Gautier, De Musset, Banville, Baudelaire and others in France, have enriched the literature of this century. Poe, indeed, is a unique type of genius of whom America may well be proud, but as he was educated

in England, and had nothing distinctively American about him, he can scarcely be claimed as a representative American man of letters.

While, therefore, we appreciate the industry and research exhibited by the author of this excellent history, we cannot forbear from saying that he has over-estimated America's part in the promotion of civilisation.

Those who still believe in the "divine right of kings" will read with interest and also with sympathy the work entitled *Notes et Souvenirs pour Servir à l'Histoire du Parti Royaliste*,¹ by the Marquis de Dreux-Brezé. The author of the book was in the confidence of the Count de Chambord, and the tone of the volume shows clearly that he regarded it as his mission to devote himself to the organisation of the monarchic party in France. There is a singular pathos in the testimony borne by this interesting work to the Marquis de Dreux-Brezé's sincere devotion to an apparently hopeless cause.

Mrs. Salis Schwabe's *Reminiscences of Richard Cobden*,² is a book which can scarcely fail to find numerous readers. The volume mainly consists of letters and documents throwing light on the career of one of the most remarkable of modern Englishmen. The "Reminiscences" range from 1816 to 1861, and deal with a variety of interesting topics. In 1847 Cobden had an interview with the Pope, who impressed him as "one of the best men that ever lived." In 1850 he visited Paris, where he saw Guizot, De Lamennais, Bastiat, Cormenin and Lamartine, and his impressions of them given in this volume well deserve to be read. Cobden's speech on the Turkish question at the Peace Conference held at Edinburgh in 1853 is reproduced, and will repay perusal. Many people assume that attention to mere material prosperity was one of the defects of Cobden's mind. This idea, however, is shown in the present volume to be quite erroneous, as in a conversation with Mrs. Schwabe he laid down that "free trade was a divine law," and that, therefore, nations were bound to "fraternise and exchange goods with each other."

Everything relating to the great traveller whom the world knows as Henry Morton Stanley is interesting. An excellent sketch of the African explorer's early life has been written by Mr. Thomas George,³ who describes himself as "an old playmate." From this little book we gather that the real name of the man who found Livingstone is Howell Jones, and that he was born at Ysgar in the parish of Bettws, near Newcastle Emlyn, Carmarthenshire, on November 16, 1840. We are further informed that he was, during his tender years, nursed by his

¹ *Notes et Souvenirs pour Servir à l'Histoire du Parti Royaliste* (1872-1883). Paris: Perrin et Cie.

² *Reminiscences of Richard Cobden*. Compiled by Mrs. Salis Schwabe. With a Preface by Lord Farrer. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

³ *The Birth, Boyhood, and Younger Days of Henry M. Stanley*. By Thomas George. London: The Roxburgh Press.

grandmother, and that in his fifth year he could repeat by heart the first three Psalms. He appears to have been always of a most restless disposition, and it is said that a phrenologist predicted his future career as a great traveller. After his fifth year the boy lived with his father, who was a bookbinder, at a place called Bwlchmelyn. When he was six he was sent to a school at Kenarth on the banks of the river Teify. He loved to wander after school-hours amongst rocks and precipices, and, as he was of an inquisitive turn of mind, he learned all he could about Columbus, Captain Cook, and other discoverers, and at an early age resolved to emulate their exploits. He was fond of bathing, and soon became an expert swimmer. A little anecdote is related in the book showing that the future explorer was of a forgiving disposition, and, having regard to all the controversy which has raged as to Mr. Stanley's doings in Africa, it is refreshing to know that he was not a vindictive boy. In his seventeenth year he made up his mind to adopt a seafaring life, and, in spite of his father's objections, started for Swansea, where he got a situation on board a steamer. In 1862 he wrote to his father from Callao, intimating that he had changed his name to Stanley. We next find him in America, where he enlisted in the Confederate navy. During the American war he suffered great hardships, having been taken prisoner and having effected his escape at the risk of his life. In 1865 he revisited his Welsh home, but his stay in Wales was short. Mr. George is justly proud of having determined the question of Mr. Stanley's nationality, and the public have to thank him for a very readable little volume.

Dean Stephens has done justice to the character of that great historian, the late Mr. E. A. Freeman,¹ in his biography just published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. Mr. Freeman's letters possess more than ordinary interest. While at Oxford he wrote frequently to Miss Eleanor Gutch, his future wife, and many of his observations on matters literary and historical during that period are singularly jejune. For instance, he says that any of Carlyle's books he had read seemed "absurd and unintelligible rant." We may excuse the budding historian for his lack of imagination which prevented him from appreciating the author of *The French Revolution*. Mr. Freeman was certainly a man of great research, but he had "the defects of his qualities," as the French say. He had strong critical judgment, great industry, and an ardent love of truth; but he was narrow-minded, unsympathetic, and incapable of realising fully the complex and, one might add, phantasmagoric life of the past. His historical ballads, of which a specimen is given by Dean Stephens, are weak and ineffective when compared with Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*. While he studied Gothic architecture attentively,

¹ *The Life and Letters of Edward A. Freeman*. By W. N. W. Stephens, B.D., Dean of Winchester. London: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

he failed to apply the principle of psychological analysis to historical problems. This is illustrated by his ingenious portrait of Queen Elizabeth, in which, from beginning to end, he only deals with externals.* No wonder that such a man could not appreciate Carlyle! At the same time, we must admit that, in spite of his shortcomings, the late Mr. Freeman was a man of unquestionable intellectual honesty.

A very important work, entitled *La Domination Française en Belgique*,¹ by M. L. de Lanzac de Laborie, deals very minutely with the political relations between France and Belgium from 1795 to 1814. The author has examined the Belgian archives, and has, in fact, thoroughly mastered the subject. He shows how the religious question seriously affected the attitude of the Belgian population towards France. The Revolutionary decrees which proscribed the wearing of ecclesiastical costumes were naturally distasteful to a religious people like the Belgians; indeed this, though emanating from an anti-religious source, was an example of fanaticism essentially similar to English Puritan fanaticism in the days of Cromwell. The concluding chapter is headed "La Débâcle," and shows how French domination in Belgium came to an end.

A vivid and realistic picture of France during the reign of Louis XV. is given in the volume entitled *The Duc de Lauzun and the Court of Louis XV.*,² just published by Messrs. Osgood, M'Ilvaine & Co. The book has been translated from the French of M. Gaston Maugras. While it points out the systematic immorality which prevailed in French society in that age of gaiety and frivolity, it does justice to the leading personages of the period, and shows how much refinement and nobleness of sentiment could be found in the midst of such artificial surroundings. To quote a passage from the opening chapter, life in those days was "a continual holiday, a brief journey which must be made as gaily as possible; and, without absolutely denying the joys to come, for greater security they made a paradise of this world."

Of the Duc de Lauzun, the subject of the biography, the author speaks in perhaps too flattering terms. We are informed that, in spite of his gallantries, he was "kind and generous, with refined intelligence and wit, a faithful and trustworthy friend, brave to rashness." As he played an important part in the history of that time, there is an exceptional interest attached to his career. The account of Madame de Pompadour is very interesting, and there is also a minute record of that notorious favourite, Madame Du Barri, whose licentiousness, after all, had a certain glamour of romance, which the grim Carlyle did not appreciate.

¹ *La Domination Française en Belgique*. Par L. de Lanzac de Laborie. Paris: Librairie Plon.

² *The Duc de Lauzun and the Court of Louis XV.* Translated from the French of Gaston Maugras. London: Osgood, M'Ilvaine & Co.

The life of Ivan the Terrible furnishes a good subject for writers of historical biographies. Mr. Austen Pember has written an admirable book on the subject.¹ He exhibits the cruelty and sensuality of Ivan's character in vivid colours. Some of the actions of this monarch were so dreadful, indeed, that to the unintelligent reader of history he must appear nothing short of a monster. But men must be judged by their environment, and the circumstances of the times in which they lived. In the days of Ivan the Terrible there was no restraint imposed either by custom or public opinion on the caprices of an absolute ruler. The Czar could do whatever he liked, and, if he were not a tyrant, he would probably not have been respected by his ruthless and dissolute nobles.

In spite of Ivan's sanguinary deeds, it should be remembered that when he came to the throne Russia was almost crumbling to pieces, and that by his iron will he crushed disaffection and established order throughout his dominions. This fact is either forgotten or ignored by Mr. Pember, who looks at Ivan too much from the standpoint of nineteenth century enlightenment.

Messrs. H. S. Nichols and Co. have issued the fifth of their collection of Court Memoirs, consisting of Count Mirabeau's *Secret History of the Court of Berlin*.² The fact that most of the copies of the work—limited to 500—had been subscribed for even before its issue, is sufficient proof of the interest which it has aroused. Mirabeau, in a series of letters addressed, as it is supposed, to Calonne, gave a curious account of the Court of Frederick William, King of Prussia. He had been sent on some secret mission to that country, where he freely exercised his great powers of observation. While the military genius of Frederick the Great is deservedly praised by Mirabeau, the weakness, vacillation, and licentiousness of his successor are emphasised with perhaps undue severity. The original manuscript of the work was burnt by the public executioner in Paris on February 10, 1789, after a denunciatory harangue by M. Segnier, Advocate to the King of France. It had, however, been previously stolen, sold to a printer at Alençon, and published by him as a work by an unknown traveller. It is said that 20,000 copies of the work were speedily disposed of.

The strictures of Mirabeau on the Prussian Court elicited a reply from the celebrated Baron de Trenck, in which, however, monarchic concubinage was defended, if not held up to admiration. The truth of Mirabeau's statements has apparently been only confirmed by Baron de Trenck's book. The assault by the King of Prussia on Mademoiselle de Voss's virtue—which eventually yielded—is portrayed with a masterly skill which many so-called historical

¹ *Ivan the Terrible: His Life and Times*. By Austen Pember. London: A. P. Marsden.

² *The Secret History of the Court of Berlin*. By Count Mirabeau. London: H. S. Nichols & Co.

novelists, including Mr. Stanley Weyman, might envy. The hypocrisy of the monarch is ingeniously brought out by the anecdote showing his strong objection to the introduction of French plays into Prussia, on the ground that they might corrupt public morals. "From which," says the cynical Frenchman, "you might conclude that the German actresses are Lucretias. You must also especially admire the morality of this protector of morals, who goes to sup in the house of his former mistress, with three women, and makes a procuress of his daughter." This bit of savage realism has reference to the disgraceful fact that the King of Prussia used to visit Mademoiselle de Voss at his daughter's residence. Mirabeau does not confine his observations to the royal intrigues. He also gives a minute account of the political events of the period.

BELLES LETTRES.

THE success of Mr. Percy Russell's *Guide to British and American Novels*¹ has led to the issue of a second edition, revised and enlarged. Some of the faults of omission and commission which marred the first edition have been corrected. It is impossible to agree with many of Mr. Russell's criticisms; and his sense of proportion, as gauged by the space devoted respectively to books and authors known and almost unknown, is certainly curious. For instance, Olive Schreiner is credited with two or three lines of casual mention only, while nearly a page is given to one T. Vincent Tymms, author of a book entitled *The Mystery of God!* The author also has an irritating way of thrusting his religious convictions down the reader's throat in a manner utterly uncalled for in what purports to be a purely literary work. But, apart from his method, Mr. Russell's book usefully fills a gap, if only as a book of reference, and, if we might reasonably have expected somewhat better results from "thirty-six years' continuous study of British, American, and Australian fiction," the voyager might engage many a worse guide across the trackless waste of modern fiction than Mr. Percy Russell.

Distinctly above the average, both in style and matter, is A. H. Marshall's *Lord Stirling's Son*.² It will appeal with special force to 'Varsity men, who will appreciate many little points that will not strike those who have not spent their three or four years of undergraduate life. On a college staircase or in a junior common room

¹ *A Guide to British and American Novels.* By Percy Russell. London: Digby Long.

² *Lord Stirling's Son.* By A. H. Marshall. London: Osgood, McIlvaine & Co.

differences of social rank make themselves little felt, but Lord Stirling's son finds to his own and his middle-class fiancée's cost that the democratic principles of undergraduate life are not easily carried into practice in the world at large, and that, as eldest son and heir to a title, he is scarcely more a free agent in the disposal of himself and his fortunes than if he were a scion of royalty. The types of upper and middle class life are drawn with a truthfulness and accuracy which suggest models from real life, and Mr. Marshall has wisely restrained himself from using exaggeration or caricature to heighten the contrast between the manners and customs of the two strata.

In *Ernest England ; or, a Soul Laid Bare*,¹ there is enough material to make two or three Dramas for the Closet, as Mr. Parker calls it. The story runs on in a rambling, disconnected fashion, and the various characters and scenes are introduced apparently more as settings to and mouthpieces of the writer's views on a multitude of burning questions of the day, ranging from the claims of the prevalent cult of the almighty dollar on the individual to the arguments *pro* and *con* in regard to mission work in India. From the bewildering doubts that torture his soul, and from the cruel buffets of fortune which, with the exception of one short spell of married happiness, fall unceasingly on his head, Ernest England finds consolation in the end in the conviction that the scheme of the universe has been planned by a beneficent Creator, and that "Pain is God's agent here," and "Sorrow an apt courier who helps us climb the shale-sharp peak of holiness." In other words, he finds in the acceptance of the doctrine that "somehow good will be the final goal of ill," the only way, to put it roughly, to make the best of the bad job of life on this planet. By a careful revision and ruthless excision of redundancies and tautologies, especially at the opening of the drama, Mr. Parker would make a far better work, and, among serious readers at any rate, would probably gain many friends.

Last month we were able to compliment Mr. Eden Phillpotts on the production of an admirable study of life and character in his *Some Every-Day Folks*. We regret that a writer who can give us such good work should condescend to produce such worthless stuff as *A Deal with the Devil*.² The conception of a centenarian bartering his soul with the devil for a new lease of life, wherein he shall live backwards and grow younger each day till the devil claims him for his own as a baby in arms, has undoubtedly many possibilities, if cleverly worked out. But all depends in such a theme on the working out and the "bald and unconvincing" style of narrative chosen by Mr. Phillpotts, unrelieved by a ray of

¹ *Ernest England ; or, a Soul Laid Bare*. By J. T. Parker. London: The Leadenhall Press.

² *A Deal with the Devil*. By Max Pemberton. London: Bliss, Sands & Forster.

imagination or flash of humour, makes of the whole story a prosy farce.

*When the Heart is Young*¹ more than confirms the name made for herself by Alice Maud Meadows's previous works. Considerable power of construction and characterisation are displayed, and the two sisters, whose affections are engaged so much at cross-purposes all round, wind themselves round the reader's heart and win his sympathy so effectually that we imagine but few will rise with dry eyes from the pathetic *dénouement* which purchases by the death of one happiness for the other. The girls are drawn, so to speak, a little "too old for their age," and we must take for granted that the unfilial feelings of the first family to their father and step-mother are justified by proceedings outside and previous to the narrative. For the children certainly take the initiative in making things as unpleasant as possible between themselves and their father, and drawing down his wrath on their heads. But, grant these two points, the reader is enabled to thoroughly enjoy the girls' high spirits and breezy chatter, and side with them and the writer against the paternal despot.

*The Impregnable City*² will command alike the suffrages of all adult and boy readers who enjoy the thrilling excitement of a stirring romance, which recalls at once Dumas, Stevenson, and Jules Verne. The writer has the happy knack of sweeping aside the sober current of practical criticism which would condemn the utter impossibilities of the tale by the torrent force of his imaginative and narrative powers, which leaves the reader not a moment's calm reflection, till at last the Impregnable City of the lone Pacific Island, after hurling back the discomfited fleets of France and Russia, falls under the onslaught of the escaped prisoners, and the hero and his hard-won bride retire to live happily ever after.

*Castlehill*³ has the makings of a good story, but the cloudy atmosphere of unreality which pervades the narrative, the forced moralising and the jerky sequence of events detract from the pleasure which the perusal of the individual episodes would otherwise afford.

*Of a Fool and his Folly*⁴ is a short story neither better nor worse than the dozens which appear each week in our periodicals, and, as such, together with its fellows in the volume, scarcely merits the dignity of "Handsome cloth, crown 8vo."

Both the current issues in the Automyn and Pseudonym Library are well up to the average of their predecessors, Mrs. Oliphant's *Two Strangers*⁵ especially affording a remarkable instance of how

¹ *When the Heart is Young*. By Alice Maud Meadows. London: Digby, Long & Co.

² *The Impregnable City*. By Max Pemberton. London: Cassell & Co.

³ *Castlehill*. By James Hebblethwaite. London: H. R. Allenson.

⁴ *Of a Fool and His Folly*. By W. North and M. Howe. London: Digby, Long & Co.

⁵ *Two Strangers*. By Mrs. Oliphant. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

the skilled pen of a ready writer can make the slightest of themes fill nearly 200 pages of readable matter; while C. E. Francis, by the mouth of a sympathetic and observant third party, who, as an outsider, sees best the moves in the game, tells us the *Every Day News*¹ of an ill-assorted match between a literary couple of strong and strongly opposed ideas in taste and ethics.

*An Episode at Schmek's*² gives us over much guide-book matter relating to "that charming Hungarian Bad," and the writer is clumsily laborious in his efforts not to shock Mrs. Grundy's feelings in his account of the tender relations which grew up between the hero and his friend's supposed wife—*e.g.*: "So the next moment she was in his arms and held close to his heart, though not for a second longer than was necessary." What is the "necessary" number of seconds during which one may "hold close to the heart" another man's wife while helping her to dismount from horseback?

Le Voleur in his *By Order of the Brotherhood*³ will not disappoint the most exacting devourers of Nihilistic and similar romance, either in the quantity or quality of exciting episodes; and the straightforward, cross-country hardihood of the narrative rides so boldly over all obstacles of reason and possibility that we are quite prepared to congratulate the kindly solicitor and his friend the amateur detective on the miraculous good fortune which consistently attends them in their mission, without raising inconvenient questions as to the due limits of imaginative construction in fiction.

In *Her Celestial Husband*⁴ the bold conception of a marriage between a well-bred English girl and a Chinaman, with the inevitable disaster that attends such an attempt to ignore the barriers of the race, tradition, and character that separate East and West and Teuton and Tartar, is treated with a restrained realism which lends an atmosphere of refreshing verisimilitude to the narrative.

The same may be said of Mary Allen's *On the Cards*⁵, in which an English girl marries an Egyptian Prince, and succeeds for some years in making the best of her position in the gilded dungeon of the harem, until her husband is compelled by State and family considerations to take unto himself a second wife, when the bubble bursts, and the penalties that fall on the girl's head enable the writer to effectively point the moral of her tale—*viz.*, to look before you leap into the noose of matrimony.

*Spunyarn*⁶ is a collection of sea yarns, good enough to relieve the tedium of life in cabin or fo'castle, but scarcely crisp or bright enough to attract the average "landlubber."

¹ *Every Day News*. By C. E. Francis. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

² *An Episode at Schmek's*. By the Author of *A Flight to Florida*. London: Skeffington.

³ *By Order of the Brotherhood*. By Le Voleur. London: Jarrold & Sons.

⁴ *Her Celestial Husband*. By Daniel Woodroffe. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

⁵ *On the Cards*. By Mary Allen. London: Jarrold & Sons.

⁶ *Spunyarn*. By W. T. Preston. London: Digby, Long & Co.

All ramblers among the byways of English classical literature will welcome the addition to the tasteful Elizabethan library of the selections from the works of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, under the title of *The Friend of Sir Philip Sidney*.¹

Messrs. Chapman & Hall send us a capital translation of a characteristic short story by Count Tolstoi, entitled *Master and Man*,² wherein is taught in simple, homely phrase the vanity of riches ; and to all who enjoy stirring tales about hero-highwaymen of the Paul Clifford type we heartily commend the perusal of Mr. James's *On Turnham Green*, with its vivid pictures of the old coaching days in the neighbourhood of London,

The fourth volume of the *New English Dictionary*,³ edited by Dr. James A. H. Murray, has been admirably prepared by Mr. Henry Bradley, M.A. It contains elaborate accounts of the origin and various meanings of such curious English words as "fee," "fanel," and "fantasy." Some attempt has been made to prove that our word "fee" is of Romanic origin, but with this view we are scarcely inclined to agree. Numerous examples are given as to the various uses of words by different English writers.

Professor Tyrrell of Dublin University has published in a handsome volume the lectures delivered by him on *Latin Poetry*⁴ on the Percy Turnbull Memorial Foundation in the Johns Hopkins University in 1893. The lectures are entirely free from pedantry, and exhibit a thorough knowledge of Latin literature. We cannot, however, agree with all Professor Tyrrell's judgments on Roman poets. It appears to us that he exaggerates the merits of Catullus, a poet who might well be compared with Mr. Swinburne, and that he fails to appreciate the genius of Juvenal, who was not merely a great satirist but a moralist of the highest order. If Juvenal had never written, we could not have formed anything like an adequate conception of the life of his time. It is curious that, while apologising for the impurity of Catullus and the filthiness of Martial, Professor Tyrrell should have taken the opportunity of having a fling at M. Zola. But M. Zola's pages are purity itself in comparison with some of the productions of certain Roman poets for whom the Professor expresses very strong admiration. Surely immorality is just as censurable in a work written in a dead language as in a modern French work of fiction.

¹ *The Friend of Sir Philip Sidney*. Being Selections from the Works of Lord Brooke. London: Elliot Stock.

² *Master and Man*. By Count Tolstoi. Translated by A. Hulme Beaman. London: Chapman & Hall.

³ *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Edited by Dr. J. A. H. Murray. Vol. iv. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

⁴ *Latin Poetry*. Lectures delivered in 1893 on the Percy Turnbull Memorial Foundation in the Johns Hopkins University. By R. T. Tyrrell. London: Macmillan & Co.



THE OPPORTUNITY OF DEMOCRACY.

THAT the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is become the Kingdom of Demos, is the burden of modern political prophecy : and verily, not one token is wanting, of all the infallible signs enumerated by the father of political science, as the marks of a State in which the masses are supreme.

For personal liberty, according to Aristotle, is the primary principle of a democratical polity ; every citizen lives according to his own pleasure ; and there is extreme licence among women and children. And arithmetical equality is Aristotle's second criterion of democracy ; all the citizens are eligible to all the offices of state ; the judges, the executive officers, and the members of the legislative assembly, are all paid ; whilst to make this possible, and to prevent the masses from being sunk in extreme poverty, legislation frequently takes the form of confiscation of the property of the rich. Moreover, since the masses are supreme, since the will of the majority is final, since the Commons are superior even to the laws, it follows that the final authority is vested in the legislative assembly ; and the result is a blurring of the lines marking off the three departments of state, the Legislature, the Executive, and the Judicial Body ; which blurring of the lines by Aristotle is declared to be the third sure sign of popular government.

And the very same three notes of democracy strike a dominant triad on the political key-board of modern England. Personal liberty—the first key-note—and more especially the liberty which consists in the licence of women and in the freedom of children from control, is a distinguishing feature of to-day. Concerning children Mr. Matthew Arnold wrote so far back as the year 1852 :—

“ I am convinced there is no class of children, so generally brought up (at home at least), without discipline, that is without habits of respect, exact obedience, and self-control, as the children of the lower middle class in this country.”

And those who daily come in contact with the children of the middle class are convinced that these words are as true in 1895 as ever they were in 1852 ; and affirm further, that the laxity of discipline, which aforetime was characteristic especially of the children of the lower middle class, is now equally characteristic of the

children of the upper middle class. No doubt, the establishment of Board schools, with the consequent intercourse under the shadow of their walls, of children of all sorts, has been mainly instrumental in bringing about this extension of licence, while the undermining of the respect for authority has been accelerated, to say the least of it, by the exclusion from the sphere of influence of the parish priest or other minister of religion, of two-fifths of the children who are being educated under the Act of 1870. And as to women, the civil and political disabilities under which they long laboured have been removed, so that women now share with men an equal opportunity of circumstance. Only, that which in the "Politics" is styled licence of women is now translated the Emancipation of a Sex. Equality is Aristotle's second key-note. And side by side with the movement for the emancipation of women from the unnatural inequalities of the sex, there has grown up an effectual determination to minimise the social and political inequalities, which are the result of the natural inequality of men; and to bring about as close an approximation as is possible to the arithmetical equality of all. Whilst there is no reason to doubt, after the increase of the death duties, that the necessary money will be provided at the expense of the rich. Moreover, the blurring of the lines, which is Aristotle's third key-note, is as evident in the political system of modern England as in the political system of an ancient democracy. The functions of the Legislature overlap the functions of the Judges. The officers of the Executive trench upon the prerogatives of the officers of the Law Courts; and the greatest usurpation of all is the usurpation by the Legislature of the authority of the Executive.

So then, *Demos is King*. And it is to no limited kingship that he has succeeded. The extensions of the franchise in 1867 and 1884 are the outward signs of the changes that have taken place in the theory of the State. The extension of 1867 was a leap in the dark. But the premisses upon which the modern Radicals of 1884 based their demands were Liberty and Equality. Their most eloquent plea was this, "two millions of your fellow men are knocking at the door of the constitution." The right to admission was based not on merit, not on property, but on numbers. Furthermore, this matter of Representation is itself a conspicuous way-mark in the journey towards democracy. When representation means the choice of a member to think, decide, and act, on behalf of, and instead of his constituents, then it is an efficient check upon the power of the people. And representation was once very important, in the days when no debates and no division lists were published. But now it is at the best a clumsy device, for the representative is fast being merged in the delegate, and is becoming the mere mouth-piece of the majority of his constituency. Speeches in Parliament are no longer meant to convince the other members. They are

meant to instruct and win the public, and are not so important as the stumping speeches. There is too, an increasing tendency to threaten Parliament with the people, which, when representation was real was regarded as most unconstitutional. That these changes have taken place is in large measure due to the Electric Telegraph and to the daily Press. The advice of Carlyle, "Make the *Times* newspaper the National Palaver," has been followed. And as Lord Iddesleigh put it, "There is now a second Chamber in the streets."

II.

There is little doubt that Demos will inaugurate his reign by laying a sacrilegious hand upon the ark of the Constitution. There are constitutional changes which have long been imperatively necessary, but which have been postponed until the advent of Demos; for it has been the habit of the Conservative Party to see only the Constitution which is the model and envy of all mankind; while the practice of the Liberal Party is to be content with second readings and resolutions. No doubt, there is a feeling of tenderness for the forms of the House of Commons, coupled with an instinctive feeling that beneath those forms the wisdom of generations lies hid, which has hitherto restrained the members from breaking with tradition. The House was ten years in making up its mind to cope adequately with the grossest obstruction. But a beginning having once been made further changes must follow as a natural sequence. Question time is the opportunity of every frivolous and vexatious person. In the American system questions are answered on paper, and in England one step in the right direction has been taken. It remains for Demos to take the second step. The Committee stage of a Bill is the opportunity of the obstructive; and even responsible leaders of the Opposition do not hesitate to avow their intention of voting for any amendment that promises to maim an obnoxious measure. As a remedy against this state of things, Sir Henry Maine suggested a cabinet of executive Ministers, and J. S. Mill a legislative committee, whose Bills might not be mutilated in Committee of the whole House; and that some such compromise is possible is certain, inasmuch as the Redistribution Bill was first prepared by departmental officials of great ability, and was then passed through both Houses of Parliament with amazing despatch. Moreover, the simpler issues of foreign policy ought to be made more public, and Demos will do well to follow in the road marked out by Lord Salisbury when the sanction of the House of Commons was asked to the cession of Heligoland.

But the chief care of Demos must be his children. A society, if it is to possess stability, must take care that the children of the community are trained, by habit and by education, in the spirit of

the polity. Now the spirit of democracy is a spirit of freedom and equality, and it should seem therefore that the lessons to be learned in childhood are lessons in equality and liberty, the child being taught that he is free to live as he may choose and that he is the equal of all. But herein lurks an error. The liberty, which is one half of the desire of the true democrat, is the liberty to do right, and the equality, which is the other half, is the equality of opportunity; for his aim is to grant to every man the opportunity to mature the faculties he possesses, and the opportunity to use those faculties in the service of the State. And however desirable for the adult absolute freedom and absolute equality may be, there can be no question that to be under discipline is for the highest good of the child, it being well for children to be brought up in habits of obedience, of temperance, and of restraint. And the outlook is hopeful, inasmuch as the rule of Demos is seen to mean, not *laissez faire*, not anarchy, but socialism, regimentation, or whatever term is preferred, to suggest that organisation of society in which the whole life of the individual is brought within the purview of the State. The State has already undertaken the education of its children, and has already interfered to shorten the hours of labour of its children; and since the natural order in England is through the voluntary society to the State department, there is no reason why the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children should not become a department of State and the honorary director the responsible Minister. But the corollary of such a step is this: If society has regard to the safety, welfare, and happiness of its child, society thereby wins the right to control and curb the waywardness of its child. In New York children are forbidden to smoke in any public place. There is much to be said for refusing to permit children to witness the performance of the society play. And surely nothing but good could result if the State were to make it impossible for mere boys to frequent the resorts of the strange woman. It might even be well if the children's charter were supplemented by a children's curfew.

Moreover, it is high time that the Education Act of 1870 was revised and supplemented. The Act was an experiment, and the experience of its working during a quarter of a century has furnished sufficient material for supplementary legislation. For one thing there is a woeful waste of educational resources. There are Church schools and Board schools, Endowed schools and Technical schools, Evening Continuation schools and University Extension classes. It is time, too, that an Intermediate Act was passed, and that the education imparted in the Endowed schools and small Grammar schools was systematised and co-ordinated with the existing education of the elementary schools. Furthermore, this last requires emendation also, for it does not furnish the scholar with an ample

equipment for the work of life. The three R's, together with history, geography, French, algebra, and shorthand, do not constitute a sufficient mental outfit. Technical instruction and natural science should be part of the education of all. And every boy ought to be taught a trade. At present, the early age at which children leave school makes a complete education impossible, and the official remedy that has been prescribed is almost worse than the disease. The remedy is the Evening Continuation school; but by the testimony of scholars, teachers, and parents, the Evening Continuation school is a place where little work is done: a meeting-place for boys and girls, and a cause of extra labour to the police, whose duty it is to separate the sexes when the scholars are dismissed.

The State would do well also to exercise control over the books which its children read. The lending departments of the free libraries cater chiefly for the young, who read fiction; and neither a surfeit of Miss Braddon nor yet a course of Sarah Grand is a good thing for children in their teens. Besides, there is another evil. The worst matter procurable in the libraries is harmless compared with literature that can be had of any newsagent for a penny. It was the aim of the emancipators of the school of John Bright to remove those restrictions which hampered the circulation of a cheap, a free, and a good press. There is in these words a tacit assumption that the literature which is cheap and free must also be good. But unfortunately that which is cheap is very frequently nasty. Assuredly, in the desire for equality, in the passion for liberty, and in the demand for freedom, the children have been forgotten. Let Demos awake and see to it that the State undertakes the censorship of his children.

And before all things it is necessary that Demos bind up the wounds that have been dealt in the civil war between Church and Dissent. As a preliminary he will have to decide whether or no he shall give an official recognition to religion, by the establishment of a National Church. Two things at least seem certain: The one, that he will disestablish the English Church; the other, that disestablishment will be accompanied by disendowment. For the English Church can no longer boast herself to be the Church of the Nation. No doubt, in theory, all men are reckoned her children who have not definitely repudiated their allegiance. But of these a very large proportion are quite out of harmony with her system. The Church is not in possession, being the official formula for whole districts in London: while there are besides the very numerous Nonconformists, who dislike the superior privileges of the Established Church; and even Churchmen may be found to advocate the separation of Church from State. Now, since disestablishment is not likely to come about except to the accompaniment of disendowment, to effect such a separation would be to hand over to the

benevolence of the faithful the maintenance of religion. And this would be a surprising departure: for in all other departments of State latter-day legislation has been founded upon the failure of the voluntary system. To take education alone, it was owing to the inadequacy of the Church schools that the State in 1870 undertook the elementary education of its children; and at the present time the pioneers of university extension, of technical instruction, and of higher education, are pleading for State aid as an absolute necessity in any successful system. All of which is a tacit admission that the fruits of the voluntary system are not such as to generally recommend it; so that it will be passing strange if it is only in the highest education of all that this outworn system is suffered to survive. It is for this reason mainly that the best teachers in the English Church dread disestablishment. They say the voluntary system means religion for those who can pay.

But disestablishment notwithstanding, the question for Demos will still be this: Has the day foreseen by the founder of the Christian religion, "the day when neither in this mountain nor yet in Jerusalem shall men worship"—has this day yet dawned upon England, and can Englishmen afford to dispense with the assembling of themselves together at special times and in special places? Nor does it appear that Demos has any deep distrust of the idea of a Church. So far indeed is this from being the case, that one of the latest developments of the labour movement has been the organisation of a labour Church. Consequently a concurrent endowment of the churches has been suggested as a remedy against the evils of voluntarism. But the solution is an impossible one. In the first place the Nonconformists will not hear of it. And secondly, the disestablishment of the State Church, together with the endowment of at least seven missionary organisations, would mean the perpetuation of the present unedifying spectacle of separate societies, having a common aim, yet hindering and overlapping one another, to the waste of their resources, to the loss of unity and to the aggravation of party spirit. Demos, at any rate, may be trusted not to spend his money in subsidising rival churches. In truth there is only one way, and that is to widen the basis of the English Church. Reunion and reorganisation must precede re-endowment. But if reunion is to come about, there must be no iron rigidity in modes of worship or in forms of thought. A national Church, all of whose members think alike and pray alike, is impossible except under compulsion, and compulsion has been tried and found wanting, from the days of the Reformation even until now. For the principle of the Reformation was not that men should think thus and thus, but that men should think. And the Church of England, if she is ever again to be the national Church, must include many modes of worship and divers forms of thought. Verily, it is high time that the impossi-

bility of securing a definite standard of doctrine, by means of Creeds and Articles, was recognised. That the English Church has been unable to secure such a uniform standard, even though a subscription test is imposed upon her ministers, is notorious. There is room in her communion for Canon Knox-Little and for Archdeacon Farrar. While, on the other hand, a bright example can be adduced to show that a body of knowledge may be preserved in its integrity even though no restraints are placed upon those into whose charge it is committed. There is not one professor of physical science whose tenure of a Chair depends upon the conclusions at which he may arrive; and yet the scientific faith has hitherto been kept whole and undefiled.

And there are other questions to which *Demos*, and only *Demos*, can supply the answer. Such are, the question of the hours of adult labour, the question of the position of labour in the partnership between Labour and Capital; and the question of the duty of the State towards the Submerged Tenth. They are questions which have been neglected by aristocratic and by middle-class governments; questions in which the welfare of the whole nation is involved; questions, moreover, which *Demos* is competent to solve. And in answering them he will have regard to his own interests. It was for this very reason that the franchise was extended in 1884, in order that two million capable citizens might secure their own best interests. Now there is a self regard which is good, but there is also a selfishness which is bad. And selfishness, manifested in the form of class legislation, has hitherto been the bane of every type of government in England. The statute of labourers was passed by a legislature of employers; the ascendancy of landowners in the legislature has prevented the imposition of taxes on land; the laws against the combinations of workmen to raise wages were the work of a house of masters; while the bitterest opposition to the Factory Acts came from the millowners. The opportunity to remove the reproach of selfishness has been given to *Demos*, and as Bishop Moorhouse has well said, "Misery must have a better aim than vengeance." But, besides selfishness, there are other temptations which will inevitably beset the steps of *Demos*. The sins of democracies are manifest, and they are these—judicial iniquity; legalised confiscation; intemperate demagoguery; slovenly administration; ignorant, unstable, and depraved tyranny of multitudes. And they which do such things are not worthy to inherit the kingdoms of the earth. The seven deadly sins *Demos* may easily shun; but, at best, he can but be an erring and a straying king. And what of this? Has it not been the prerogative of every government and of every political school to make mistakes, from the days when the mercantile system inspired every interference of government with trade, until the days when the gospel of *laissez faire* was so ardently

preached by the philosophers of the Radical school. Nor will Demos be exempt from error. But in any case, it is better for a people to think amiss than not to think at all; better for a people to make mistakes than to stand idle; better for a people to be free than to be free from error. Demos can at least secure twenty years of cheerful and hopeful blundering.

III.

One great hope for the future is to be looked for in the continuation of that accommodation to new conditions which has hitherto been the distinguishing mark of the Constitution. As in the past new conditions have invariably brought into play the corresponding corrective checks, so in the future it is to be expected that a similar adaptability will be manifest. Besides, three strong checks upon the power of the Sovereign already exist, and they will not cease to operate because Demos has the sovereign power. The first of these controlling forces is the system of Local Government; and that local self-government does effectually restrain the stretched out arm of Demos is evident from his desire to centralise all authority. But the acme of centralisation seems now to have been reached. And in recent legislation the swing of the pendulum is once again in the direction of the ancient Saxon polity of self-governing communities. Truly, it is not without a cause that the wide extension of the principle of local government has coincided with the advent to power of Demos. The second check is the permanent official system. The dust and din of parties is responsible for obscuring the plain fact, that the greater part of the actual work of government is done by the permanent officials; is done in pretty much the same fashion, no matter to what party in the State the temporary heads of departments may belong, and is quite unaffected by a change of Government. For example, after a sudden change of Government, the new Minister will introduce the Estimates that had been prepared by his predecessor with the help of the permanent staff. The permanent secretary is at least as great a personage as the parliamentary head, and he must and does exercise a commanding influence over his temporary chief, whose tenure of office depends upon the mere whim of the electors. And in proportion as the Minister is unversed in technical knowledge, and unskilled in affairs, the official suggestions will be likely to prevail. At the worst, and should Demos scoff, the permanent staff has always in its power the last resort of resignation; and such resignation would entail the very heaviest responsibility upon the Cabinet Minister. But the check which will impose the most effectual restraint upon Demos is the official opposition. It is devoutly to be desired that history may again repeat itself, and that the break-up of parties, synchro-

nising with the retirement of Mr. Gladstone, may result in the formation once more of two great parties in the State, the one to govern, the other to oppose. If such is to be the case, the Liberal Party must be transformed into a Democratic Party; and as Demos is to take his turn at the wheel, the opposition must come from a Conservative Party. Just now there is no Conservative Party. There is instead a party whose watchword is opportunism. As it was in the days of Mr. Disraeli, so it is now, the Conservative Party is still an organised hypocrisy. In 1867 the Franchise Bill was designed to dish the Whigs, and in 1891 the Free Education Act was an electioneering manoeuvre, inspired by Mr. Chamberlain, and unpopular with the Tories. Tory Democracy was once a popular catchword, and was eventually defined to be a democracy which supports the Tory party. But too often it has meant instead a Tory party which supports democracy. What is wanted is a Tory party which shall not hanker overmuch after the flesh-pots of the Treasury Bench; a Tory party which shall scorn to outbid its opponents; a Tory party which shall be content to look forward to long continued exile from office. In the past men have submitted to such exile rather than recant their political beliefs. And to-day there must be in the country those who look with disfavour upon government by numbers; those who fear that the high hopes of the Democrats are doomed to disappointment; those who, realising that national life and progress depend, in the main, on something other than political forms, neither dread the advent of Demos, nor yet are prepared to stimulate the national will. And of such men ought that party to be composed whose task will be to keep watch and ward over Demos. No doubt at times the party would succeed to office, for it seldom happens that they who make the best reformers make also the best administrators. It may even be true, as some prophets have asserted, that in the long run Democracy is not a reforming agency. And if the time should ever be when the waters of Democracy are become a stagnant pool, then will be the opportunity of the Tory party. But the present is the opportunity of Democracy.

And there is great hope for Demos. Indeed, he would do well to ponder the Scriptural injunction to beware when all men speak well of you, for the universal witness is, that during fifty years Demos has advanced with long and rapid strides, in conduct, in prudence, in self-control, in obedience to law, in wisdom, in knowledge, and in understanding. Both morally and intellectually he is equal to his task. The saying is attributed to Burke, that when the people had a feeling they were commonly in the right, although they sometimes mistook the physician. And it is because Demos is alive to his own needs, and because Demos is able to voice his own grievances, that to him may safely be entrusted the task of calling in his own physician. He is also above corruption. Three times

in thirty years has Demos been tempted with a bribe. Three times has Demos returned the bribe. Household Suffrage was the first, the gift of the Tories, and in the following year Mr. Gladstone was returned to power with an overwhelming majority. The greatest money bribe that has ever been offered by a political party to the constituencies was Mr. Gladstone's proposal to remit the income tax, to free the breakfast table, and to reduce the burden of local taxation. And the result was the first Conservative majority in thirty years. Nor did the gift of free education produce a different result. Indeed, the capture of the Constitution by Demos may fitly be compared to the conquest of England by the Danes. As in the ninth century, the introduction of a rougher and a stronger element, free from the trammels of civilisation, brought about a reinvigoration of the national polity, so now the introduction into political and parliamentary institutions of a more strenuous life and a less highly civilised strain, has infused society with a greater moral earnestness.

However, these considerations will blind no one to the fact that Democracy, after all, is neither more nor less than a tremendous experiment. Happily, that class of politicians is numerically insignificant which teaches the divine right of Demos as a necessary article of political orthodoxy; whose perorations are a command to let the full tide of Democracy flow on unhindered, bringing blessings to this great nation. But the class exists. It may be well, therefore, to remind such people that the salvation of Demos is not yet assured. By all means, let him work out his final destiny. But let him do so, not in a spirit of exultant optimism, but in a spirit of fear and trembling. Doubtless the opportunity of Demos is great. But no less great will be his shame if he fail.

WILLIAM HAMMOND ROBINSON.

NEWFOUNDLAND: A REVIEW.¹

JUDGE PROWSE'S book is distinctly an invitation to write about Newfoundland; but we pause in doubt whether first to speak of the Colony or of the work.

To call the book a history only partly describes it; indeed, by a strict standard it would not be called a history at all; it is a collection of historical records—political and personal, antiquarian and statistical, topographical and zoological. It reproduces ancient charts and maps, it has pictures of many places familiar to us who know the island; it interweaves with the letterpress portraits of the chief men who figure in the story, from Sebastian Cabot and Jaques Cartier to the Premier and the Governor who now are struggling with adverse fortune. Judge Prowse has endeavoured to compile a work which would be interesting to the reader of light literature as well as to the student of history; and he has succeeded. If he has failed to establish a reputation as an historian he will yet be greeted with enthusiasm as an able historiographer and an excellent story-teller. At the same time he has made it possible to write a correct history of Newfoundland: he has for the first time given a vivid picture of English settlement in the colony; he has corrected some old errors and swept away various misapprehensions.

The division of the subject according to the reigns of the Sovereigns of England has some little convenience, but obliterates the landmarks of the Colony's own history. Mr. Prowse, in his introduction, shows the periods into which the history really falls, but he does not mark them prominently in his narrative. It is, therefore, difficult for the reader to follow the gradual development of the Colony. Similarly there is a lack of arrangement and appositeness in many of the illustrations and portraits. We cannot pass over these defects, but we consider that they interfere very little with the interest of the work.

On the other hand, the book has some excellent features, many of the biographical notes are original and valuable; several of the discussions upon names and terms are scholarly and interesting. That on Bonavista is a fair example. *Calabogus* is a good word which will be new to most readers; we wish the note on p. 226

¹ *A History of Newfoundland, from the English, Colonial and Foreign Records.* By D. W. Prowse, Q.C. With a Prefatory note by Edmund Gosse. London: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

gave us its derivation. As for flakes, and quintals, and caplin, and carriboo—these things were familiar to us in youth, and we will leave the less fortunate to discover what they are from Mr. Prowse. The chapters on the French Colonies which have survived close under the shore of the big Island—a sort of Guernsey in America—are very useful; but in a history of an English colony they are perhaps better suited to an appendix. The Labrador, of course, is by history and custom almost a part of Newfoundland.

Newfoundland (or Newland, as it is called in a statute of Henry VIII.) is a very different place from the foggy, ice-bound land which most people imagine it. It is farther south in latitude than Great Britain; it is no land of fog; and the summers are delightful. It is true that the winters are long and severe, for there is no Gulf Stream to temper the ocean; but, even in the winter, the sun shines brilliantly—the fogs, in which the prevalent idea envelops the island, are really far out at sea. May is the most unpleasant month, for ten and twelve feet of snow-drift and four and five feet of ice must be got rid of somehow; so Newfoundland becomes a world of slush and misery. Then June is too often bleak and biting. But before it is over, what a delightful change has come! and it comes with some certainty: there is rarely the disappointment which an English summer brings. We have enjoyed nothing better than the firwoods of Avalon in the summer, their cranberries and hurts,¹ and wild raspberries—and the globe flowers and pitcher plants and *Linnaea borealis* in the marshes. The country has a character of its own: yet ever and again it recalls old England more perhaps than any other part of the earth. There is a good deal of Devonshire in yon old farm which was settled years ago by Devonshire men; Croker's river is much like a Yorkshire trout stream, and the pools in the early July evening show much the same insect life. But on the banks of the rivers bloom the calmia and azalea; and the Still Water far down amid the forests of pine and fir has a vastness and solitude which we do not see over here. What delightful trout fishing there is, too! how free they come! only the mosquitoes and sand flies are certainly a drawback. And what a paradise for picnics! over the high ground to Topsail Cove, and to Portugal Cove, and Torbay, and Flat Rock. They were no mean picnics in the old days, when the whole community seemed to turn out and drive off to the rendezvous in a continuous stream. For round about the sixties the island was prosperous, and the presence of the military gave life and tone to society. A quarter of a century has wrought a change: the removal of the troops was certainly a loss: the thought of the island moved in a narrow circle: it lost touch with the outside world; and gradually selfishness and cor-

¹ The whorlberry.

ruption have wrought the failure of responsible government. The present distress of the Newfoundland fishermen is due partly to economic causes; in some measure to the difficulty of the French shore; but very largely to that state of political degeneracy which made it possible for the Supreme Court a year ago to unseat a whole Ministry on petition.

One of the chief facts which Judge Prowse would impress upon us is the gratitude due to the Newfoundland fishery as the original nursery of the British naval power. He claims with some success to show that England owed the victory over the Armada more to the Newfoundland fishermen than to the West Indian navigators. Let us give them equal credit at any rate, for they were all good men, and we owe them all a debt which we are unworthy to have borne. In the early days of the Newfoundland fishery no settlements were made, and several nations partook in the spoils. The English came first, as early as 1498, but French and Portuguese soon followed. The west-country men of England always held their own, and the crews of the vessels which were left behind for the winter formed the first nucleus of a permanent settlement. There were various attempts to colonise the island formally under patent from the Crown. Sir Humphry Gilbert's expedition was a fiasco. The Chartered Company, of London and Bristol for the colonising of Newfoundland, under the guidance of John Guy, and with subsidy from the Government, made the first effective start. The names of Lord Falkland, Lord Baltimore, and The Duke of Hamilton all became prominent rather later; but as Mr. Prowse puts it, these courtiers' colonies were failures, and the hard practical work of the fishermen lived on. Charles II., who did most things badly, did a cruel turn to his subjects in selling Placentia to the French. But the worst enemies of the fishermen were they of their own household. The west-country merchants who were interested in the fisheries moved heaven and earth to keep the profits in their own hands: by them the colonist was viewed with suspicion as an organ for transplanting the headquarters of the fishing-fleets from Bideford or Bristol to St. John's. Their last and most violent effort to crush the Colony was made in 1676, and supported by the great name and influence of Sir Josiah Child. It is difficult to realise the truth of the story which Mr. Prowse tells us on pp. 187 and onwards. To the lasting credit of the people of Poole and Weymouth be it told that they used every effort to oppose the King's order and obtain its final rescission. The naval men were also on the side of the settlers; Berry and Davis lent their influence. In May 1677, an Order in Council issued continuing the "planters" of Newfoundland in possession of their houses and stages.

From this time the interest of the colonial history must be sought along two lines: one of these is the story of the struggle between

France and England for the final possession of the Colony; the other is the narrative of the different arrangements for the government of the country—the rule of naval commanders-in-chief, the internal anarchy crying aloud for a civil governor, the demand for responsible government, its fifty years of trial and its failure in these last days. Beyond this, however, Newfoundland has had more than its share of those extraordinary disasters which mark the history of nations: twice the capital—a city of wooden houses—has been burnt almost to the ground; on many occasions the seal and cod-fisheries have failed, and the suffering which followed has been intense; the winters of 1815–8 are marked with a double black line in the annals of the Colony; the distress of the past year is hardly to be compared to that terrible time of famine, frost and fire: “Several hundred men in the prime of life, without money, or the means of being employed, without adequate clothing or food, are at the hour of midnight wandering amidst the smoking ruins to seek warmth from the ashes, and food from the refuse of the half-consumed fish. In dwelling houses the misery is little less. Many families, once in affluence are now in absolute want;” but with the Spring of 1818, and a good seal fishery, courage revived, “and the poor old colony again began to lift up her head.”

And we may hope that this year we shall see a similar revival; doubtless the winter which is now in front of us will test the nerve and purpose of the colonists, but with friendly aid from the old country, and wise government, they will pull through. At the present moment things are at their lowest ebb. The Home Government has expended some £10,000 in stemming immediate want and starting the fishermen in their new season. But we hardly trust the wisdom which has lately incurred a new loan, and attempts to struggle on with a discredited form of government. We side with those of the people who prefer a Royal Commission and Crown Colony government for a time, in order to get matters political on a right footing.

We close with an anecdote which illustrates the variety of Mr. Prowse's work, and deserves to be recorded. The fourth Chief Justice of Newfoundland was Thomas Tremlett. He had failed as a Newfoundland merchant, and “in accordance with the custom of the country, he received a Government office.” But he made a good chief justice, and offended his old trading friends by his impartiality. When they petitioned against him, and the Governor asked for his answer to the charge, the old man wrote this remarkable reply:

“To the first charge, your Excellency, I answer that it is a lie, to the second charge I say that it is a damned lie, and to the third charge that it is a damned infernal lie, and, your Excellency, I have no more to say.—Your Excellency's obedient servant.”

THE RATEABLE VALUE OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

A MOST important Return, in continuation of a former Return of 1871, has lately been issued by the Local Government Board, showing for each Union in England and Wales the gross estimated rental and rateable value of lands, buildings, railways, and all other kinds of rateable property according to the Valuation Lists in force at Lady Day, 1894. This return is prefaced by an interesting and instructive, but not exhaustive, memorandum by Mr. Shaw Lefevre, at whose instigation the return has been prepared. From this fact it may be gathered, as well as from the character of the memorandum, that the figures will be of great value to the Royal Commission on Agriculture, of which Mr. Shaw Lefevre is chairman.

In remarks which cover less than three pages, one can scarcely review *in extenso* the results of calculations and inquiries which have been made, evidently at considerable trouble, by the clerks to the Assessment Committees all over the kingdom, and Mr. Shaw Lefevre will probably be the first to recognise that his treatment of the return, however full of facts and conclusions of the utmost importance, still leaves ample room for the discovery of other important results.

The rateable value of England and Wales has, apparently, grown from £105,000,000 to £161,000,000 during the last twenty-four years, and one is naturally led to inquire in what directions this increase has been most marked, and what are the properties whose rateable value has diminished. It is clearly shown that lands have had a considerable fall in value—viz., from £40,000,000 in 1870 to less than £34,000,000 in 1894, and that the increased values of buildings (from £55,000,000 to £103,000,000), of railways (from £5,000,000 to £14,000,000), and of all other kinds of property (from £5,000,000 to £11,000,000), have more than made up for the loss in the rateable value of lands.

The ex-President of the Local Government Board finds in the return sufficient evidence to draw forth the remarks that there is a large extent of land in agricultural counties near to towns which has not lost its value to the same extent as other land. There is also much pasture land of the best quality which has either maintained its

value or lost but little. In some Unions, where population has largely increased, the fall in the assessment of land appears to be due to some extent to the withdrawal of land from agricultural purposes, and in others it is probable that the average reduction of assessment of land does not represent the fall in value of purely agricultural land of the worst quality.

Mr. Shaw Lefevre draws particular attention to the value of lands, but he is not unmindful of the lessons which may be learnt from the Return in respect of other classes of property. He does not, however, comment upon, and only just alludes to, the enormous additions rateable property has had during the past twenty-four years from buildings, under which heading houses (other than farm-houses), shops, warehouses, mills, factories, docks, wharves, &c., are included. Their rateable value has increased by £47,000,000, or 86 per cent., since 1870, whereas the population has only increased 6,000,000, or rather over 27 per cent. Increases in this class of property appear to abound most in the districts surrounding the Metropolis, the midland manufacturing and the northern mining districts, and in those districts which offer holiday attractions to the people. These increases illustrate beyond dispute the expansion of town life at the expense of country life, which is the most deplorable fact in our national success. London, as a Union-county, has not quite doubled the rateable value of its buildings since 1870, but Middlesex and Essex have nearly trebled, and the increase in Kent and Surrey has been very great. The Unions around the Metropolis which have made the greatest strides in building property are West Ham (£270,000 to £1,295,000), Hendon, Edmonton, Barnet, and Bromley. The total of these five Unions has increased from a rateable value of £913,700 in 1870 to £3,409,800 in 1894, or 273 per cent. Of course the population has also increased, but not quite to the same extent.

This increase in the rateable value of buildings is scarcely less marked in the manufacturing districts of the provinces. In the counties of Derby, Lancaster, Leicester, Notts, and Staffs, no less than thirty Unions have doubled the value of their buildings within those years. Similarly the whole of the mining county of Durham and the mining districts of Cockermouth and Newcastle-on-Tyne have increased twofold.

But, perhaps, the most remarkable increases in this respect are to be found in the seaside resorts. Christchurch Union, for instance, which was rated as £46,800 in 1870 is now rated at £359,700 for the buildings it contains. This, of course, is due to the growth of Bournemouth. Under the same conditions the Union of Eastbourne has increased over fourfold, and the Unions which contain Blackpool and Hove have increased almost as much during the past twenty-four years.

In only a few Unions, urban or rural, is it possible to find a falling off in this class of property ; and yet two Unions, so different in character as Liverpool and Okehampton, have gone in this direction. The decline in the rateable value of buildings in the City of Liverpool is a serious matter, and might call forth many considerations and reflections upon its possible causes.

Mr. Shaw Lefevre directs attention to the fact that the most important feature which this return brings to light is the growth in the value of other property than land, and especially of railways. The higher assessments of railways have, he says, "in a very large number of Unions made up for the reduction in the value of land"; although he deplores the fact that the relief to the ratepayers in consequence of this increase has been very unevenly spread over the different Unions. This inequality is revealed by the disparity which exists between Unions of similar character and size in various parts of the kingdom. It is shown that in 125 out of 649 Unions in England and Wales the assessment of railway property (which includes stations and depots) exceeds 15 per cent. of the total rateable value of the Union. This advantage exists, as might be expected, in those Unions which surround the main lines issuing from the Metropolis. A passenger travelling from London to Newcastle by the Great Northern Railway would pass through twenty-nine Unions, and it is observed that no less than twenty-two of these Unions would be reaping the advantage of high assessments from the railway companies. In fact, in two of these Unions the rateable value of railways is more than one-half of the total assessment of all the property in them ; in four Unions it ranges from 30 to 50 per cent. ; in eleven of them it is between 20 and 30 per cent. ; and in five others it is between 15 and 20 per cent. of the total rateable value. This fact naturally leads one to inquire whether such an advantage is not unfair as well as uneven, and whether the time has not arrived for a more equitable distribution throughout the kingdom of those benefits which accrue to the ratepayers in particular districts from exceptional circumstances.

That heterogeneous and comprehensive heading, "All other kinds of Rateable Property," which includes quarries, mines, ironworks, gasworks, waterworks, canals, &c., shows as much variation as either lands, buildings, or railways. In the county of Essex, where land has decreased most, the proportion which these classes of property bear to the total of the county has increased from 2.1 per cent. in 1870 to 7.4 per cent. in 1894. This is mainly due to the enormous increase, from £897 to £60,399, in the assessment of "All other kinds, &c.," in the Romford Union (caused doubtless by the London Sewage Discharge Works at Barking Creek), and to the prodigious growth of the borough of West Ham. Again, in Cumberland, probably the mining operations in the parish of Millom account for the

value of these properties in the Bootle Union rising from £1500 to £69,000. Large increases are also observed in the districts of Altrincham, Redruth, Whitehaven, and many other places, where apparently new works or industries have sprung up during the last quarter of a century. It is rather remarkable, however, that, seeing the general tendency for the classes of property included under this heading to increase, there should be two districts in which the decrease is so great as in Maidstone and Battle, where both the population and total rateable value have increased.

The rateable value per head of population for the whole of England and Wales is now £5 11s. as compared with £4 12s. in 1870, but this rate varies in the 619 districts from £3 to £110 per head of population. Mr. Shaw Lefevre says that in the vast majority of Unions there has been an increase of rateable value in proportion to population, that, as a general rule, the superiority in this respect of rural Unions is maintained, and that the Unions where the rateable value of property in proportion to population is low are, with few exceptions, urban Unions.

It is hoped that an important Return of this nature will not be issued in vain, but that practical results will ensue from the trouble and care which have been bestowed upon such a valuable compilation of local statistics. Perhaps its pages teach us no lessons more evident than these—that the ratings throughout the kingdom should bear, as far as possible, a uniform proportion to the gross estimated rental of the properties assessed, and that some equalisation should be effected in the distribution of those large advantages derived by ratepayers in favoured districts from the rating of undertakings or works (such as railways) which are not of a purely local character.

Rates and taxes are the bane of citizenship, and in recent years they have increased so rapidly as almost to overwhelm the slender means of many business and professional men. It is not too much to ask our legislators to devise some means from the data they now have at their disposal to bring about equality and fairness in the demands upon the British ratepayer.

T. R. LUKE.

THE CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS IN RUSSIA.

ONE of the most extraordinary spectacles of modern times in a so-called civilised country is that presented by the censorship of the press in Russia. One can understand the difficulties under which authors labour when they write in constant fear of imprisonment or exile, the punishment, sometimes, for a few unguarded words or sentences. No book is allowed to be printed until it has passed through the hands of and been approved by the censor, and therefore many works emerge from his office in a sadly mutilated condition. Newspapers that, in the opinion of the censor, have offended, receive a warning the first time of sinning, are fined for a further offence, and finally, in case of necessity, are altogether suppressed. Strict though it is now, however, this censorship is nothing to what it used to be some forty years ago; reforms were instituted in the reign of Alexander II., but even yet many absurdities are perpetrated in the censor's office.

Not long ago the writer chanced to read in a Russian newspaper some interesting information concerning the censorship of the press in the past.

Some examples of the work of the censor's office, taken from the diary of one Nikitenko, who became a member of the committee of censors in 1834, and who commented in his journal on its working during the half-century from 1827 to 1877, may be interesting to the student of literary curiosities.

Nikitenko was for a long time a member of the censor's department, and even after his official connection with it ceased he continued to take a great interest in it, and to follow its works and reforms. He himself attempted to mitigate the strictness of the censorship, for his office was not much to his taste; indeed, the spirit of any sensible and right-minded man must have revolted against the duties which a censor was obliged to perform.

In 1827, Nikitenko first came into contact with the censor, when, in his article on political economy, many phrases were expunged. Here is a characteristic example: in the phrase, "Adam Smith assumes free trade to be the corner-stone of the enrichment of nations," the censor expunged the word "corner," because Christ is the corner-stone of the Church. This article of Nikitenko's was

so mutilated that a formal protest was made on the subject, but of course without result. In his diary the journalist exclaims: "Is it necessary to pursue so fiercely those ideas without which not a single empire can advance on the path of enlightenment and prosperity?"

Nikitenko gives some examples of the relations of the great Russian poet, Poushkin, with the censor. The censor, it appears, cruelly oppressed Poushkin, and therefore, on the latter's complaint, another member of the department was appointed for the examination of his works.

This was Gaevcki, who had, says Nikitenko, such a wholesome dread of the guard-room (those members of the censor's committee who "passed" harmful literature were frequently imprisoned), in which he had spent a week, that it seemed doubtful if such news as, for instance, the death of a monarch would be allowed to be published.

Poushkin, not only as a journalist, but also as a poet, came into collision with the censor. The priest, Sidoncki, well known for his learning, related to Nikitenko how Filaret, on behalf of the clergy, complained to Benkendorf, the chief censor, about a line of Poushkin's in *Eugene Onegin*, where, in describing Moscow, the poet says, "and flocks of storks on the crosses." Here Filaret saw an insult to the Church. The censor, who was called to account for this, replied that the storks, so far as he knew, really did sit on the crosses of the Moscow churches, but that, in his opinion, the chief of police was to blame for permitting this, and not the poet. Benkendorf politely replied to Filaret that the affair was not worth the interference of such an important personage.

When Poushkin died, the Minister Uvaroff raised a crusade against articles written in memory of the poet, and a similar opposition was afterwards exhibited on the death of the scarcely less celebrated Gogol.

The censor was reprimanded for having passed a passage in an article, which stated that Russia was indebted to Poushkin for his great services to literature. Again, when the question arose of a new edition of the dead poet's works, fresh opposition appeared in the censor's office. The whole of educated Russia knew the poet's works by heart, so it would not have availed much to forbid their publication, especially as they had already gone through several editions.

The Czar ordered the new edition to be published under the supervision of the censor, but afterwards took a more enlightened view of the matter and gave directions that those of Poushkin's works which had already been published should be reprinted without alteration.

Nikitenko relates in detail the history of the events which proceeded from the publication of Tourgenieff's article on the death of Gogol, author of *Dead Souls* and other works. In the diary on which this paper is founded, under date April 17, 1852, we find the following : " Yesterday Tourgenieff, author of *Tales by a Sportsman*, was, by supreme order, placed under arrest for having written an article in which he called Gogol *great*." Tourgenieff was ordered to be placed under arrest for a month, and to be afterwards sent from the capital into the country and to remain there under police supervision. What an extraordinary example is this of the absurdities perpetrated " by supreme order," only it is sad to contemplate such oppression, and it is no wonder that this misfortune of Tourgenieff produced on Nikitenko, as he relates in his diary, a terrible impression.

No wonder that this and other persecutions so embittered the great writer, Tourgenieff, against the Government that he was eventually exiled from his native country for his bold utterances.

Thirty years later his mortal remains were brought back to be buried with great pomp and ceremony in St. Petersburg, where, after being persecuted during his life, he was accorded the honour of a public funeral—" by supreme order " !

At the same time that Tourgenieff was arrested the editor of a Moscow newspaper was placed under police supervision for having issued his journal with a mourning border on the occasion of Gogol's death.

In 1848, Dal was forbidden to write, and in the same year Nikitenko wrote in his diary that " it would soon be impossible to write at all." Dal wrote two tales which were published in the above-mentioned Moscow newspaper. In one of them one of the characters is a gipsy-woman, a thief. She hides herself, and they seek but cannot find her ; the local authorities are applied to, and they also look for her in vain. Dal served in a Government office, and for his " offence " was called before the authorities, and told to choose between writing and service. The censor represented the matter to the Emperor in the following manner : although Dal, by his story, inspires the public with distrust in the authorities, yet he does it without evil intention ; and as the works do not on the whole contain anything harmful, he considered it sufficient to censure the author.

Again, Count Uvaroff, in writing a book on Greek antiquities, had a great deal of trouble with the censor. He was not permitted to refer to emperors as having been *killed*, but was ordered to state that they *died* or *perished*.

Considering all this, it is not surprising that during the period under review many journals and newspapers were suppressed, whilst

those which continued their existence lived in constant dread of the sword of Damocles hanging over their heads.

What wonder that literature almost came to a standstill, and that much that was in the minds of thinking men remained there, and corrupted, and so drove them mad. Was it owing to this that more than one great Russian writer was more or less insane? Gogol, for instance, was mad, and wrote during lucid intervals; whilst the horrors that were stored up in the diseased mind of Doctoevski may now be read in his published works.

One journal, in criticising a representation which took place in one of the St. Petersburg theatres, said: "We will not say a word about this play, but we had much more pleasure in seeing Zama's wild-beast show." For having permitted the publication of this sentence the censor's committee brought down on itself a fearful storm. Prince Volkoncki, a Minister of the Court, demanded to know on what grounds the publication of this indecent phrase was allowed, and who was the author of it. Nikitenko relates: "The committee of censors was assembled until five o'clock framing a reply to this wise question. The reply was that the censor did not find in the article in question anything injurious to any one, and as for the connection of the two subjects—wild-beast show and opera—the committee deprecated only the bad taste of the author, and against this there were no rules, but, on the contrary, one of the regulations states that the censor is not to interfere in matters of personal taste."

"In 1836," Nikitenko informs us, the following circumstance took place. The censor, Korsakoff, allowed to be printed in the *Encyclopædic Dictionary* an article entitled "18th Brumaire." This article was declared to be too liberal and harmful to Russia, because revolutions and constitutions were spoken of in it. Nikitenko asked the committee, if the French Revolution was to be considered a revolution, if it was permitted in Russia to state the facts that Rome was a republic and that in England and France the Governments are constitutional, and "would it not be better to think and write as if there were no such things in the world?" Kriloff replied that it was impossible to change history and statistics. The other censors agreed in this matter. But the President of the Committee decided that in the article "18th Brumaire" the publication of the following sentence should not be permitted: "The good French people were distressed, seeing that the Government was unreliable, and that disorder reigned everywhere in France." He pointed out that there could not have been at that time a single good man in France, and that these words must certainly be expunged. In conclusion, however, it was declared that the article was not on the whole harmful.

In 1846 the censorship became so strict that the Minister Uvaroff

said to Prince Volkonki that he wished, at last, that Russian literature would come to an end. Then, at least, there would be something definite, and, what was most important, he would be able to sleep in peace.

We have already seen how the clergy complained of Poushkin's lines in *Eugene Onegin*. Here is an example of another complaint, and on this occasion Nikitenko was himself the sufferer. In 1842 he, as censor, passed a tale in which the following phrases occurred: "I ask you what could be worse than the figure presented by this courier? Considering himself a military officer, and more, a cavalryman, Mr. Courier has every right to think that he is interesting when he clanks his spurs and twirls his waxed moustaches. Then there is the commander of a road-making detachment, with enormous epaulets, a very high collar and still higher stock."

Count Kleinmichael complained to the Emperor that his officers were insulted by this, and the unfortunate Nikitenko was lodged in the guard-room. A wonderful thing, indeed, was Russian administration in those days, and it is easy to understand how burdensome all this was to the censors, how demoralising was their work, and how literature suffered from its effects. Further, the journalist relates how one of his colleagues did not wish to allow the publication of unpleasant observations on the weather in St. Petersburg, because such observations were insulting to his native country.

Yet one more example related by Nikitenko in his interesting diary. "I went," he says, "to the committee. Curious things are going on in the censor's office. Mikhelin is expunging from ancient history the names of all great men who fought for the freedom of their native countries or held republican ideas in Greece or Rome. It is not the argument that is obliterated, but simply names and facts."

Certainly, with the accession to the throne of Alexander II. these things changed for the better. The censorship became less strict, and is still less so now; were this not the case, the above-mentioned diary of Nikitenko and comments on it would not have been published in Russia.

Nevertheless, even now the censorship of the press impedes progress and enlightenment, and presents a considerable obstacle to the advancement of science. Many scientific works are not permitted to be introduced into Russia, as, for instance, the works of Darwin, whilst no discussion is permitted on religious matters except from the point of view of the Greek Church.

Such is one of the evils under which the Russian people have suffered and still suffer. The educated classes groan under the burthen, but dare not express their thoughts. It is not surprising that a thread, or rather a deep vein, of melancholy runs through all Russian literature; even books of humour are pervaded by a

sadness which infects the reader. Who can smile when reading the melancholy-humorous works of Gogol? It would indeed be laughter through the tears.

Nor is it surprising that some authors, having produced one work, have thrown down their pens and refused to write more, because their books can be published only after undergoing mutilation at the hands of the censor.

Nor is it only with regard to literature that excessive strictness of the censorship has a disastrous effect. In Russia it is impossible to believe what one reads, for everything bears the impress of falsity. Statistics, published by supreme order, are falsified, and no one knows what is going on in the country, whether the cholera is raging or are the peasants famine-stricken; consequently the people suffer indirectly for want of relief during famine, whilst the cholera may be spread broadcast over the land. For instance, in the present year the writer visited Nijni Novgorod at the time of the great fair there, and found that the cholera was raging there, and had been for some time. Notwithstanding this, the Government published no statistics of cholera in Nijni, but gave that town a clean bill of health, at the risk of spreading the disease all over European Russia and Asia, and with the benevolent object in view of not interrupting the business of the market.

Thus all this secrecy causes material harm. Distress and famine, existing in outlying districts, are kept secret, and the wretched peasants perish for want of that assistance which they would receive from charitable people if their requirements were made known. Further, no comments are allowed to be printed on the actions of civil or military officers, police, or any Government officials, and there is consequently little to prevent them abusing their power, a privilege of which they frequently avail themselves.

Such being the case, and the Russians being an Asiatic nation in many of their characteristics, it is not surprising that the administration of the country is corrupt to the core.

However, as has already been observed, the state of affairs which existed during the first half of the present century has already improved, and it is to be hoped that some day a more enlightened Government will remove all obstacles from the path of literature, and allow science and enlightenment to advance the greatness of an already great nation.

REGINALD GEORGE BURTON.

MR. ACLAND'S NEW EDUCATIONAL CODE.

MR. ACLAND'S new Code in many ways makes so complete a breaking with the past, as to mark a new era in the work of the public elementary school. It is brimful of innovations which bear the impress of the true reformer. There is an honest and earnest desire for advancement.

Traditions that for more than a generation have trammelled progress and hindered where help was needed, have been boldly trampled down. The old barriers have been overthrown with a rush sudden and overwhelming. Former landmarks have disappeared. Gradgrindery has yielded place to human sympathy. Children are no longer grant-earning machines, and teachers will no longer be goaded by impecunious management to squeeze into the worried mites the uttermost farthing's-worth of knowledge. As we shall show, the danger of over-pressure is not entirely removed; but the remedy we shall suggest for the eradication of this evil is at once so obvious and so reasonable that the Department would be well advised to adopt it forthwith into their permanent regulations. The evil is over-pressure, and the remedy a reasonable but rigidly enforced Code time-limit.

There is nothing recondite or abstruse in the Code and in its concurrent and equally binding addendum, the "Instructions to Inspectors." There is no room for ambiguity in this admirable illuminant. He that runs may read. It is overflowing with the spirit of genuine sympathy. The following advice to inspectors is characteristic, and it may be taken as the keynote to the manner in which the work is to be carried out:

"My Lords wish you to remember that the main and primary object of your visits to schools is not to inflict penalties for defective points, but rather, through your educational suggestions and influence, to remove defects. It is the desire of the Department that its officers should aim at being the helpful and sympathising friends of all concerned in the work." The meaning of this advice is as unmistakable as its intention is admirable, and, if this ideal is attempted with an honest and good heart, the gain, both in sound educational results, in the physical comfort and in the keener

intellectual activity of children, and in the increased energy and determination of teachers to carry out their duties with even more zeal and fidelity, because with less frictional and wasteful worry than heretofore, will be beyond computation. Mr. Acland has indeed proved himself the teachers' and the children's friend. The Department has but to clinch the nail, by removing the most fertile temptation to over-pressure by imposing a uniform, reasonable, and compulsory time-limit for every school session, and the work will be complete in all its parts.

One of the most noteworthy alterations is the substitution of intermittent inspection for the annual examination. These visits without notice will be substituted gradually as rewards for the best-conducted schools. The Department reserves the right to hold an annual examination, but the new regulation is evidently intended to apply to all schools which obtain a good report. These occasional visits, if carried out in the spirit intended, will prove a source of pleasure and profit instead of an ordeal of anxiety and nervous agitation. This change is sufficient to make the present an epoch-making Code, and it will probably become operative after October in fully one half of our public elementary schools.

The introduction of so comprehensive a change as intermittent inspection will immediately stimulate the adoption of different, and presumably more rational, even if less showy, methods of instruction. Increasing and more critical responsibilities will be imposed upon the teacher, inasmuch as the manner of imparting knowledge will henceforth be the prime factor in inspectorial assessment. While the old plan of insisting rigidly on individual results still has its advocates, it cannot be denied that, by its wearisome iteration and the consequent unvarying mechanic monotony, it tended to dampen intellectual enthusiasm, and to reduce the ardent energy of youth to a state of oblivious dulness. The instructor will now be brought to the test. The ill-informed and unenterprising teacher will be seen floundering in his muddling ruts. The enthusiastic and kindly teacher, bright, alert, conscientious, his methods carefully considered and based on sound scientific principles, will be assessed at a higher valuation than heretofore.

The annual examination has left no leisure to investigate methods. It has been concerned mainly with results. Now it would be the sheerest folly to minimise the importance of results in the work of the schoolroom. But it is greater folly to overlook the methods by which those results are obtained. To the statistician and to the mercenary manager results are absorbingly important. But to the teacher and to the scholar the methods pursued, hour by hour and day by day throughout the year, are of far more importance. Methods may be honest, well considered, bright, sound, and carried out with a kindly consideration for child-nature; or they may be

hard, ill digested, killingly conventional, and sweating. Totally different methods may produce the same superficial results, as assessed on a set day for the annual parade of knowledge. The condition of things presented to the inspector's view on the yearly examination day was an utterly misleading criterion of the daily routine of work. The order, conduct, and pipe-clay precision were abnormal. The surface of the scholastic sea was rippled with smiles and rosy sunshine. There was no outward indication of the worry and anxiety which had accompanied the preparation for the ordeal. The examination will henceforth take its right place in the system. It will not be the be-all and the end-all of school work. While losing nothing in importance, it will gain in practical benefits by becoming, not the overwhelmingly domineering factor, but a duly subordinated and accessory element of assessment. Efficiency can henceforth be tested in a manner, if less conventional, yet fully as thorough and satisfactory as by the moribund mode. The reform may perhaps exercise a good influence in minimising the growing evil of over-examination on the old lines in higher education.

The introduction of intermittent inspection decidedly imposes greater authority upon inspectors. But there is slight fear of any school suffering injustice from hasty and arbitrary judgment. Indeed, the opportunities which the new system will afford to Inspectors for paying more frequent visits to schools, and noting more minutely and exhaustively the inner working and methods, will, in itself, be a better corrective against capricious opinions than could be secured by their former enforced cut-and-dried duties. For slipshod and superficial work in the earlier part of the school year will not escape observation, and its condemnation will be immediate and effective. Thus there will be removed the temptation to compensate, towards the approach of the final term, by undue cramming and over-pressure, for the relaxation which was the natural reflex action from this over-wrought strain.

The next feature in the new Code is the compulsory inclusion in the curriculum of suitable occupations for the younger children (Standards I., II., III.), and of object-lessons throughout the school. Object-lessons, or suitable occupations, or both, may be taken as two class-subjects in the three lower standards. One class-subject is already compulsory. A different class-subject therefore will be required in Standard IV. and upwards. Not more than two class-subjects may be taken. English (parsing, analysis of sentences, and word-building), geography, and needlework, are the subjects usually taught, the class-subjects including, in addition to these three, history, elementary science, and domestic economy. The semi-technical suitable occupations are really intended as a continuation of the Kindergarten exercises which have for some years formed an attractive and useful portion of infants' school work. These exercises are designed to

train the observant faculties, and to cultivate the idea of hand and eye work, and they may include mosaic work by means of cubes, straw-plaiting, netting, basket-weaving, clay-modelling, geometrical designs, floral colouring on paper, toy-making in cardboard, as well as instruction in the elementary facts of science, or the leading processes of various manufactures. As the range is wide, this list is rather suggestive than exhaustive. They are to constitute the connecting link between Kindergarten and manual instruction, for which, in the best equipped schools, provision is already made.

The introduction of this technical tendency into the school work constitutes a revolution no less drastic than the abolition of the set examination day. The innovation is characteristic of Mr. Acland's policy. He is energetic, pertinacious, enthusiastic. This was sufficiently obvious in his hygienic reforms, which were discussed in the January number of this REVIEW. He is an ideal educational Minister, afire with zeal for his work. He bristles with activity, and he has more indelibly impressed his individuality upon the policy of his Department than any of his predecessors. He has all the dash and vigour of a fearless administrator who has formulated to himself certain very definite ideals, which he is determined to realise without fear of consequences or consideration for precedent.

In the present case his principle is perfectly intelligible. It may be thus summarised: We are a commercial people, a nation of shop-keepers, if you will. Untiring industry and honourable enterprise are our national heritage. They are inwoven in the very fibre of the Briton. It is these that have not only made our island the industrial centre of the world, but also driven him to the uttermost parts of the earth, and subdued its fairest places to his domination. Our five million young citizens, at present under instruction in public elementary schools, are the inheritors of this renown. Upon them will the burden of empire fall. They are to be the future workers of the land, the upholders of our commercial supremacy. Should not these facts be borne in mind throughout their school career? If this be granted, it follows that it is our bounden duty to impart, alongside the literary education, correct principles of manipulation, and habits of close and unerring observation by careful training in varied hand-and-eye occupations. And this should be begun while fingers are pliable and the mind receptive. Such instruction, moreover, would in itself form an indirect object-lesson in the dignity of mechanical labour; and it would serve to wipe out the reproach, at all times unjust, that our Government-aided schools only prepare boys for the desk and counting-house. These varied occupations and object-lessons prepare the foundation for that sound and practical technical education which will henceforth serve as the keystone to the arch of our commercial ascendancy.

These additions to the curriculum could not possibly have been

introduced, unless accompanied by proportionate relaxation in the existing requirements. The time-table of the school was already overcrowded, and it was impossible to spare a moment of the time which was hopelessly handicapped. This was clearly pointed out to Mr. Acland by a deputation of the National Union of Teachers. The question was taken up by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, in an article on December 26, 1894, which said: "The auxiliary educational value of the varied occupations and object-lessons is beyond dispute. But it is obvious that it would be cruel and vexatious to demand these subjects, collaterally with the ridiculously rigid mechanical accuracy now required in spelling and arithmetic."

Mr. Acland listened to reason, and the New Code bears evidence of material and rational reductions in the directions indicated. Teachers will thus be enabled to find time for the new subjects. Simple exercises in composition and transcription, if accompanied by word-building, in the second, third, and fourth standards, may be substituted for dictation, at the manager's wish. This concession is a great boon. Word-building exercises are the only rational and by far the most effective method of teaching spelling. The relief that this relaxation will afford, can be best appreciated by those who have endured the purgatory of grinding dry lists of spellings into children. We may venture to say that the new method will stimulate intelligence without detriment to accuracy. Transcription may also be substituted for this exercise. The demands in arithmetic have been re-modelled, and the square measure which has been a horrible nightmare to successive generations of Fourth Standard boys, is relegated to Standard VI. The requirements for Standard VI. have, however, been greatly stiffened. The needlework syllabus is modified. As a class-subject, the requirements for Standard III. remain unaltered; but if taken under Art. 101 (*c*) in Standard IV. cutting-out in paper is no longer demanded. In Standard V. the garment need not be cut out by the girl making it. The requisite cutting-out may be done on paper. In Standard VI. also the cutting-out is to be on paper; and in Standard VII. the cutting-out on reduced or enlarged patterns is dropped. The number of garments is reduced. An admirable proviso is inserted stating that "the presentation of needlework of too fine a character will be considered a defect." A welcome relief is afforded by a new special scheme, for schools with an average under sixty, through simpler classification and teaching. Special courses, setting out two stages of instruction, have been prepared for this purpose in obligatory and optional subjects (Schedule S.), so that the school may be divided into a senior and junior section, allowing for considerable elasticity and adjustment of classes in each section. The inspectors are instructed (16*a*) to encourage this arrangement, and advise the teachers, if necessary, as to the best measures for carrying it into effect. The

hard-worked country schoolmistress will doubtless feel thankful for these modifications. Consideration is shown to the half-timer, who is relieved from drill and physical exercises, of which, in his worried existence, he has more than enough in the course of his dual duty.

In boys' schools, a woman over eighteen, approved by the inspector, is recognised as an additional teacher for Standards I., II. and III. If this plan is adopted, not from motive of economy, but with a single eye to the welfare of the scholar, there need be no hesitation in predicting that it will be a wise course. After all said and done, women, while their teaching is fully as effective as that of men, have a pleasanter and more taking manner with the little boys, and are in truer sympathetic touch with their emotional child nature, than men. The idea has advanced beyond the experimental stage. Instances of its success are numerous, and fully justify the inclusion of this reform in the new regulations. But the danger in this regulation (Art. 68) is great, and it would be wise to face it boldly now, before the evil assumes gigantic dimensions. Appointments under this bare age-qualification, whose one recommendation is its loophole for cheap teaching, have increased by tremendous leaps. In five years age-qualified teachers (Art. 68) have increased by 50 per cent., and they now number 10,200. The present concession to boys' schools will vastly augment their ranks. As it stands, the regulation is a menace to educational efficiency. Age is a very miserable qualification surely for the office of teacher. There should be some definite intellectual test of fitness. It might at least be modified in the direction of giving the Art. 68's definitely to understand that if by, say, the age of 22 they have failed to pass the prescribed examination, they will not be regarded as counting on the staff.

The revised instructions as to requirements in grammar will immediately commend themselves to all sensible people. This subject has hitherto been so ill defined, that it has afforded inviting facilities to the crotchety inspector to first bemuddle and then expose to ridicule the ignorance of young children in the bewildering linguistic gymnastics which he was pleased to dignify by the name of grammar. A reverend inspector who flourished in the "seventies" in North London, was particularly adept in the gentle art of bullying teachers and terrifying children through the medium of his grammar examination. His race is extinct. Under the limitations of a Code like the one under consideration, these unfair vagaries would have been impossible. The work is reasonable and explicitly set forth. In the lower standards the subject and object is limited to nouns and pronouns, with simple modification, and auxiliary verbs and all moods, except the Indicative, are excluded. The sentences for Standard V. are to be as simple as children would use in their ordinary composition. In Standards VI. and VII. the sentences are to be "such as would be used in a well-written letter, and not

literary curiosities, or pedantic puzzles, or niceties of grammar not in common use." This breezy common sense blows away all the mazy cobwebs that had rendered this excellent subject a veritable bugbear to past generations of teachers and scholars. These easements are typical of the spirit that pervades the instructions to inspectors. To those who are acquainted with the political and speculative, rather than with the practical, aspect of education, these modifications may appear frivolous, and altogether out of proportion to the commendations bestowed upon them. But to those whose daily work lies within the compass of the four walls of the schoolroom, they will be welcomed with heartfelt gratitude as reforms of the first magnitude, inasmuch as they take cognisance of the just limitations no less than the exact capacities and healthy aspirations of the scholars; and they give to the teacher that peace of mind, and inspiring incentive to action, together with that freedom and elasticity in work and methods whereby alone the soundest and most worthy educational results can be secured.

Mr. Acland still rightly persists in his efforts to secure and maintain healthy schools. In Schedule VII., which deals with building regulations, though the alterations and additions are only of minor importance, their design is entirely in the direction of making the schools healthier and happier for the children. It is explicitly stated that these rules are intended to assist the architects, "for the managers of Voluntary schools as well as for School Boards. "A sunny aspect," they are advised, "is especially valuable for children, and important in its effects on ventilation and health." Among the new requirements may be mentioned slight alterations in the specified length and width of rooms; care in making foundations and in ground ventilation—the ground to be cleared of all vegetable soil and a concrete foundation of six inches laid, and air-bricks inserted in opposite walls to ensure a current under the floors. The rooms are to be flushed with fresh air from the windows about every two hours. Strict regulations are given as to the situation and arrangement of out-houses. The class-room system is enjoined with respect to schools hereafter built. Entrance and class-room doors should open both ways. This is a very useful addition in view of the fact that schools are now used for so many public purposes—polling-stations, political and other meetings, concerts, entertainments. Many are wofully wanting in provision such as this against fire and panic. Every one will agree with the recommendations "that infants' playgrounds should be open to the sunshine."

A concession which will be of service in the large towns is that allowing the time spent by scholars in visiting museums or art galleries to count as an attendance. This is a departure in the way of rendering school life more varied and intelligent. Perhaps, in the future, a similar concession will be accorded to schools in country

districts for lessons in nature—botany, geology, and the like. Cottage gardening is now recognised as a specific subject. Some form of drill or physical exercise is made compulsory in all schools, half-timers being relieved from this exertion. Various easements are made in the regulations for provisionally certificated and other teachers. It would be better if these were in the direction of higher culture.

So far as the internal work of the school is concerned, the question that will force itself upon the consideration of managers and teachers is, "Are these innovations likely to increase or diminish over-pressure?" The cry of over-pressure that has been raised is by no means so fanciful as some may imagine, neither has it been confined exclusively to parents and teachers. The curriculum has hitherto been fully as much as it was possible to carry out in the time allotted. Indeed, the truth is that this time has been in the majority of cases miserably inadequate. In many schools, detention of the scholars beyond the prescribed hours of instruction—"keeping in," as it is termed—has formed a regular part of the day's work. No attempt is made to justify it. The time specified in the code—two hours' secular instruction in each session—ought to suffice. But it has not been sufficient. On the grounds of hygiene and fairness to the parents and children, the practice of keeping in is indefensible. Yet it has been necessary. With the reconstruction of the requirements, the same temptation to over-pressure will still exist, despite official disapprobation, unless a definite limit be set to the duration of each school session, and that limit be rigidly insisted on. In this connection par. 10a in Instructions to Inspectors, suggesting the extension of the afternoon session, is an inexplicably retrograde step, and we trust the Department will allow it to drop from future editions of the Code. It is an unconditional concession to Code-sweaters, and gives official sanction, not to zeal, but to over-pressure. Its retention would minimise much of the good effected.

The history of the origin and development of over-pressure is complicated, but interesting, and though its consideration is beside the scope of the present paper, it may be briefly indicated. With the passing of the Education Act of 1870, establishing the School Board system alongside the old voluntary management, arose a new spirit of enterprise, which, unfortunately, instead of being directed into right channels by wise guidance, degenerated into unseemly competition for highest percentages of results and for biggest grants. There was rivalry between school and school. There was strife for the highest mechanical results between Voluntary and Board Schools, between village and village, town and town, district and district. Over-pressure led to overtime, and the detention of scholars beyond the prescribed hours, systematic or intermittent, was counten-

anced by Boards, managers, and teachers, in sheer self-defence to preserve their reputation and to replenish their funds. It was a neck-and-neck race to educational ruin. Hot-house forcing produced abnormal results, and these were shamelessly paraded. Thus was established, by mechanical iteration, nauseating cramming and systematic keeping-in—through the medium of the most sweating and woodenest methods inspired by money-grubbing incentive—a fictitious standard of children's attainments. It is extremely doubtful whether this ideal has been disestablished. It must be admitted, however, that over-pressure and irregularity of attendance interact. The evil effect upon the children's education through our compromising and slipshod system of half-time exemption, and the supineness of many local authorities entrusted with the administration of the compulsory clauses of the Education Act, have probably been the main causes of irregularity, which in itself is one of the most powerful causes of over-pressure. This question was exhaustively dealt with in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW, February 1892. The recommendations therein set forth, as to a fixed age (say twelve) for exemption, irrespective of standard; and either thoroughly efficient insistence by the Home Office on the proper administration of the compulsory clauses, or the establishment of an automatic system of supervision by means of Government district attendance inspectors, to whom returns should be supplied regularly from every school, still, we believe, deserve serious consideration by the Department.

The minimum age for exemption, partial or total, should be twelve. The total abolition of half-time would be a glorious gain for education, and a boon to the poor children. Every lover of education must have experienced a pang of disappointment when the exigencies of the recent political crisis necessitated the withdrawal of Sir John Gorst's and Mr. John Burns's amendments to the Factory Bill, for raising the age for half-time to twelve or thirteen. Mr. Acland and Mr. Asquith have expressed their approval of this reform in unmistakeable terms. The appointment of Sir John Gorst as Vice-President is a guarantee that this boon to the child will be conceded; for, by his patriotic action in this question at the Berlin Congress, and by his consistent advocacy of sympathetic consideration and relief for the drudging half-timer, the new Educational Minister has proved his downright sincerity and determination to do all that lies in his power for this means of advancing the moral, physical, and intellectual welfare of the poorest of the nation's children.

The pupil-teacher system leaves much to be desired. It is difficult to combine the energy and sprightliness demanded in the actual work of teaching, with the capacity for unstinted perseverance and constant mental alertness required of the student who would compete with any hope of success in the increasingly difficult yearly examinations. In hundreds of instances growing boys and girls,

after five or six hours' incessant teaching in school, have had to spend perhaps three hours or more in hard study in the evening. And this had to be done day after day, and night after night, the year round. It is little better than white slavery. The physical and mental system is subjected to a continuous strain that is in the highest degree injurious. The evil is not yet extinct, and Mr. Acland or his successor would do well if they rigidly limited the work of actual teaching to a maximum of one session per day. The existing system is a disgrace to humanity, and ought not to be tolerated a day longer. It has been tinkered, but never reformed. It is not so much a stringing up of the standard of attainments that is needed, as a thorough reorganisation of the make-shift system in the direction indicated. As a rule, two pupil-teachers are needed where one is employed. The hardships have been somewhat minimised in the larger towns, where centre classes have been established for the special instruction of pupil-teachers. This saving advantage is denied the rural apprentice, who is thereby severely handicapped when it comes to the final test of the Queen's Scholarship examination. Can anything be imagined more disastrous to the cause of education, or more disadvantageous to all immediately concerned, than, say, the plan of making a wearied and worried rural mistress teach a more wearied and more worried young girl teacher? This tolerance of an antiquated abuse is one of the weakest points in the Department's policy. They have expressed benevolent desires for the amelioration of the burdened young teacher's lot. They have made their examinational tests more stringent, which is only intensifying the misery under the plea of progress. In fine, they have barely touched the fringe of this question, which lies at the root of professional training. It must be boldly grappled with if any good is to be done. Centre classes, such as have been established by the more enterprising Boards and Voluntary managers, should be made compulsory in every district.

The innovations in the Code will, so far as the schools are concerned, demand a high and intelligent standard of teaching. This is only possible where there is a sufficient and efficient staff. The policy of starving the schools will henceforth be suicidal, for not only will it incalculably increase over-pressure and anxiety, but it will reveal the hypocrisy of the miserliness in its true light.

As has been already stated, the system of intermittent inspection invests the inspectors with almost absolute power. Everything depends on the spirit in which they carry out their duties. If they make of the Instructions a dead letter, the last state of education in their districts will be a hundred-fold worse than the first; for the bare requirements of the Code in themselves may be so interpreted that not a school could be found to stand the test of a capriciously absolute and frigidly rigorous application of the mechanical ideal, even if every teacher on its staff were an Arnold or a

Thring, and if every child within its walls were at all points perfect. Such a *fiasco* is obviated by the Instructions. Schools are not to be hotbeds of artificial forcing and sweating over-pressure. Every inspector and every teacher and manager must see to it that the rights of the children are safeguarded in accordance with the dictates of true sympathy, and as desired by the educational chiefs, Mr. Acland and Sir George Kekewich, and doubtless Sir John Gorst, whose single aim is to enforce such healthy conditions as shall best conduce to the children's physical comfort, and to encourage and establish such rational and scientific methods of instruction as shall most materially increase the efficacy of the teachers' work, by helping to mould useful, honourable, and intelligent future citizens. If the admirable Instructions to inspectors promulgated by the late Vice-President and the Permanent Secretary of the Education Department be carried out loyally, in the searching and thorough yet humane and stimulating spirit intended, then the newest Code will permeate every school in the land with the regenerating influences of a new life and light, so that they shall no longer strive for the mastery in the mercenary result which perisheth, but each shall seek to outvie its neighbours in the healthy and generous rivalry of inculcating by the best means the soundest knowledge, and, above all, that high moral principle which is the true foundation of character, and of that righteousness which alone exalteth a nation.

JOSEPH J. DAVIES.

RUINED QUEENSLAND: THE SECRET OF HER DOWNFALL.

PERHAPS the news which has lately reached us from Queensland may have rendered the condition of that colony an object of interest to British readers. Certainly it ought to have done so, for in it we see the culmination of a long series of disasters which have ruined a colony possessed of adequate natural advantages, and which might, under a different system of administration, do a vast trade in England, and absorb all her surplus population. But, though we have seen the *culmination* of Queensland's misgovernment, we have not seen the *end* of her disasters, which must continue until the system which has given birth to them has changed; and it is my intention, first, to state the nature of the events which have happened there; then to trace them to their immediate causes (not denying that droughts and floods have been influential too, but deeming that the droughts happened too long ago, and that the effects of the floods were too temporary to have much influence now), and then to trace these immediate causes to their ultimate cause in the clever but disgraceful electoral laws, which, by depriving large numbers of the population (including all who are now accused of outrages) of the power to change the policy of the colony by constitutional means, have goaded them to desperation.

Last September a Coercion Act was rapidly passed through the Queensland Legislature. By this Act a magistrate specially selected to enforce its provisions may send to jail for three months (six in the Bill) any one whom he *suspects* of having committed or incited to outrage, and may examine *in secret* upon oath any one whom he suspects of being able to give information, and the witness is compellable to answer questions though they tend to criminate himself. At the same time the Government has offered a reward of £1000 for information against any one who may set fire to a woolshed, and one of £50 for information against any one who may have committed a murder.

During the passing of the Act eight Labour members were named and suspended for protesting too vigorously against it. This was not warranted by the standing orders, as the ex-Chief Justice under-

stands them, and, by his advice, it is intended to bring the matter before the Courts. The members were not allowed any opportunity of retraction or explanation.

The Labour members, with two exceptions, owe their political existence to the catastrophes which have lately overtaken the colony. It was believed by prominent Labour men in 1892 that the then next Parliament would be the most Conservative Queensland had yet seen; and I believe it would, but for circumstances which happened before the election. The dominant class had well-nigh persuaded the people that the woes of the colony were due to the Socialist teaching of the Australian Labour Federation, and that the financial troubles would be done away by the alleged genius of Sir Thomas McIlwraith. But, when Sir Thomas failed to float the loan on favourable terms, and came near not being able to float it at all, and when the Queensland National Bank Limited, in which the leading Colonials were directors and shareholders, and in which the Government moneys were deposited, failed, and where all the other banks doing business in the colony except two did likewise, the eyes of the people were opened, and they returned sixteen Labour members. But for the partial disfranchisement of the working classes, they would have returned many more. The general distress, the continual bankruptcies of the rich and pauperisation of the poor, so intense when I left Brisbane in 1892 that even then whole piles of offices were all but untenanted, while it was estimated that 3000 houses in the city and suburbs were vacant; but since then becoming more intense day by day and year by year; the emigration of many from the colony (of whom twenty were working their passage to England by the ship which brought me), the reductions of the salaries of all the smaller Government officials while the greater ones were spared: these events have tended still more to open the eyes of the people to the true cause of Queensland's miseries, which cause I am now about to disclose.

If a business man were to trade entirely on borrowed capital, and to engage exclusively in unremunerative enterprises, he would soon become bankrupt. If, whenever his losses had reached a certain height he were to borrow enough money to clear off his liabilities and carry on his unprofitable enterprises a while longer, he might stave off bankruptcy for a time, but his ultimate ruin would be more complete. If he were constantly adding to the number of his employees unemployed men, not possessed of any capital to add to his stock, but whom he undertook to feed if not to pay, he might thus produce an appearance of prosperity; and if the lenders of capital were not too critical, they might thus be persuaded to continue their advances for a series of years in the belief that his enterprises were prospering. If he were continually adding to the size and beauty of his business premises, this result would be still

more likely to follow. If the enterprises belonged to an incorporated company, the directors might adopt similar tactics. If they had private ends to gain some of them would do so. If the directors had sheep farms lying far away from the woolmarkets, perhaps railways to connect the sheepfarms with the markets would be conspicuous among the enterprises on which they would spend the borrowed money. Perhaps the railways would be made very circuitous to reach the different sheepfarms. If there was no population to use the railways, or so little that they could only be worked at a loss, they would constitute the most expensive of the unrenumerative enterprises. If the company traded in land, and the directors bought it from the company for a trifle in order to sell it at a profit, these results would be intensified. And if the company's byelaws, as well as the general law, forbade this, perhaps the directors and their allies would discover some means of evading them. If, instead of taking all these advantages to themselves, the directors shared them with the more influential shareholders with a view to securing their support for the purpose of keeping the directors in office, the case would be still worse. And if such of the leading shareholders as succeeded in amassing fortunes by these means forthwith sold out of the company in order to avoid calls or levies, and took their money to another country to spend it, the condition of the poorer shareholders would be as pitiable as those of the bondholders;—more pitiable, if by means of onesided byelaws, and by tricks and subterfuges of all kinds, very many of these poorer shareholders were prevented from voting at the general meetings lest they should turn out the rascally directors, and substitute honest men who would expend the borrowed capital on enterprise returning a profit. Suppose, however, that the shareholders and the employees of the company numbered half a million,—that they were the only inhabitants of the country where the business of the company was carried on, that very many of them had never learned any calling, and that most of those who had were votaries of a few overcrowded callings, or of callings which that country had no need of, and that scarcely any of them, except the few who c#ned sheepfarms, were possessed of any capital; that, consequently, the capital of the company could not be raised by calls, but only by borrowing; and that the only way of paying off the debts, and recouping the losses, and staving off insolvency for a while, was by borrowing more money;—and behold Queensland!—behold Australia!

Why must the Australian Colonies float periodic loans instead of raising the funds for carrying on their Government and Government works by taxation? Because they have not the necessary wealth to carry on these things by taxation. Does private capital come out to enrich the Colonies? Very little. Most of the capital which comes out has to be repaid with interest to the English lenders,

and even the profit derived from its use is often taken out of the Colonies, either because the enterprisers live in England or because they retire thither to spend what they have accumulated. Almost all the immigrants are of two classes;—Wage-earners, not possessed of a shilling; and young men of good family, not acquainted with any calling whatever, who have been sent out by their fathers because of their having been spendthrifts, or having committed some indiscretion—a most cruel and absurd practice, but a very common one. Men with even a little capital, and some capacity for using it discreetly, very rarely come to Queensland. There is a new school of economists who affirm that capital is not necessary to set labour on work, but the experience of Australians is a perpetual object-lesson to the contrary. The Governments borrow British money because the Colonies cannot be developed in any other way; and the solvency of the Colonies, and the prosperity of the rank and file of their inhabitants, depends on whether the enterprises on which the money is spent return a profit or a loss.

Food-production is the basis of national prosperity. The soil about Brisbane is not fruitful, and it is always cheaper to import wheat and potatoes by sea from the other Colonies than to bring them by rail from those parts of Queensland which possess fruitful soil. Hence, farming is little practised, and the few *bona fide* husbandmen (nearly all German peasants) are over head and ears in debt to the storekeepers; over thirteen thousand mortgages being held by one firm alone from this cause. Market-gardening is wholly in the hands of the Chinese. But, if some fruitful tract in the interior were cleared and fenced and thoroughly drained, and divided into farms, and inhabited by farmers wielding capital enough to enable them to carry on their business, their necessities would demand the services of town workers, and would attract such, and would lead to the foundation of prosperous towns, without any effort on the part of the Government. And not only so, but if the land so settled were Government property, the rents payable by the farmers (who ought to have leases or fee-farm grants, not absolute ownerships) would cover the expenses; and the rents payable by the townsmen (who ought to be similarly treated) would return a handsome profit. But in order to bring such results about the Government would have to lend tools and stock, and advance rations to the cultivators, the repayment of which would be certain if there were an efficient system of inspectorships to see that the goods lent were used in faithful cultivation. Such inspectorship need cost little or nothing, for there are already "Crown Rangers" to look after the public lands, and if the Government is in the habit (as it is) of continually imposing new duties on the Clerks of Petty Sessions without increase of pay, it could impose those new duties on the Crown Rangers. Such a policy has been urged by the working people of

the Colony at least since 1886, and I understand before. But it could not benefit the pastoral industry, nor fill the 'pockets of the clique who hold the destinies of Queensland in their hands ; and if it were pursued, there would be no unemployed class to draw upon in case of strikes, the manufacture of which class has been one of the chief aims of Queensland policy.

Why, then, do the working people not insist on these beneficent laws ? Alas ! it is because they are disfranchised, not all of them, happily for the prospects of peaceful evolution, not all, but so many that they cannot yet materially influence the policy of the Colony.

When I lived in Queensland there were two great strikes : the Marine officers and sympathisers, and the Shearers and sympathisers. During these strikes the total number of outrages alleged by rumour was three. Two of them (alleged attempts to poison soldiers) were found, after a diligent investigation by Government officials, to be *canards*. The third (the sawing of a tressel railway bridge) was committed by some one, but the men tried for it were acquitted. During the former strike the Commissioner of Police publicly testified that the strikers had behaved well, and that their leaders had given the police every assistance in maintaining order (for making which public statement the Prime Minister, by direction of the Cabinet, reprimanded him). During the latter the shearers stacked their rifles in a hiding-place, and on being requested by the Government, at once brought them out and handed them over to Government officials. Yet these facts did not prevent the Government from prosecuting strikers, under an Act of Geo. IV. (long since repealed in England) for (peaceably) endeavouring to *dissuade* " free labourers " from taking the place of the striking shearers ; nor did it prevent it from bringing these respectable men a long railway journey fastened by *chains* to a ring driven into the floor of the railway carriage ; nor did it prevent the courts from inflicting long sentences, I think in some cases ten years' imprisonment ; nor did it prevent Government from disrating a police magistrate for expressing sympathy with the strikers ; nor from promoting two others who had been active against them ; nor from dismissing from the commission of the peace a justice of the peace who had cheered the strikers, and that without giving him any opportunity of explanation or defence, charging him also with having used insulting language concerning the Queen, a charge which the justice indignantly denied. He had some consolation in being presented with a testimonial at a public meeting of his fellow-townsmen.

What wonder, then, that some of the shearers (who have now struck for a wage of 30s. a week, whose occupation affords work only part of the year, and who are all unenfranchised) have taken to burning woolsheds—the occasion of the New Coercion Act. The Colonial Secretary has now issued a manual to the police urging

them to greater severity against striking unionists, and has informed them that by an Act of Edward III. (repealed in England, but not in Queensland) any men going armed "at any fair or market or in the presence of the justices," must deliver up his arms to a constable, "and his body to the king's pleasure," or in default, may be immediately slain. The police are evidently intended to understand by "justices" justices of the peace, though of course the Act referred to the justices of assize. The following quotations, the first from the leading Brisbane daily (the *Courier*), the second from the *Sydney Bulletin*, neither of them Labour papers, will convey some idea of the causes which, taken in connection with the resolute determination of the Legislature not to admit them to the franchise, have led to the present outbreaks by shearers in the West:

"The outlook on the human tide which is scattered over those vast Western plains is a painful one. It is difficult for persons living in cities like Brisbane to understand how great are the sacrifices and hardships demanded from settlers and workers on those plains. Life is isolated and monotonous; the great world seems far away; there is only one industry to talk about; resources of amusement and of intellectual interest are meagre and few. Workers have to wander over great spaces of country in search of employment, and many of them cannot escape months of compulsory idleness."

"In 1891, a permanent agreement was arrived at between the Pastoralists and their employees, present and future, according to which shearing was to be done on certain terms and conditions. In 1894, the Pastoralists deliberately broke this agreement."

And now, as to the Electoral Laws. First: Who may not vote. A large section of Australian wage-earners cannot, from the nature of their occupation, have a settled abode. This is the case with the shearers and many others in the West, and with the sailors on the coast. For this reason these large classes are disfranchised. Others, again, live in tents, as the gold-miners, and the Revision Courts hold that a man living in a tent is not entitled to the household franchise, and he generally possesses no other. Railway navvies fall under both objections, and until railway making was stopped for want of funds, they were a large class, and highly respectable men worked at that calling. Under an Act of 1893, however, the man who seeks to get on the electoral roll encounters a new difficulty. Before he may prove his claim he must persuade some J.P., or some electoral registrar, or some head State school teacher, to sign a certificate that he is entitled to vote; and there is no clause requiring such official to sign such certificate, but if he does sign it without full inquiry, he is liable to a heavy penalty. It will, therefore, be somewhat of a favour if the J.P., &c., signs the certificate, especially as the Government has already shown an animus against J.P.s favouring working-class voters. Registrars and teachers are Govern-

ment employees. But the voter's troubles are not over when he has got upon the roll. He has to keep there. To thwart him in this, the Act of 1892 provides that if any other voter objects to him, or if the registrar, after inquiry, concludes that the voter has become disqualified, the voter must prove his qualification over again upon oath, the burthen of proof being thrown upon him every time; and, as the Revision Courts are held every three months, this inconvenience is a serious one, especially to working-men who cannot attend the Court without losing half a day's pay, and, perhaps, offending their employers, for the Courts only sit from nine or ten in the morning till four in the afternoon. Before this Act of 1892 the burthen of proof was the other way by law, but the Revision Courts put it on the voter illegally in cases where the registrar was the objecting party. The worst feature about these Courts, however, is their *personnel*. Any two J.P.s constitute a Revision Court. Often these J.P.s have been secretaries or presidents of the employers' associations—never have they any knowledge of law, and very seldom any judicial training, for it is not usual for the Queensland J.P.s to attend Petty Sessions, nor is it considered their duty to do so. The Government may, and sometimes does, direct a police magistrate to hold the Revision Court. These "P.M.s" are salaried officials, of whom one presides over every Petty Sessions Court in Queensland. They are appointed, dismissed, promoted, or disgraced at the pleasure of the Ministry of the day. No lawyer of either branch of the profession has ever been appointed to this office in Queensland, and it is very difficult to drive a point of law into their heads. The Government may also appoint a District Court judge (*Anglicé*, County Court Judge) to hold the Revision Court; but *this power has never, I believe, been exercised*. FROM THE DECISION OF A REVISION COURT, of whomsoever constituted, THERE IS NO APPEAL. Mr. Glassey, leader of the Labour party, introduced early in September a Bill to amend the electoral laws, but it is very unlikely that he will meet with any success.

I will conclude with an incident which occurred recently in Queensland. It appears from a report in a Brisbane paper, dated September 29, 1894, that when the roll of shearers was called on July 19 last, at a place called Coombemartin, a number of shearers were going into the employer's office, and a number of police were behind them with loaded firearms. The sub-inspector had a revolver in his hand. One of the shearers, when entering the office, was shot fatally. When dying, he charged the sub-inspector with the act. The sub-inspector thereupon knocked a man named Prior down, and ordered his arrest; but the sergeant placed the sub-inspector under arrest also. The above facts are collected from the sworn evidence at the trial of Prior, which had not concluded at the date of the paper (the latest I have). The same paper publishes a

letter from a shearer named Conroy, who, with Prior and five others, was charged by the police with the murder, and kept in gaol till September 12, when they were all discharged, except Prior, presumably from their being no evidence against them. They were afterwards, from some unexplained cause, re-arrested, except Conroy, who went into hiding for a time, intending to give himself up afterwards, though he was offered an opportunity of leaving the country. The following is his description of the treatment of the prisoners: "We were (six of us) arrested on July 21, and lodged in Ilfracombe lockup. There was a ringbolt in the centre of the cell, with three chains about 2 feet 6 inches long, with a ring on them. We were handcuffed to them—two men on each chain. I was the shortest man, and I could not stand up straight. . . . We were kept in this position five hours. We were then taken out of the cell, and chained like working bullocks, and taken to Longreach, where we were placed in two cells." He then describes the sick drunkards, who were from time to time placed in the cells with them, and adds: "We had to suffer this from July 21 until August 8. Shortly before daylight on the latter day the troopers came into our cell with two great chains, and we were handcuffed in couples along these chains. . . . We were then ordered into a car, with an escort of about a dozen police, and started for Rockhampton. . . . We were twenty-five hours in those chains altogether; our wrists were all very sore and badly swollen." *This was in the tropics.* Such is the "Working-man's Paradise."

An electoral law like that of England would go far to alter this state of things, and to make the Australian colonies solvent, populous, and prosperous. Is it too much to hope that British public opinion may do something in the way of moral support to those who are striving for it in the colony, and who have otherwise but little hope of success?

H. W. BOYD MACKAY.

THE CASE AGAINST "ETERNAL PUNISHMENT."

IN the closing verses of the twenty-fifth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, our Lord declares that He will, at the time appointed, "come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him," to judge the quick and dead. That He will, seated on His throne of judgment, gather all nations before Him, "and will separate them one from another as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats"; and that He will "set the sheep on His right hand, but the goats on the left."

He will then invite those on His right hand to "come and inherit the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world"; and will tell them that they are thus blessed and rewarded, because, in their lifetime, they were good and kind to their less fortunate fellow-creatures. To the hungry they gave food. To the thirsty they gave drink. To the homeless they gave shelter. To the sick, and to those in prison, they gave their own loving, cheerful presence. And, in so doing, they, without knowing it, ministered not only to them but to Him. In serving man they served God. And so, for their unpremeditated and disinterested goodness, He is about to bestow upon them a rich and everlasting reward. Then He will turn to those on His left hand, and will tell them (according to the English of our New Testaments, and to the current belief on the subject) to leave His presence, and to go, thus cursed, "into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." For, that which those He has just blessed did in their lifetime, these did not. They did not feed the hungry. They did not give water to the thirsty. They did not shelter the outcast. They did not visit the sick and those in prison. Such cases of distress, indeed, were all around them. They appealed to them at every point. They surrounded them on every side. But they shut their eyes and ears and refused to help their suffering brothers and sisters. And, in behaving thus selfishly and unkindly to them, they had behaved so to Him. Here, then, we have a clear statement by Christ of the respective grounds on which the good will be commended and rewarded, and the bad reproached and punished by Him on the Last Day.

Now we are quite sure that all who try to do unto others in this world as they would be done unto themselves; who make

their religion one of deeds as well as one of words; who, day by day, and week by week, and year by year, "weary not in well-doing," and in "ministering to minds, and souls, and bodies diseased"; whose joy it is to relieve the oppressed, and to raise the fallen, to protect the orphan, and to cheer the heart of the widow—*will* win those words of blessing that our Lord declares He will pronounce on such as deserve them, on that day when He shall come "in the clouds, with power and great glory," to judge mankind.

As regards, however, those on His left hand, we see that the sins for which (according to the ordinary view of this passage) they will be eternally punished, are those of omission, not of commission. Now it must be granted that, in a great many cases, sins of omission are hardly distinguishable from sins of commission. And yet a moment's consideration will show us that between these two kinds of wrong there is a distinction; perhaps, in some instances, not a very wide one, but still *a* distinction. For example. While out for a walk one afternoon, from, say, London to Watford, I meet a man who, I can plainly see, is in the last stage of starvation; and he also tells me he is. He asks me to help him; but I refuse, button up my pockets, and walk on. A few days later, I read in the paper that his body has been found by the wayside, that an inquest has been held on it, and that the jury have decided that he died of hunger. Had I relieved him when he asked me to do so, he might not have died or, at any rate, not so soon. So that I, to that extent, was responsible for his death. My selfishness helped to kill him. But would any sane person, who heard of my conduct, say that I had helped to kill him in the same sense as if I had done so by physical violence? Would any sane policeman take me into custody, and, if he would, would any sane magistrate listen to the charge? Let me put the matter in another way. Is the sin, either in man's eyes or in God's eyes, of, say, not relieving the widow, as great as that of robbing the widow? Is "not taking the stranger in" as bad as "taking him in" in another and very different sense? Is "not visiting those in prison" as great a wickedness as that of being the cause, direct or indirect, of their imprisonment?

And yet, according to the view usually taken of our Lord's words on this subject in the twenty-fifth chapter of St. Matthew, it is for such sins, sins of omission and not of commission, that the persons there referred to will, on the Last Day, be cursed, and consigned to "everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." If these words really mean what, in our English translation, they appear to mean, why does our Lord use them only in regard to those whose sins are negative rather than positive, sins of wilful, selfish negligence, rather than of wilful, aggressive wrongdoing? I repeat it, if these words of Christ mean that He is going to send those guilty of

sins of *omission* into everlasting fire, why does He omit all reference to sins of *commission*? If the lesser iniquities (as we may surely regard them) deserve such a punishment, what has He in store for those guilty of the greater iniquities? What is to be the punishment for "evil-speaking, lying, and slandering," cheating, sweating, oppression, lust, robbery, and murder? What sort of a hell awaits the doers of those things? But no worse hell, no more horrible and loathsome abode of the damned, can be conceived by the human mind than that described as the place of "everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." Hence, on this hypothesis, a similar fate must await both the greater *and* the lesser offenders. Omission will be as fearfully punished as commission. God, the just and righteous Judge, will pay no regard to the question of the *degree* of this or that man's guilt, but will torment and burn for evermore all alike!

Is it not plain, from the inference to which reasoning like this necessarily leads, that there is something radically wrong in the argument for everlasting punishment? That not merely is one of its links weak and ready to snap, but that it is altogether shaky and unsound? That it is not only feeble, but false? That such a conception of the ultimate intentions of an all-wise and all-merciful God is not only badly built, but based upon a rotten foundation? But what else *can* result from an attempt to put into the mouth of His Incarnate Son words that He never uttered? Words that, as they stand in our English version, and as they are believed in and repeated by thousands and thousands of unthinking or ignorant persons, are, on the face of them, a gross libel on a good and gracious God, and give the lie direct to the words really used by the Son He sent to redeem the world? Now let us see what He actually did say regarding those who so signally fail in their duty to their neighbours and their fellow-creatures generally.

But first let me state that I do not, for one moment, wish to minimise the heinousness of the sin upon those guilty of which the Great Judge will one day pass sentence. I want in no way to underrate its flagrancy. I have not the slightest desire to wrap it in cotton-wool, or to sprinkle it with rose-water. It is our bounden duty, and especially it is the bounden duty of we clergymen, to describe a thing by its proper name, and to call a spade a spade. But we must take care that we *do* give the proper name to a thing, and that the agricultural instrument of which we are speaking *is* a spade. And, most assuredly, when we are talking about sins, we must mind that we do not fall into the mistake of regarding them as all alike in degree, and as all, therefore, deserving the same punishment in the world to come.

"Then shall He say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil

and his angels." So runs our English version. But what says the Greek? Something very different, as every educated person knows. "Then shall He say also to them on the left, Depart from me, ye cursed, into the *age-long* fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." Now it will be noticed that, although the Judge will declare those whom He addresses to be accursed, He Himself will not curse them. Our Lord, in this passage, is simply asserting a fact, the awful truth of which we all instinctively realise and admit. "To stand before Him on that day, and to feel, even before He tells us so, that we have come very far short of the standard that the Book He placed in our hands—and the conscience He planted within us bade us live up to, will be, and must be, very dreadful. To hear Him whose gracious lips have always hitherto said 'Come,' say 'Depart,' will be an experience so sad, a surprise so terrible, as I can well believe," says the Rev. Dr. Cox, "that every man who does hear that rebuff from His meek and gracious lips will wish that he had never been born; yes, and wish that he had never been born even although he understands that he is banished from the presence of Christ only for an age, only that the age-long fire may consume his sins and burn out his unrighteousness." The Judge *will* on that day tell those who deserve His words of anger that they are accursed, self-accursed, and will command them to leave His presence; but He will *not*—He declares in this very passage that He will not—consign them to "everlasting fire." And this is the point on which the whole of my remarks turn, and to which, it will have been observed, they have been leading.

Let me now, therefore, speak in detail about each of these two words, and endeavour to show that the "fire" referred to by our Lord will not be real fire, and that it will not be "everlasting." And first of the "fire." Myriads of persons assert that it *will* be the genuine article. "The fire," say they, "and nothing but the fire, and that for evermore." They never reason out the matter. And many even of those who understand Greek never take the trouble to see what the original says. They simply believe themselves, and try to make others believe, that there is a great furnace, or burning lake, or something of that sort, awaiting the wicked, into which, unless they repent, and that in good time, the Great Executioner will ere long cast them, and in which they will spend all eternity in untold suffering and agony. And this delightful belief regarding the ultimate fate of the majority of mankind is one of very long standing. It was held by, among others, a host of the Fathers. St. Chrysostom, for instance, testifies as follows:—"The sea that awaits them is the sea of the bottomless pit; where the punishment is not accompanied with insensibility, and where there is no suffocation to end all. But in ever-lengthened torture, in burning, in strangling, they are consumed there. A river

of fire rolls before Him, the undying worm, unquenchable fire, outer darkness, gnashing of teeth. Although you should be angry with me ten thousand times for mentioning these things, I shall not cease from speaking of them." Fortunately, however, he has ceased now. Another dignitary of the early Church. St. Ephrem, delivers himself of these encouraging observations :—"That fire, which is unquenchable, not consuming what it devoureth ; for it was not appointed to consume, but to cause suffering and agony. It burneth with mingled darkness [how fire can burn with darkness, we will not pause to enquire] and gnashing of teeth. It devoureth, it wasteth, it causeth suffering, and is not extinguished, for it is for ever and ever, as it is written." Eusebius Gallicanus, another of the Fathers, favours us with the following information on this important subject :—"Too late shall we be displeased with ourselves in sight of the eternal fire, which will scorch our bones, and marrow, and thoughts." St. Augustine's views are, as is well known, precisely similar. Let us proceed, lastly, to the venerable St. Anselm (not a "Father," by the bye) who, with uplifted hands and troubled countenance, cries out to us as follows :—"Horror, horror ! O fire of brimstone, flames of hell, dark volumes of smoke, with how terrible roarings do I see you rolled along ! O worms living in the fire [which, by the way, they rarely do] what wondrous greediness of gnawing kindles you, whom that fire of fires burneth not ! Devils that burn within us, roaring with the heat, gnashing the teeth with madness, why are ye so cruel to those who roll in anguish among you ?" And it must be remembered that abominable nonsense like this has been uttered by multitudes of later saints, of all countries, and all schools of thought, right down to our own times. And what reams of this rubbish are still written in England alone, as suitable matter for Advent sermons !

I know that a great many people do not now believe, whatever they used to believe, that the wicked will be thus punished in the world to come. They decline to accept the Fathers' version of the matter. They tell us that future suffering will be mental, not physical. But I will deal with them presently. I am now speaking of the multitudes who, basing their belief on what they think they find in the New Testament, *do* hold the doctrine of "everlasting fire" pure and simple.

But now we come to a most important point. *Is* anything said in the New Testament about real fire in reference to future punishment ? The word "fire" is there, sure enough, both in the English and in the Greek. But in what sense was it used by Christ, and understood by His hearers ? St. Matthew's Gospel will not give us the answer, but we can easily learn it from the ninth chapter of St. Mark, where we read as follows : "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off. It is better for thee to enter into life

maimed, than, having two hands, to go into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched, where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." How is the word "fire" here used by our Lord? In this sense. He is at Capernaum, and He is telling His disciples that they must take care they do not, by any inconsistent word or action, give offence to any of His little ones who believe in Him. (By "little ones" He, of course, means those of any age of life whose faith in Him is not yet firmly rooted and perfectly strong; and who correspond to the "weak brethren" of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians.) Should you, He says, find yourselves in danger of thus giving offence, of thus, by your own want of consistency of life and conduct, causing them to stumble, cut away from you, as you would a diseased hand or foot, that which is wrong in you, and may have this sad result. For it is better, far better, for you to do this, than, through not doing so, to suffer the pangs of an accusing conscience, and, both here and hereafter, the punishment of One who sees, and knows, and avenges all. It is, I tell you, ever so much wiser for you to cut off that hand or that foot that is likely thus to offend, than, for your negligence, to be thrust into fire that is not quenched, and where the worm is ever fulfilling his loathsome task of devouring the carcases of the wicked.

"Well," perhaps some may reply to this, "here are Christ's own words about the 'fire.' They seem plain and definite, and to admit of but one interpretation. If they don't mean what they certainly appear to mean, how are you going to explain them?" Why, easily enough. Christ was not talking about "everlasting" fire at all. He was referring to something very well known to those whom He was addressing, as well as to every Jewish man, woman, and child of the time. He was speaking of the Valley of Hinnom, and that only *figuratively*. This Valley of Hinnom, this *Ge Hinnom*, of which the Greek equivalent is *Gehenna*, translated in our Bibles as "hell," was a precipitous ravine outside the south-west wall of Jerusalem, watered by the brook Kedron and "Siloam's sacred stream." "This valley," says the eloquent author of *Salvator Mundi*, "was, in the time of the Hebrew kings, laid out in pleasure-gardens, with groves, pools, and fish-ponds. Here the wealthier nobles and citizens of Jerusalem had their country villas, their summer palaces. At its south-east extremity lay the garden of King Solomon, with its 'tophet,' or music-grove, in which the King, with his wives and concubines, listened to his men-singers and his women-singers, and to the blended strains of musical instruments of divers sorts. The whole beautiful valley, in short, was full of those delicious retreats which are still found in the close neighbourhood of large and wealthy Oriental cities, and in which the monarch and his nobles seek repose from the sultry heat of the summer, and from the anxieties and toils of public life. To gratify the 'foreign women'

with whom he consorted, Solomon polluted his pleasant gardens and groves with idolatrous shrines, in which the cruel and licentious rites of Egypt and Phœnicia were observed. His successors imitated and outran, his evil example. The horrid fires of Moloch were kindled in the beautiful valley, and children were burned in them — ‘passed through the fire.’ Gradually ‘the valley of Hinnom’ grew to be a type of all that was flagrantly wicked and abominable to the faithful souls, fallen on evil times, who still worshipped Jehovah on the neighbouring hill of Zion. And when Josiah came to the throne, and good men could once more lift up their heads, the groves were burned down, the pleasant gardens laid waste, the shrines ground to powder, and, to render the valley for ever ‘unclean,’ the bones of the dead were strewn over its surface. Thenceforth it became the common cesspool of the city, into which offal was cast, and the carcasses of animals, and even the bodies of criminals who had lived a life so vile as to be judged unworthy of decent burial. Worms preyed on their corrupting flesh, and fires were kept burning lest the pestilential infection should rise from the valley and float through the streets of Jerusalem.”

Upon this “Gehenna of fire,” then, as it is called in our New Testaments, is based the common doctrine of “hell-fire.” But did those who heard our Lord speak of “the fire that is not quenched,” and of “the worm that dieth not,” understand Him to mean that which numbers of people say He *did* mean by those words? Most certainly not. It would be wearisome to recite even a tenth part of the evidence that exists to prove that the Jews of our Lord’s time did not believe in such a punishment as that of “everlasting fire” in the world to come, or in “everlasting” punishment of any kind. As a Jew speaking to Jews, Christ would be understood to be alluding, by way of illustration, to a well-known mode of punishment inflicted by their highest tribunal in certain extreme cases. “In every Jewish city there were courts of justice which had the power of life and death. But though they could condemn prisoners to death by the *sword*, they had no authority to inflict that death by *stoning*, which was the most ignominious punishment known to the Hebrew code. Only the Sanhedrin, the supreme council at Jerusalem, could inflict that penalty. But the Sanhedrin, besides condemning a man to be stoned, could also ordain that after death his body should be cast into the Valley of Hinnom, to become the prey of the worm or of the fire,” and thus be deprived of decent burial, an indignity to all men terrible, but especially so to those of Jewish race. By this reference, then, to the “fire” and the “worm,” those who heard our Lord speak would understand a fearful punishment to be meant. They would realise the significance of those expressions far more fully than we possibly can, from their intimate knowledge of this Valley of Hinnom and of the dreadful

use to which it was applied. But they would *not* understand Him, when speaking of the punishment for sin in the world to come, to be employing this familiar fact of their legal system as a *literal* illustration of that punishment.

And look at this. If the "fire" is to be regarded as "real" fire, then we must take the injunctions, "cut off thy hand" and "cut off thy foot," in a literal sense as well, and act accordingly. Does not this alone show us that Christ's words on this subject were metaphorical, and only metaphorical? And, again, consider the *effects* of fire. Fire wholly changes the form and nature of the object upon which it operates. It converts it into a residuum differing in character, shape, and bulk from those of the substance upon which it has acted. And, more often than not, it at the same time "rids the earth of that which is noxious and infectious, and transmutes it into vital and wholesome forms." And once more. Our Lord says, in this very passage in St. Mark's Gospel about the "fire" and the "worm," that "every one shall be salted with fire." The reference is, of course, to the sacrifices offered in the Temple, which, in accordance with the divine injunction laid down in the Pentateuch, were salted with salt. Salt, as we know, purifies and preserves. It thus formed "an appropriate emblem of the life and purification wrought in the conscience of the offerer when they were duly presented." And our Lord is here alluding to the equally well-known purifying properties of fire, and showing that "the fire of Gehenna, the age-long fire, which He had in view, was the symbol not of a vindictive and degrading physical punishment, but of a purifying and invigorating correction."

I referred, in passing just now, to the large and increasing number of persons who do not believe in a real and literal fire in the place of punishment of the wicked in the world to come. They are, to that extent, therefore, in a more enlightened condition in regard to this question than those who *do* believe in the genuine article.

But (and this brings me to my second point) as they, in common with what we will call the "fire-party," believe in the absolute endlessness of future punishment, the difference in opinion between these two classes is, after all, very slight. For the *duration* of future punishment is by far the most important part of the whole matter. Everlasting bodily discomfort, or everlasting mental suffering, might not perhaps be so dreadful a fate as that of everlasting burning. But if I were to be told that it would some day be my lot to have, say, the toothache, or even depression of spirits, for ever and ever and ever, I don't think I should be likely to console myself with the thought that *that* were better than to be "eternally broiled on the Devil's gridiron." I fancy I should only look to the fact that I was *never going to get out* of that horrible place; that I must, in Dante's dreadful words, "abandon all hope"

when once I had "entered there." So that, as I have said, the difference between these two theories of future punishment is in regard to the essence, the vital point, of the matter, practically *nil*; for both assert its endlessness.

But that future punishment will *not* be endless, both the Bible, when properly translated, and our own common sense, assure us. For, to begin with, the so-called everlasting "fire" of verse 41 of the twenty-fifth chapter of St. Matthew is plainly the equivalent of the so-called everlasting "punishment" of verse 46 of that chapter. That is to say, the word *πῦρ* in verse 41 is identical in significance and application with the word *κόλασις* in verse 46. Now *κόλασις* is translated in our Testaments as "punishment." But this is far from an adequate rendering of the word. Its proper meaning is "pruning," "chastisement," "correction," as is evident from a consideration of the verb (*κολάζω*) from which it is derived. It is true that *κόλασις* does mean "punishment;" but punishment of a particular kind, punishment administered with a view to the improvement of the offender. The word is never used in any part of the New Testament, or in any of the works of the ancient classical writers, except in this good and hopeful sense. The idea conveyed by it, and which alone belongs to it, is, as I have said, that of amendment, restoration to an original condition. When the idea of *vengeance* is intended to be expressed, an entirely different word, *τιμωρία*, is employed, both in the New Testament and in the classics. It is impossible to conceive a sharper distinction in meaning than that which exists between these two words; and the fact of this wide divergence of signification is one familiar to all Greek scholars. And yet, both in the Authorised and in the Revised versions of the New Testament, *κόλασις* is translated exactly as if it meant the same as *τιμωρία*!

Christ then really says in verse 46 of St. Matthew xxv., "The wicked shall go away into (or for) age-long pruning." Words which are clearly capable of being thus paraphrased: "The wicked shall go away, for a time, to be made better." Now we know that a gardener prunes his trees for this very purpose and no other. He prunes them, that is to say, with the sole object of making them healthy and fruitful. As, then, an earthly gardener does this to his trees to improve and not to destroy them, so the Heavenly Gardener will prune *us* in the world to come. And this very term, "pruning," in our Bibles itself shows that the process thus described will only be employed by Him for as long a period as in each case may be necessary. A gardener only prunes his trees for a certain time. When they are in full blossom, and give promise of an abundant crop, his knife is no longer needed. And so with ourselves. When, in the great hereafter, God has removed from us all that is wrong and sinful, all that unfits us for His blessed presence,

His loving purpose towards us will have been accomplished. Yes, this κόλασις, this "pruning," is God's process in the world to come by which He may, by which He *will*, sooner or later, bring us all—however far we may have wandered away—back to Him, bring us in humble and contrite submission to His feet, bring us to the blissful embrace of His loving arms, from which nothing shall, or can, pluck us for evermore.

This word, κόλασις, then, not only indicates the *nature* of future punishment, but also its *duration*. For just as the gardener ceases to prune his trees when they begin to bear, so God will cease to prune us when He sees us likely to bring forth fruit in the world to come. When He has made us all that He would have us to be, we shall need His chastisement no longer. Now He tells us in the Bible that His punishment of us in the next world *will* be corrective and remedial. Therefore, at some time or other, its purpose will have been effected. Therefore it cannot be "everlasting."

This is one proof of the non-endlessness of future punishment. We now come to a second and final one. This is easily deducible from the Greek word translated in the Authorised Version as "everlasting," and in the Revised Version as "eternal"—a distinction, to those ignorant of the original, without a difference, but, to those familiar with that language, real and important. The Greek word, of which "everlasting" and "eternal" are commonly supposed to be equally accurate renderings, is, it is to be observed, αἰώνιος, which again is derived from another Greek word, αἰών, meaning "an age," of any duration, from a hundred years to a hundred million years; and from this latter word, αἰών, we get our word *æon*, denoting, of course, a definite period, an epoch, long or short. Our word "eternal" means precisely the same, for its root is the Latin adjective *æviternus* (from *ævum*, "an age"), shortened into *æternus*, and thence Anglicised into "eternal." Why the translators of our New Testament in 1611 rendered this word, αἰώνιος, as "everlasting," I cannot imagine. It surpasses my ability, as it must that of any person possessed of ordinary common sense and a knowledge of Greek, to understand how these eminent scholars could have so sadly blundered over such an easy task as the proper rendering of that word. However, they did; and the translators of the Revised Version have by no means adequately done *their* duty in substituting such an unsatisfactory word as "eternal" for "everlasting." For, to the uninstructed mind, as I have said, the one word conveys the same meaning as the other.

The space at my command has only allowed me to deal very briefly with this vast and momentous question of the nature and duration of future retribution. But let me assure those whose minds are still halting between two opinions on the subject, that

every other apparent assertion of everlasting punishment to be found in the New Testament can be as easily answered and disposed of as those I have thus treated in the present article. Things are not what they seem, and certainly many of the statements in the Bible are not. They are not what they seem either when examined by the light of knowledge or by that of reason and common sense.

A good many persons hesitate to accept the word "age-long" in place of the word "everlasting," on the following grounds: They say that "if you do away with endless punishment, you, at the same stroke, do away with endless happiness; for the same word is, in the Greek Testament, employed to denote the duration of each in the world to come." This is true, so far as it goes. But, as a matter of fact, this is not really the right way to look at it. The word *αἰώνιος*, to which they refer, although it certainly implies and includes the notion of time and not of eternity, is used in the New Testament in its much more distinctive and appropriate meaning of *quality*, not quantity. It is employed, that is to say, primarily and particularly, to describe the *condition* of the life in the world to come. Age-long chastisement and age-long happiness—the chastisement and the happiness, respectively, of the age, or new state of existence, that will succeed our earthly course. What, in either case, will follow *that* age God Himself alone knows. But it will be seen that in this use of the same word to denote the duration of future punishment *and* future happiness there is no real difficulty involved, and that it does not diminish the certainty of the never-ending happiness of the righteous. And, moreover, "in sundry places in Scripture, and in terms not to be mistaken, all who trust in Christ are assured of an eternal salvation, a life that can never die."

It is, of course, important to remember that although God's punishments in the life to come will only be remedial, and inflicted for as long a time as may be necessary, yet they will be painful. A father beats his son to make him a better boy, and not merely for beating's sake; but he has to beat him in order to attain that object. A gardener only prunes his trees to make them yield larger crops; but he can only prune them by cutting them. A man is only sent to prison to induce him, when released, to keep out of it for the future; but he has to be shut up first, in order to be taught the lesson. And so with God and us. Whatever He may visit us with in the world to come in punishment for the unrepented sins of this life, will only be for the purpose of cleansing and purifying us, and bringing us to Himself; but His medicine will be bitter, fearfully bitter, and He will make us drink the cup to the very dregs. It is true that, as St. Paul reminds us, "where sin abounded grace did much more abound. But what shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid!" The sins,

of course, that the Apostle refers to are wilful sins, sins committed in direct disobedience to the dictates of God's Word and our own conscience, sins committed by those fully aware of the nature of their acts—sins for which, in a word, there can be no excuse.

But so much that is wrong and sinful is done by those who have never really had a fair chance in this world; who, from their cradles, have been the victims of a hard and cruel destiny. They may live in a Christian land like our own, with churches and chapels surrounding them on every side, and with other opportunities of learning the will of God and doing it. But various circumstances for which they are not responsible ever prevent them from utilising those advantages. "Conceived in sin and shapen in iniquity, inheriting defects of will and taints of blood, nurtured in ignorance and vice, they have hardly heard the name of Christ save as a word to curse by." And thus, unrepentant and unconverted, they die, and pass into the unseen world. It is on behalf of such as these especially, whose name in England alone is legion, that I raise my voice, and indignantly deny the truth of this horrible doctrine of everlasting punishment; a doctrine for which there is not the shadow of a proof in God's Holy Word, and which is as false as it is revolting. Why, the worst man or woman who ever lived, who sinned in the face of light and knowledge and of every other temporal and spiritual advantage, would not deserve to be punished everlastingly. And how much less do those deserve to be eternally damned who, as I have said, never get in this life a fair chance of being anything else than they are!

The appeal on this subject, after all, lies with our own conscience and innate, deeply-rooted sense of justice. These assure us, even if the Bible did not, which it does, that God is too good to be so unfair and unkind as to act in the way that some people say He *will* act in the next world; and that He must mean all men to be saved, sooner or later, however greatly they may have sinned against Him. Or otherwise the victory will be Satan's, not God's.

We believe, of course, that Christ will come again on the Last Day, to judge the quick and dead. We believe that we shall then all stand before His Great White Throne. We believe that the Book will be opened, and that for whatever is there recorded against us we shall have to pay the penalty and suffer punishment. But we do not believe that a merciful and loving God and Saviour is going, for the sins, however great, of a few years, to punish us out of all proportion to our offence. We do not believe that He is going to punish finite wrongdoing (wrongdoing often the result of the circumstances in which we were placed) with infinite retribution. We do not believe that for a brief wandering from His arms He is going to banish us for evermore from His presence. We do not believe that, for a short life perhaps of imperfection, and indifference to the voice of

conscience, but certainly also, in the case of every one of us, of suffering and sorrow, He is going to say on that Day, to trembling thousands of His children—"Prisoners at the bar, depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire!" No, we do not, we cannot, believe *that*.

He died on Calvary not for a chosen few, not for an elect "one hundred and forty-four thousand," but for all mankind. Will He, then, be content, as some assert He will, with a half, or even three-fourths, of the souls He made, and for whom He laid down His precious life? "He shall see of the travail of His soul and shall be satisfied." And what else *will* satisfy Him than the final and complete salvation of all?

BY A LONDON CLERGYMAN.

THE MORAL OF THE GENERAL ELECTION.

Now that the election is practically over, it may be a useful exercise to endeavour to ascertain the true causes of the temporary extinction of progressive Liberalism. Whilst recognising to the full the splendid administrative achievements of the late Government and its solid and far from inconsiderable social and financial legislation, I cannot help feeling that at least five fatal mistakes have been made.

First and foremost is the omission to push the practical extension of the franchise. It seems inconceivable that the late Government, with a small minority and a consequently uncertain tenure of office, should have placed the One Man One Vote Bill at the end instead of at the commencement of the Ministerial programme, and should have finally dropped altogether the Registration Bill.

In my opinion this question of plural voting should have been taken even before the Home Rule Bill. It could have been disposed of very quickly, and even if the House of Lords had ventured to throw it out, an act which would have been contrary to all constitutional precedents, the cry against that House would have been very materially strengthened throughout the whole United Kingdom. At present it cannot be said that the result of any election indicates the real voice of the nation. Take London and the home counties, without considering the large provincial cities. In the great majority of cases the out-voters who can be brought up are quite sufficient to turn any election. And when we further consider that a vast majority of the better-class residents, commonly known as villadom, enjoy a double qualification, one in their residential county or borough and one in London, it will be seen that they virtually control both London and the home counties. Under the present circumstances, then, in numerous constituencies in the home counties and in several in London, a contest is perfectly hopeless, whereas with the abolition of the plural vote the parties would be fairly evenly balanced, for even in some of the strongest Tory strongholds—for instance, in some of the Surrey divisions—I can vouch for a very appreciable increase of Liberalism.

The present system of registration inflicts gross injustice upon the working classes. There can be no question that thousands of artisans who are obliged to follow their work are disfranchised. This evil is especially felt in London, where in almost every constituency their votes would be sufficient to turn the scale. Even if

the Registration Bill could only have been passed at the cost of redistribution it would have been well worth the price. Moreover, no Liberal in principle could have objected to an equitable scheme of redistribution, and if these measures had been passed, and if in spite of them the Liberal party had been beaten at the polls, we should at any rate have had the satisfaction of knowing our exact position in the country.

The second great mistake was the introduction of temperance legislation in the shape it took under Sir William Harcourt's Bill. The Bill was not a good one, but such as it was, the principle upon which it was based was not sufficiently enforced upon the attention of the public. That principle was simply the extension of local self-government. Owing entirely to this want of explanation and to the fanaticism of the temperance party, the misrepresentations of the trade found ready credence. A moderate measure of licensing reform, such as the institution of representative licensing bodies or the reduction of licences coupled with trade compensation would, I believe, have met with nothing like the same resistance. One cannot but admire Sir William Harcourt's courage in nailing his colours to the mast, but a good general does not lead his troops to certain defeat. Numerous indications were not wanting to show that the country was not prepared to accept the late proposals, and the result of the election has now placed the matter beyond doubt. To this cause undoubtedly Sir William Harcourt and Sir Thomas Roe owe their defeat at Derby, and Mr. W. S. Caine at Bradford. At Clapham, the result of Mr. J. Kempster's candidature (an official of the United Kingdom Temperance Alliance) has been to increase the Tory majority against him from 644 to 2021; and at Kennington, the temperance candidate, backed by the whole strength of the temperance organisation, only polled 730 votes.

The third mistake was the vacillating policy of the late Government in the conduct of its measures. If it was to be the policy of "filling up the cup," the motto of that policy should have been "thorough." The measures upon which the Government intended to appeal to the country should have been ruthlessly pushed through the Commons. In certain cases concessions to the enemy are prudent, but by yielding to the Tory demand of almost limitless discussion the Government only dispirited the Liberal members and lessened its reputation in the country. When the Tories carried the Coercion Bill by the closure in a single evening, the country did not rise up in its wrath, and if the late Government had passed the Home Rule Bill in forty days instead of eighty-two by means of a more stringent use of the closure no one would have cared two straws. On the contrary, the Government would have won respect for its resolution and business-like methods. And so with the other measures. And what did concession to pure obstruction gain at the hands of the Tory party? Why only the other day

at Manchester Mr. Balfour told his constituents that there had not been adequate discussion of the Home Rule Bill. If this be so, why, one would ask, did not the House of Lords avail itself of its opportunity to thresh the question out? Its contemptuous rejection of this great measure will not be forgotten by Irishmen or by English Liberals when the right time comes.

The fact of the matter is, the working classes have lost their respect for the House of Commons as a business-like assembly, and between the official Liberal and the official Tory see little difference. The late Government had it in its power to largely diminish the grounds for this reproach, but allowed the opportunity to slip by. The action of the late Government in another direction, for instance, in the Grant of the Saxe-Coburg annuity, affords ample justification for this want of faith in official Liberalism. An act of this kind strikes the imagination of the poorer electors more than fifty Acts of Parliament, which perhaps few of them comprehend.

The fourth mistake was the want of sympathy shown by official Liberalism towards the Independent Labour Party. With a little tact and good management the present sharp antagonism would, I believe, never have arisen. The Independent Labour Party no doubt represent to a large extent the Socialistic or Collectivist as opposed to the Individualistic school of thought. On the other hand, there seems little doubt that official Liberalism was largely tainted with the old Individualist creed. Despite this distinct line of cleavage, an effort, and a successful effort too, should have been made to retain the Labour men within the ranks of the Liberal Party, for, after all, whatever the Labour men say to the contrary, they belong of necessity to the progressive party, and, however much their theories may have been in the air, they would have helped to leaven the mass.

The *Daily Chronicle* asserts that *Manchesterism* is dead with the late Government. With this assertion I join issue. *Manchesterism* is becoming a living force for evil as it was formerly a living force for good. Any one who reads the social literature of the day must be struck with the large number of works which appear, written under the influence of this school of thought. As has so often been the case, the worn-out creed of decayed Liberalism has become the political faith of the Conservative party. The old theories of the liberty of the subject, freedom of contract, unrestricted competition, are used to bolster up vested interests, monopoly, and privilege. A certain section of the Liberal party, as I have pointed out, was tarred with the same brush, and it is this section which, in my opinion, is partly responsible for the wreckage of progressive Liberalism.

Lastly, I cannot see the necessity for resignation upon the Campbell-Bannerman incident. Although Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman himself had no other alternative but to resign the vote might have

been reversed, and the Government would not have been in a worse position. To resign and go out on a side issue and accept defeat on a snatch division was to my mind a confession of weakness. The Welsh Bill would undoubtedly have been carried, and so would the Factory Bill in the House of Commons, and probably the second reading of the Local Veto Bill would have been obtained. If the Lords had passed either of the former Bills so much the better. If they had rejected either or both, then there would have been something to say for the policy of "filling up the cup." As it was the Liberals went to the country with a variety of cries. Lord Rosebery remembered Mr. Gladstone's advice of "one thing at a time" too late. His cry against the Lords, uncoupled with the rejection of any great measure, was premature. But even this election policy was not adhered to, for Sir William Harcourt placed Local Veto in the front of his programme, and Liberal candidates went to the attack, some with one cry and some with another, but all with the millstone of an ill-digested temperance measure tied round their necks.

It is easy to prophesy after the event. These mistakes, if mistakes they be, may, after all, be merely errors of judgment. Any one else might, under the circumstances, have acted in a precisely similar manner. But the mistakes to which I would now allude are of an entirely different nature. These are the mistakes committed by the various groups and individuals which compose the Liberal party in the House of Commons. These mistakes are in the highest degree culpable. Whatever one may think of the tactics of the Tories, and however much one may regret their want of generosity and scrupulosity, at any rate they play the political game for all it is worth. Internal dissensions are adjusted and smoothed over, and they generally manage to avoid washing their dirty linen in public.

I will first deal with the groups.

The miserable internecine squabbles, personal and petty, amongst the Irish Home Rule party have only disgusted the average Englishman, who otherwise would not have been disposed to look unfavourably upon Home Rule. The result has been to put Home Rule further into the background.

The Welsh party, by insisting upon placing the Church question in the forefront of the Ministerial programme, have, after all, gained nothing. The Independent Labour party, by their insane course of action, have not advanced the cause of the working classes one iota. It has certainly shown that it can be powerful for evil, but it has proved that it is equally impotent for good. Allied with Liberalism this party would have been powerful for good. Whilst I have much sympathy for Mr. Keir Hardie's aspirations, I have nothing but contempt for his silly methods. This is not politics. It is political anarchism.

And what have the Crofter members gained by their threatened

defection? Absolutely nothing. And what the Temperance party? Worse than nothing. By their fanaticism, and extreme, and, I must confess, illiberal views, they have put back the clock of temperance reform for at least another generation. In listening to the demands of these groups, I confess the late Government betrayed its weakness. If Liberalism as a whole was to be sacrificed to the selfish aims of unreasonable faddists, it would have been better to have faced the situation earlier in the day. If groups and individuals are to be elected to push their own particular measures only, and not to promote Liberalism generally, then the days of Liberalism are over, and government by party is also doomed.

Whatever may be the merits of the question, whether the Prime Minister should be a member of the House of Commons or not, once Lord Rosebery had been elected to that position he should have been loyally supported by every member of the party. Mr. Labouchere's personal attacks were altogether unworthy of the Liberal cause and of his own undoubted talents and ability.

In many constituencies it is clear that there has been a very considerable change of allegiance, but in others the Tories owe their large majorities, not to any real increase in strength, but to the abstention of weak-kneed Liberals.

To such waverers I appeal to return to their real principles, which they have sacrificed to sentiment, and to refuse to listen to the specious promises of social reform held out by the Tory party. Some measures of social reform this party is bound to bring in, but experience has taught us to expect nothing tangible. They are meant for show, not for use. Attempts will also doubtless be made to pacify Ireland, but we may be quite certain that no measure produced in a Tory workshop will satisfy the national aspirations of the Irish people.

Let every section, then, which works for progress, whether individualist or Socialist, whether Liberal, Radical, or Independent Labour, rally to the banner of progressive Liberalism, and whilst each individual should work his hardest for his own section, let him never forget that he belongs to a greater cause—the cause of humanity. Now is the time for every Liberal to redouble his efforts. Although defeated, there is no reason to be discouraged.

In the cold shades of Opposition we shall do well to ponder upon these things. The world moves slowly, but still it does move, and the Liberal party will have to learn to welcome new men with new ideas, and above all learn to pull together. That the Liberal party will return to power strengthened and purified by the lesson of 1895 I personally have not the slightest fear. Creeds may perish, but the principles of truth and justice will in the end prevail.

HUGH H. L. BELLOR.

THE PROPOSED NEW ROUTE FROM BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.

Two commercial and national schemes of deep importance at present occupy the attention of different sections of the public in America. One is the construction of the Nicaraguan Canal, which is intended to join the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and to afford a much shorter passage from China and Japan and the East generally to the eastern and southern States of America and to Europe, thus enormously increasing the facilities and lessening the cost of transport both eastwards and westwards. The completion of this work will render many of the now unexportable products of California and other Pacific States available to eastern markets, and at the same time will open an increased market in the West for many eastern products, and it will cause the practical abandonment of the present tedious and dangerous routes through Magellan's Straits and round Cape Horn, and be productive of many other interesting commercial results.

The other scheme is of no less importance, not only to the American and Canadian public, but to the British public as well. It is the opening up of a new route from British North America to Europe *via* Hudson's Bay and Hudson's Straits, by means of a line of suitable steamers to ply between Liverpool and other English ports, to Churchill on the north-west coast of the bay, and the construction of a line of railway from that port to a point in the interior of the country, that will command the transport trade, not merely of the province of Manitoba, but also of the extensive and fertile north-west territories of Assiniboia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Athabasca, and possibly a large share of the trade of the American States of Minnesota and Dakota lying immediately south of the international boundary. The scheme has bearings of such magnitude, not merely on the commerce of western and north-western Canada, but on that of the whole Empire, as to make it well worth the careful consideration of the British public.

Hudson's Bay, discovered by Henry Hudson in 1610, in which he afterwards found a cruel and untimely grave, is a vast inland sea—in a sense the Mediterranean of the Western Hemisphere—is situated between 51° and 63° of north latitude, and is about 1300 miles long, with an average width of about 600 miles. The basin occu-

pied by this large body of salt water lies in the centre of North America, and drains a country 3,000,000 square miles in superficial extent. The following, among other large rivers, find their ultimate receptacle in this basin—namely, the Red River of the north, which rises in the State of Minnesota, within a few miles of the sources of the Mississippi, and drains the fertile Red River valley; the Winnipeg River, which carries the surplus waters of Rainy Lake and the Lake of the Woods from a great distance eastwards and not far from the western coast of Lake Superior; the Assiniboine, which drains the western and north-western parts of Manitoba and the adjoining territory; and the Saskatchewan, both branches of which draw their head waters from the Rocky Mountains, not far from the sources of the Missouri. A bare mention of these geographical points will give an idea of the vastness of the territory drained by these streams, continental in their character, all of whose waters, in addition to those of numberless lesser rivers, find a common channel in the Nelson River on their way to Hudson's Bay. The average depth of the bay is about seventy fathoms, the bottom is an almost dead level, and there are no rocks or shoals or other dangers to navigation. Storms are not frequent, and they are, as a rule, not violent when they do occur. Fogs are also rare and transient. No icebergs are met with. The temperature of the water is about 14° higher than that of Lake Superior. The ocean currents strike first the west coast of the bay, then run down southward and come up towards the straits along the east shore, and so great is the force of the tide that at Churchill, the only safe harbour on the west coast, it has been compared to the impetuous rush of a mill dam.

Hudson's Straits are 500 miles in length, with an average breadth of 100 miles. The chief outlet is between Resolution Island and Cape Chudleigh, on the north coast of Labrador. The water in the straits is much deeper than in the bay, and is said in some places to exceed 340 fathoms; in many places, however, it does not exceed 100 fathoms. The tides rise to between thirty and forty feet, and run at the rate of about six miles an hour. On the north side the coast is high and precipitous, the land in some places attaining an altitude of 2000 feet. On the south side the coast is lower and receding. The only obstacle to navigation in the straits is the polar ice which comes down from the Arctic seas, chiefly through Fox's Channel, in the months of May, June and July. These masses and fields of ice block the straits and impede navigation, and they are retarded in their passage to the open sea by their own massiveness and extent, as well as by the strong ocean currents which sweep into the straits, also by icebergs from Baffin's Bay and Davis Strait; some of the latter find their way a considerable distance up the straits, but never appear to reach the bay. Were it not for these difficulties the

navigation of Hudson's Straits would be exceptionally safe, owing to the absence of reefs and the great depth of water ; but notwithstanding the obstacles presented by ice it is maintained, and apparently on good grounds, that the navigation of these straits is by no means dangerous, and that when the usual artificial aids (including charts and lighthouses) to navigation are furnished, any dangers which exist will be greatly reduced.

These waters have been navigated for the last 285 years by various vessels, including the ships of the Hudson's Bay Company ; by numerous sealing and whaling ships from New Bedford and other ports on the coast of Maine, and by vessels from Dundee in Scotland, with but few disasters and small loss of life, and the route is not, therefore, new in one sense ; but during the last twenty years its importance, utility, and even necessity, as a main channel of commerce between Europe and the continent of North America, has been growing steadily in the public mind, and since Dr. Bell, a director of the Geological Survey of Canada, who spent several seasons (from 1875 to 1881) at the bay, and who sailed repeatedly through the bay and straits, pronounced decisively a few years ago as to its complete practicability for the purposes of navigation for at least a considerable portion of the year, the idea became crystallised into a distinct and firm belief—a belief which has received ample confirmation from the reports of subsequent explorers who were sent out by the Government of the Dominion of Canada.

The opponents of this route—and it will readily be understood that it must have opponents both in Eastern Canada and in the United States, inasmuch as it will be a formidable competitor for the carrying trade of a large portion of the vast interior of the North American continent, against the St. Lawrence route on the one hand, and the American water system of transport on the other—dwell much on the uncertainty of navigation in the straits, and on the shortness of the season of open water in these high latitudes ; but the testimony of reliable and intelligent persons who have resided for years on the shores of Hudson's Bay, and the reports of the expeditions sent out to investigate the matter by the Canadian Government in the years 1884, 1885, and 1886 prove conclusively that certain navigation can be depended on for a period sufficiently long in each year to transport all the imports and exports of the country. The bay is never frozen more than a few miles from its shores ; beyond that distance it is open all the year, while the swing and force of the tides in the straits is such that no ice can be formed outside sheltered and shallow places, and even there it is often broken up by the impetuous ocean currents. The winds are also powerful agents in breaking up the ice, both in the bay and straits, and in making channels at each side of the latter, and also through it for steam vessels. The navigation of these waters has hitherto been

chiefly considered with reference to the dates at which the harbours on the bay open and close. These dates, speaking approximately, are respectively about the 15th of June and the 15th of October in each year, but it is held by many who are competent to form an opinion that both the bay and straits can be navigated all the year round, and that the most favourable period of navigation will be found to be from the middle of October until the middle of June in each year. This opinion is apparently founded on the fact that these waters are open in winter, and on the supposition that it requires but the use of adequate means to keep a channel for vessels open through the marginal ice to the harbours. Be this theory as it may, we have authoritative and reliable statements that four or five months of navigation can be depended on, and this settles the question, as that period is admitted to be long enough for all practical purposes. That the difficulties and dangers of navigation in Hudson's Bay should be magnified by ignorant and interested parties need surprise no one, for every similar important enterprise has been subjected to misrepresentation and detraction. Even the St. Lawrence route, in its infancy, did not escape. One writer says that of all known countries the navigation of the Gulf of St. Lawrence was the most difficult and treacherous. In the year 1711 only one voyage a year was made to Quebec. Instances of the same kind could be multiplied, but it is unnecessary to do so. It will be with the Hudson's Bay route as with every other route possessing apparently special difficulties; when they are once grappled with in downright earnest they will either disappear or be brought under control.

The immediate economic resources of those waters and of their coasts are the whale, seal, porpoise, salmon, and trout fisheries; furs and peltries, gold, silver, iron, and other ores, many of which are susceptible of great development; but these resources are small in comparison with those of the immense territory which the opening of this route would make available to the world. A glance at the map will show that this territory embraces, in addition to the northern halves of the States of Minnesota and Dakota, the entire Province of Manitoba and the whole of the vast territories of Assiniboia, Alberta, Athabasca, and Saskatchewan, the Canadian portion of which comprises the largest compact extent of grain and cattle producing country in the world. It is not generally known—nor is the fact adequately appreciated by those to whom it is known—that two-thirds of the vast wheat region of North America lies on the Canadian side of the international boundary. An eminent authority, the late Hon. J. W. Taylor, who was commissioned by the Government of the United States some years ago to make a report on the capabilities of this region, says: "This immense domain of 266,800,000 acres is destined to greater developments of population

and wealth within the next fifty years than three centuries have witnessed in the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Provinces." "It is now well known that the country reaching from the Red River to the Rocky Mountains, and from latitudes 49° to 54° , is as favourable to grain and to animal production as any of the northern States; that the mean temperature for spring, summer and autumn observed on the 42 and 43 parallels in New York, Michigan, and Wisconsin have been accurately traced through Fort Snelling and the valley of the Saskatchewan to latitude 55° on the Pacific coast, and that from the north-west boundary of Minnesota the whole district of British America is threaded in all directions by the navigable water-lines which converge to Hudson's Bay. English and American exploration have also established in favour of this district that its average elevation above the sea is far less than in American territory; that the Rocky Mountains are diminished in width, while the passes are not difficult; that the supply of rain is more abundant; and owing to the greater influence of the Pacific winds through the mountain gorges and the reduced altitude, that the climate is no material obstacle to civilised occupation." The same authority, in a communication on the subject to the *New York Sun* in 1892, dwells at great length on the views he had previously expressed, and emphasises them and draws particular attention to the law of maximum fructification which appears to have its widest range and clearest exposition in the northern parts of this region. The discovery of this law, or at any rate its formal introduction to modern notice, is due to the late Dr. Samuel Forrey, an American scientific writer, who states as a universal fact that the cultivated plants yield their greatest products near the northernmost limit at which they will grow; and Mr. Taylor maintains that over the vast north-western region of Canada, embracing all the territories we have mentioned, as far north as Fort Liard in latitude 60° , a region of rigorous winters, cool, moist springs, and dry but intense summers, the operation of this principle, conducing aids to which are the vigour and stimulus given to vegetation in cold climates by the rapid increase and prolonged action of summer heat, may clearly be seen. As regards the climate, healthiness, general physical appearance, fertility, and future of this north-west country, I quote a few sentences from Dr. Goldwin Smith, who has made several visits to it: "That the climate is healthy, every face bears witness. The summer air is delicious, and the nights are always cool. The people protest that owing to the dryness of the air they do not feel the cold in winter; yet forty degrees below zero must be felt, especially in a slight frame house, or a house built, as some absurdly are, with the towers and mansards of Southern Italy and France. The winter is at least six months long. Success then must depend on the result of a battle between soil and climate." "That the north-west was

a magnificent country for wheat and for cereals generally could never be doubted; all doubt, at any rate, must vanish from the mind of any one who beholds its seas of waving grain. That the wheat is of the very finest quality is also an admitted fact. Tracts of arid or less fertile land on these boundless plains there probably are, and it is childishness or worse to try to hide the fact, and to accuse those who confess it of decrying the country. Nothing can do the country any harm but falsehood; nothing can do it any good but truth. Land which is only less fertile may not unlikely be some day the garden of the territory, since it will call forth agricultural effort; while on the richer land the husbandman is apt to content himself with drawing on nature till she is exhausted." "As the train shoots out upon the prairie, the vastness of the level expanse and the unspeakable purity of the air at once tells the traveller that he is entering a new scene. A magnificent sunset, bringing out with fine effect the dark line of the prairie, is followed in that clear atmosphere by a night of starlight as brilliant as that which on Chaldean plains gave birth to astronomy. This purity of the air and the long level horizon might remind us of descriptions of Sahara; but beneath us, instead of barren sand, is one of the gardens of the earth, and the destined seat of a great civilisation. It is a thought of reasonable pride to an Englishman, who is no jingo, that this civilisation will, in its essential features, be English. Orators have talked of the morning drum of England following with its beat the sun in his course round the world. Here no drum beats, no bayonet gleams, no sentinel's tread is heard; yet race, character, language, literature, institutions, will form the foundations of a British Empire which, unlike empires held by the sword, is destined never to pass away."

But turning to a more distinctly commercial side of the subject, it may seem, in view of the present unprecedented development of wheat lands in all quarters of the world and the greater accessibility of some of these to market than others, absurd to claim a pre-eminent importance for the province and territories I have named—especially when their insular position is considered, and the consequent high cost of transport by the existing routes to Europe; but when it is realised that the construction of a line of railway from a central point in Manitoba to Hudson's Bay, say 700 miles in length, will reduce the distance for the whole province to Liverpool by about 800 miles, and that of this reduction upwards of 700 miles is in railway carriage, which it is hardly necessary to say is much higher than ocean rates, our eyes will be opened to a new phase of the subject, and new lights will be thrown on it in various ways. A few facts as to distances will make this clear:

The distance from New York to Liverpool, *via* Cape Race Clear, is 3028 geographical miles.

The distance from Churchill, on Hudson's Bay, to Liverpool, *via* Hudson's Straits and Cape Farewell, is 2926 geographical miles.

The distance from Montreal to Liverpool, *via* Cape Race Clear, is 2990 geographical miles.

A comparison of these figures shows that Churchill possesses the advantage of being 102 miles nearer Liverpool than is New York, and 64 miles nearer the same port than is Montreal. But comparatively small differences like these in the ocean passage are of very little importance and need scarcely be taken into account. It is when we compare the distances by rail from places far in the interior of the country to Atlantic ports that disparities acquire significance. For example, taking Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba, as one convenient place for comparison, and Regina, the capital of the North-West Territories, as another, we find the distances by rail from those places to ocean ports to be as follows :

Winnipeg to New York	1779 miles
„ Montreal	1425 „
„ Churchill	710 „
Regina „ New York	2135 „
„ Montreal	1781 „
„ Churchill, about	700 „

The saving in railway transport by the Hudson's Bay route would thus be :

From Winnipeg to New York	1068 miles
„ „ „ Montreal	715 „
„ Regina „ New York	1435 „
„ „ „ Montreal	1081 „

It will thus be seen that the establishment of the new route would cause an enormous reduction in the cost of railway carriage. It would reduce the existing railway rates by about one-half, while at the same time the ocean rate would not be increased, but might possibly, under the strain of additional competition, be somewhat reduced. The application of reduced rates to the exports of Manitoba and the north-west territories of Canada, such as grain, cattle, dairy and other products, and the large quantity of imports required in the country, especially to goods of large bulk and comparatively small value, would revivify the various languishing industries of the country, and lead to a development that would be permanent and of unimaginable proportions. It may be objected that, as regards the production of wheat, the world requires no greater supply than it has at present; it may further be said, and with perfect truth, that it would be to the advantage of the world at large if the area now devoted to the growth of this cereal were much reduced. While this is true in a general sense, it must be remembered that the natural resources of the vast regions of which

I am speaking are chiefly agricultural, including cattle-raising; that there is no large scope at present for other occupations; that the principal grain produced for export is wheat, for which the whole region is, with few exceptions, eminently adapted; that the entire domain is British territory, and therefore entitled to favourable consideration in comparison with foreign wheat-producing countries which have few natural affinities and still fewer commercial relations with Great Britain; that the great bulk of the population, as will be inferred, are farmers and graziers, who must live on the resources of the country, if they are to live at all; that, no matter how markets may fluctuate, wheat will always be a staple article of commerce in the countries best adapted for its growth, and that in its production the most accessible and most fertile fields, plus the fittest methods and the most competent men, will always best hold their own against competition. There is no question as to the fertility of the wheat region tributary to Hudson's Bay; indeed, its fertility has almost become proverbial; nor is there any question as to the industry and capacity of the people, or of the efficiency of the machinery and other facilities they use in their occupation. The great, and only, drawback is the comparative inaccessibility of the country to the markets of the world, and the chief end of the proposed new route is to supply the link which is required to bring this vast interior closer to—within paying distance—if I may use such a term, of the United Kingdom. Whilst the distance from market affects the value of wheat in a marked way, it has a no less marked effect on the price of cattle, the other great export of the country. The prairies of the north-west afford sustenance for millions of cattle, and live cattle have been exported in increasing numbers during the last few years by way of Montreal, but the rates of freight are so high as to leave but little profit to the grazier; whereas if the Hudson's Bay route was opened up, the lower rates of freight which it would afford would at once make cattle-raising a profitable business. The same remark applies in a greater or less degree to all commodities, both imports and exports, and especially to bulky low-priced products, such as pressed hay, linseed cake, potatoes and so on, and the coolness of the route, as well as its directness, would be of great advantage for the export of fresh meat and dairy products. Further, as a route for emigration from the United Kingdom and the north of Europe, the ocean passage being shorter than to any other Atlantic port, and the land journey only one-half the distance of any other route to the interior, emigrants could be brought into the country at a small expense, and being beyond the reach of American agents, they would not be decoyed into leaving the country for the United States. It will thus be seen that it is essential to successful farming in our north-west that we should have an easy and cheap route to the markets of

the world. In other words, the establishment of the Hudson's Bay route is necessary to the complete equipment of Western and North-Western Canada; with that equipment these vast territories have nothing to fear, they will be able to solve all the problems that enter into their future; without it they cannot prosper to the degree they desire and deserve, and which nature manifestly intended for them.

It has been objected to this route that no considerable portion of the crop can, owing to the short season, be taken out during the year in which it has been grown, and that a consequent great delay and expense would take place in storing grain at Churchill until navigation opened in the following spring. As a matter of fact, no considerable portion of the crops of Manitoba and the territories will ever go out in the years in which they are grown, by any route, and the proposed new route will, therefore, be at no disadvantage compared with others. There are several reasons for this: one is the large amount of work which has to be performed by our farmers in the fall; all the land intended for grain must be ploughed in the fall, and the time between the end of harvest and the setting in of winter when all this work must be done, is generally not more than sufficient for the purpose. Threshing is usually done after the ploughing is finished, and then shipments commence; but before any considerable quantity of grain reaches Fort William and Duluth—the only available ports on Lake Superior—navigation closes owing to the approach of winter; and while shipments continue to be made to those ports during the winter, or until the surplus wheat is disposed of, the great bulk of the wheat remains in the elevators at those places until navigation opens in the following May, when it goes to market by water communication. The grain storehouses or elevators at Churchill would occupy pretty much the same relative position in the Hudson's Bay route as those at Fort William do in the Canadian Pacific Railway, or those at Duluth do in the Northern Pacific system. But as the bay would probably be a month later in opening than Lake Superior, an additional small cost would be incurred for a month's longer insurance, storage, and interest on capital. It is but fair, however, to point out that the later period at which the harbours on Hudson's Bay open, say one month in every year, is a drawback to the route, not that the delay involved in this later period would prevent the wheat stored at Churchill in reaching English ports before wheat stored at the ports of Lake Superior, for it is probable the latter, owing to the slowness of the mixed lake and canal system of navigation and the greater distance it has to travel to Atlantic ports, would be longer in reaching England than shipments from Hudson's Bay made a month later, but because a great portion of the large class of goods comprising spring shipments would inevitably be sent out by the earlier route, which undoubtedly

is that by the great lakes, it having the advantage of being at least a month earlier than that by Hudson's Bay. But it must also be taken into account that the entire remainder, and by far the largest proportion in value, of the spring shipments to this country will be sent in all time to come by neither of those routes, but by the all-rail routes from the seaboard, thus benefiting neither of the mixed land and water routes. In short, it may be taken for granted that the latter routes will be used chiefly for transporting the heavier staple exports and imports of the north-west.

The railway from the bay to the interior, in order to serve the immediate and prospective necessities of the country, should have two branches: one to Winnipeg, which is already a railway centre and in direct communication with all parts of the Province of Manitoba as well as with the United States, and one to Regina, *via* Prince Albert, both of which places, from their geographical position, are destined to become centres of commerce in the near future.

Further extensions will have to be made in various directions as circumstances may warrant and as the requirements of colonisation may demand. The main trunk of such a road would extend from Churchill to the Grand Rapids of the Saskatchewan, near the entrance of that river into Lake Winnipeg, a distance of about 400 miles. Following the route of the road from Churchill harbour (which is the only true harbour on the west coast of Hudson's Bay, as it not only affords complete protection from storms, but has sufficient depth of water to float the largest ocean steamers; soundings show that at a distance of 400 feet from high-water mark on the shore a depth of six and a half fathoms can be had at extreme low water, deepening suddenly to eight fathoms) southward we find that the first sixty-six miles is a level moss-covered plain, very favourable for railway construction; for the next seventy-five miles the soil is gravelly and sandy, mixed with clay, over which a railway could be constructed at a reasonable cost; the remainder of the distance, except fifty miles from Sebatchewan Rapids to the Grand Rapids of the Saskatchewan, is composed of clay and rock and will be the most expensive portion of the main track; but the engineer, Mr. C. E. Bayne, who surveyed it in the years 1880, 1881, and 1882, reports that it presents no formidable engineering difficulties. The fifty miles above referred to, along with the entire distance from the Grand Rapids to Winnipeg, are so favourable for railway construction that the cost will not much exceed that of a railroad built on the level prairie. Moreover, the country between Sebatchewan Rapids and Winnipeg is well adapted for mixed farming, and settlements will in the course of time be formed along this extensive tract of country; whilst the branch from Grand Rapids to Winnipeg would, if not deflected to supply the requirements of the large district of Lake Dauphin—

which is a matter of great importance to consider before any definite route is adopted—run in a very direct line; the branch from Grand Rapids to Regina would turn westward to Prince Albert and thence southwards to Regina. This branch would necessarily be more circuitous, but there are no engineering difficulties in its way, and the cost of construction would therefore be moderate. While on the subject of construction, it may be pointed out that the present is an exceptionally good time to construct this road, labour and materials being both abnormally low. The work could be commenced at Churchill, where all the rails and fastenings could be laid down from England at as low a figure as they could be landed in New York or Quebec. Sleepers for the first hundred miles can be procured at some distance up the Churchill river, and for the remainder of the way along the route. One or two thousand navvies can be brought to Churchill from England along with provisions, for say eighteen months, by the end of which time they would be within reach of supplies from Manitoba; and by adopting this course the whole work could be done in the most expeditious way and at the smallest cost. Not only so, but many of the workmen brought from England would, after the work was finished, take up land and settle along the route, thus forming the nucleus of larger settlements afterwards.

The important question now arises—namely, upon whom devolves the duty and responsibility of establishing and maintaining this important new route of communication between the Old World and the New?

The Government of Canada has recognised for many years past its importance, if not its necessity, and a Select Committee of the Canadian House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the question of the navigation of Hudson's Bay in 1884, in summing up the evidence laid before them, say in their report to the House: "We find that the great majority of those who have been there (*i.e.*, at the Bay), and consequently who know, reckon the duration of navigation in these waters at three and four months. For more than 250 years sailors have counted upon having an uninterrupted navigation of from two months and a half to three months, and this without marine charts, without an accurate knowledge of these waters, without lighthouses, without a system of telegraphic communication, and without the aid of steam. It is not, then, an unwarranted belief that with all the appliances now at the disposal of nautical science this navigation will be prolonged for some weeks." The Government of Canada has granted to a company organised to construct the railway a land grant of 6400 acres per mile of road within the Province of Manitoba, and of 12,800 acres per mile for that portion of the route lying beyond the boundary of the province. It has further agreed to give the company a substantial bonus and other assistance. The Provincial Parliament of Manitoba also some

years ago appointed a Committee from amongst its own members to make a similar inquiry, and their Report to the House contains the following statement: "No evidence has been given to prove that Hudson's Straits and Bay ever freeze over, or that the ice met with in those waters is sufficient to prevent navigation at any time of the year. Consequently the period of navigation is defined by the time during which the ports, harbours, or roadsteads can be entered by vessels of a suitable description for such navigation. From evidence adduced, it appears that such ports are open from four and a half to five months in the year to ordinary vessels. The Committee has also examined the reports of engineers and others charged with making technical explorations of the country, and are of opinion that no engineering difficulties exist which will prevent the construction of a line or lines (of railway) from this province to the shores of Hudson's Bay. The Committee has, therefore, no reason to doubt that a railway from hence to Hudson's Bay will prove a successful and remunerative undertaking, and do more to stimulate production in Manitoba and the north-west than any other undertaking." The Government of the province has since that time entered into an undertaking to pay the sum of \$1,500,000 to the Railway Company when the road shall be completed. Further, the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories has also from time to time endorsed the scheme. From these approvals and from the assistance pledged to the Railway Company, it may appear that no difficulty should exist in procuring sufficient funds to complete the enterprise; but such difficulties do exist, and they appear to be insurmountable, as the company organised to construct the road have been vainly endeavouring to find sufficient funds for the purpose for some years past. This is no doubt owing in some degree to the natural hesitation which capitalists have to embark in new and untried undertakings, and it is doubtful, owing to the complications which exist and the depression which is so widespread, if any company would be successful just now in raising sufficient funds to complete the enterprise; and should this opinion be found correct, it is clearly the duty of the Dominion Government, or the Provincial Government, and of the Executive of the Assembly of the North-West Territories, to combine and take the matter up and charge themselves with its completion, holding the absolute control for all time as trustees for the public. There are numerous precedents for Governments building, owning, and operating railways—the Inter-Colonial Railway of Canada is an instance—and providing the cost of the construction of the Hudson's Bay Railway to be equitably distributed between the Federal Government and the Provincial Governments mentioned—or rather between the respective interests and sections of the public represented by these bodies—the country as a whole could not, and would not, complain of any burden it might

lay on them." Were this suggestion adopted, various benefits would accrue to the public ; one of these would be securing the construction and equipment of the road at its actual cost, thus completely excluding the possibility of " boodling " or other improper charges, of which the railways in America unfortunately furnish too many instances. It is well known that the chief and often sole object of many companies organised to build railways is to make money not out of the earnings of the road, but out of the construction of the line by employing a virtually bogus " construction company," composed of men of straw, their own nominees, to whom the contracts are let at excessive prices, and to whom such prices are actually paid. These prices are charged in the books of the railway company as the actual cost of the work, but sometimes more than one-half of the amount finds a way back to the private pockets of the railway directors. This course has been followed in the construction of many roads in America, and is one of the causes why so many of them are at the present time in the hands of receivers. It is needless to say that such methods are dishonest and demoralising, and constitute a swindle upon innocent shareholders and bondholders. The effect of such methods is to create the belief that the construction actually costs the amount at which it is charged in the company's books, and that it is worth what it costs, and the public is invited to buy shares and bonds on the supposition that the road has cost sometimes twice what it really did cost. They are, moreover, an imposition and swindle upon the general public, inasmuch as rates are framed and levied upon the supposed cost to pay all the charges of the company, including dividends on the stock and interest on the bonds. It will be obvious to any one that a road which actually costs say \$15,000 per mile, but which is charged in the company's books at double that amount, the difference having been placed in the private pockets of the contractors or directors, must charge higher rates of freight and passenger fares than if it had been charged at the real cost. It is only by culpable misuse of language that the cost of a railway raised in this fictitious manner can be said to represent its actual value. I do not for a moment say that the company which has been organised to construct the Hudson's Bay road would resort to such criminal methods, but if the Dominion and Provincial Governments undertook this great work the public would have an absolute guarantee that the road would be economically and honestly built and operated. Besides, the control being vested in the Governments, no designing parties would ever attempt to gain that control for sinister purposes, such as making it a part of any other system, for the purpose of increasing their own gains at the expense of the efficiency and utility, and possibly the very existence, of the new route. It may be objected that the North-West Territories are not as yet sufficiently wealthy to contribute material assistance to the undertaking, or that

they may not have power under their Constitution to raise or guarantee funds for such a purpose. As to the last of these points, if they do not possess the power to assist the enterprise, no doubt such powers can be conferred on them by an addition to their Constitution; and, as to the first, the time when any pecuniary obligations they may be willing to incur can be postponed for a sufficiently long period to make their performance an easy matter. The most onerous obligation which the Territories would probably be called to enter into would be the payment of interest on a certain amount of bonds, and a mutual and perfectly equitable arrangement can be made between the different Governments whereby the Territories would only have to pay interest for the first few years as they are able—the balance being payable at the end of such a term of years as may be agreed upon. Another strong reason for undertaking the work on the basis proposed is, that the Dominion Government, and probably the Provincial Governments, can at the present time borrow money at unprecedentedly low rates of interest, and, of course, it is an axiom in railway construction, as in every other commercial enterprise, that the lower the rate of interest the lower will be the revenue tariff, and the greater the advantages to the public. In short, if the scheme was adopted by the Governments, and carried to completion by them as a public work, the public would have the satisfaction of knowing that the work would be properly and economically done; that rates of freight would be immensely and permanently reduced, and that no sinister influence would ever prevail to injure the route or to impair its efficiency.

On the other hand, it may be that the Governments mentioned will decline to undertake the work on this basis, and simply maintain their present attitude of being strong supporters of it. In such case, they will not be doing their duty to their constituents or to the country as a whole, if they do not stipulate, in consideration of the pecuniary aid they may give, that they shall have such supervision and control over the construction of the road as will effectually prevent any excessive profits to promoters or contractors, and provide such means as will ensure the completion of the whole work at the lowest cost, consistent with efficiency and safety; nor will they be doing their duty unless an absolute guarantee of satisfactory rates for passengers and freight is given and secured by such means as will ensure its permanent operation. If these precautions are neglected, or only partially carried into effect, it will be quite within the range of experience that the new route may be of no use whatever to the country, and that it might be much better if the attempt to establish it had never been made. I do not, however, think that either the Government of the Dominion or those of the Provinces require to be reminded of their duties in this matter after the experience the country has had of the conduct of other railway companies, and

we look confidently to them to provide the necessary safeguards to protect the interests of the people, and we trust the work will soon be commenced in earnest, either by themselves or by a competent public company. It is the unanimous demand of the entire people of the great Canadian North-West that this route should be established without any more delay. The general circumstances of the country, overshadowed and burdened as they are by the low price of wheat and the high rates of freight charged by other railways demand it. The geographical position and the future development of those vast territories, tributary as all their commercial revenues are to Hudson's Bay, requires it as the final and most essential part of their economic and commercial equipment; and in closing I cannot better express this demand than by quoting the following vigorous lines, the sentiments expressed in which are echoed and re-echoed by almost every one in the great Canadian North-West:

"Open the Bay, which Hudson—doubly crowned
By fame—to science and to history gave.
This was his limit, this his utmost bound—
There, all unwittingly, he sailed and found,
At once a path of empire and a grave!

"Open the Bay! What cared that seaman grim
For towering iceberg or the crashing floe?
She sped at noonday or at midnight dim—
A man! and hence, there was a way for him,
And where he went a thousand ships can go.

"Open the Bay! the myriad prairies call;
Let homesteads rise and comforts multiply;
Give to the world the shortest route of all—
Let justice triumph though the heavens should fall!
This is the voice of reason—manhood's cry."

DUNCAN MACARTHUR.

Winnipeg.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

THE Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., has recently brought this subject prominently before us and the public. We should all feel very much indebted to him for the great efforts he is making in this praiseworthy object, and we heartily wish him, and all others who may engage in the work, the utmost success. At the great meeting held in Birmingham on the 6th of December last, Mr. Chamberlain said that "he believed this question of old age pensions had taken a very firm hold on the public mind." We sincerely hope it is so, because that is the first thing to do, to convince the public of its absolute necessity and the great benefit to all, as it would secure the future welfare of the nation.

The whole question appears to be "*Old Age Pensions versus Workhouse.*" This proposal is to substitute the one for the other. Which is the better? To provide an old and poor man with a pension, or send him to the workhouse? He can go to the workhouse now; that is already provided for him at an enormous cost which is paid by all householders. But we all know how every man dreads the workhouse. It is not for us to say why it should be so, because ample provision is made for them all there; but it is a prison, and hundreds of men and women die every year in our country rather than go to the workhouse.

What, then, is to be done? We have always a very large number of paupers: 2,248,437 were relieved in 1892, and 1,091,846 were in the house, and 1,156,591 were out. It is a little remarkable that the number "in" or "out" should be nearly the same. In the scheme for old age pensions we must consider the "out" paupers quite as much as the "in," because there is frequently more distress amongst the poor who will never go to the workhouse than amongst those who have entered.

What is the number of paupers over sixty-five? for that is the age when it is proposed the old age pension shall begin. The last returns showed that during the year ending Lady-day 1892, there were relieved under the Poor Law 401,984 persons over the age of sixty-five. This includes both outdoor and indoor paupers, and male and female.

The total population over the age of sixty-five, according to the census of 1891, was 1,372,601 for England and Wales. This gives

a proportion of 30 per cent. of paupers at that age; a very serious number—one out of every three and a half, about. We must, however, deduct from the population the rich and the well-to-do classes. This is estimated by some statisticians as one-third, who will never need parish relief. I estimate it at quite one-half, because there are such a large number of aged people, fathers and mothers, who are supported by their sons.

To reduce the population by one-half we should have 401,904 paupers out of 686,300, which would give a percentage of 58·85, nearly double the previous rate, and considerably more than half of the working population over sixty-five years of age are paupers—persons who actually claim either indoor or outdoor relief from the parish. This is indeed a sad and terrible case, because there are so many thousands who never call for parish relief.

These statistics, however, include women as well as men, there being 74,644 more women than men—women, 238,274; men, 163,630. This must make a great difference in our calculations, because all our efforts to provide old age pensions will be made for men, not for women, with few exceptions. If we take men only, as given above, we must also reduce the population by a little more than one-half, as follows: Men paupers, 163,630; men population, over sixty-five (one-half), 686,300, so that the number of men paupers over sixty-five years of age is 23·84 per cent.

These statistics prove that it is absolutely necessary that something more and better should be immediately done to provide for the aged poor than is at present done by the provision made by the Poor Law, for, as was said by Mr. Booth, "the conditions of our civilisation are very hard upon the old, and are growing harder every day. The old man in the struggle for existence is thrust to the wall by the young and strong. He finds himself supplanted with diminished powers and diminished resources, and in this way not only can do less work, but often finds he can get no work at all."

Of course every man, when young and strong, ought to save money and provide for old age and infirmity. Yes, certainly he ought to do so, but it is quite impossible for him to do it alone. His wages are not sufficient to allow him to save and accumulate any money. He can save a little to pay for sickness and death, which he is able to do by means of the friendly societies and industrial insurance companies, and now we want him also to be able to provide for old age, to secure a small annuity for life, after say sixty-five years of age, by a small weekly subscription to be supplemented by the State and also by his employer.

What is the scheme, and what will it cost to provide say 5s. or 7s. 6d. per week for life after sixty-five? It is unfortunately expensive and will cost a great deal more than the workman himself

can find and afford ; that is the reason why he must have some help. They say that annuitants never die, and that is the reason why it is so expensive to provide for and purchase an annuity. It is, however, quite certain that annuitants live longer than other people in proportion, and it is also a fact that, as a rule, the annuitant societies are not very prosperous ; the business does not pay for this very reason.

The Post Office and the Government Annuity Tables will be best and safest to adopt for this scheme. It will be grand indeed if the Post Office will take up this business ; and why not ? If the business is done with the Post Office, the Government may readily agree to the request that will now be made to them to contribute to this fund for Old Age Pensions.

We have the opinion of three eminent men on the question of State aid for Old Age Pensions :

Mr. Charles Booth says, "That the State ought to grant a free pension to every citizen."

Mr. Chamberlain says, "That the State ought to assist every citizen who wishes to buy a pension."

Rev. Canon Blakely says, "That the State ought to compel every citizen to buy a pension."

I fully adopt Mr. Chamberlain's opinion, "that the State ought to assist every citizen who wishes to buy a pension." That is to say, prove to me that that man is contributing 2*d.* per week to buy a pension, and we—the State—will do the same to help him. We will contribute 2*d.* per week to the fund for every man irrespective of age. But if the man is thirty-five and pays say 3*d.* or 4*d.* per week, we shall only pay 2*d.*

The following is the scheme I propose. I have taken the Post Office Annuity Tables, and worked them out to show the weekly subscription at different ages from twenty to thirty-five in four periods of five years.

No one will suppose that 2*s.* 6*d.* a week is enough for any man, therefore it is at once assumed that the State will contribute to secure another 2*s.* 6*d.*, making 5*s.* ; but I say 5*s.* per week is not enough, especially if his wife is living. It is not likely that a man has any children at home dependent upon him at that age. If so, they will not be a burden but a help to him.

The man must have at least 7*s.* 6*d.* per week. I should like to give him 10*s.*, especially as he pays for a part of it himself. How then can we get 7*s.* 6*d.* per week ? By asking the employer also to contribute with the State to secure another 2*s.* 6*d.*, total 7*s.* 6*d.*

All annuity societies have two kinds of tables : Premium "returnable," and premium "not returnable." The difference is so great that I have to adopt "not returnable." It must be a pay-

ment for a fixed object, "old age pension," not money payable at death, or money to use in case of distress.

The premium is nearly double if the subscription is "returnable" in case of death or from any other cause if discontinued at any time. At age twenty-five the annual subscription is 2s. 10d. if "returnable," against 1s. 7d. "not returnable" for an annuity of every £1 per annum.

The Post Office tables are made out annually, showing the annual subscription at every age, from five to sixty, for an annuity of £1 per annum. I have reduced these tables to weekly subscriptions and weekly pensions, for it is quite certain the working man must pay his subscription weekly, and he must also receive his pension weekly.

By Table III. the cost of an annuity of £1 per annum at age twenty is 1s. 3d. per annum, at age twenty-five it is 1s. 7d., age thirty, 2s., age thirty-five, 2s. 8d.

I have said that the employer should also contribute an equal share with the State, and I have prepared the table to show what it would cost to secure a certain annuity or pension. I assume, for example, that the State and employer would only contribute 2d. per week for each man, the lowest subscription for young men, and the older men must make up the difference themselves if they desire.

Post Office Annuity Table of annual subscriptions to secure £1 per annum annuity or pension, reduced to weekly subscriptions and weekly payments of pensions showing the pension payable weekly for 2d. per week subscription and upwards according to age.

Age and entry.	Workman's Weekly Subscription.	Workman's Weekly Pension.	State Weekly Pension.	Employer's Weekly Pension.	Total Pension.
	d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
20	2	2 8	2 8	2 8	8 0
25	2½	2 7	2 1	2 1	6 9
30	3	2 6	1 8	1 8	5 10
35	4	2 6	1 3	1 3	5 0

This gives a much lower total pension for all ages than I expected. It is only at the youngest age (twenty) that the member gets as much as 7s. 6d., for it is 8s. at that age, with an equal allowance from the State and employer. At thirty-five it is only 5s., because the subscription is twice as much at that age as at twenty. It can only be met by the State subscribing the same and as much as the workman subscribes. They may do this. It will be the main question of dispute. They will agree to contribute, but, how much do you want?

This table shows that the lowest subscription a man can pay is 2*d.* per week, although it has been said that 1½*d.* per week would secure 2*s.* 6*d.* a week pension; but it is not so, as it costs 1*s.* 3*d.* a year to secure £1 a year at age sixty-five, on entry at the age of twenty. It all depends upon the age, and from this table it will be seen that it costs 4*d.* a week at thirty-five to secure a pension of 2*s.* 6*d.* per week at sixty-five.

This will be the great difficulty—the cost. Even now the workman saves a good deal of money according to his earnings. He is much more thrifty and saving than he has generally got credit for. Look at the enormous sums contributed every year by working men to their friendly societies—about £8,500,000 per annum; and the total funds held by these societies amount to £50,582,365, including building societies—friendly societies, £23,700,421; building societies, £26,881,944.

Then consider the enormous sum paid by them for the benefit of life assurance for themselves and their families. The annual receipts in pennies—collections of a penny or twopence per week from the working-classes by one Industrial Life Insurance Company exceeds £3,000,000 a year.

To all this the large sum contributed annually to the Post Office Savings Bank by the working-classes must be added. In 1893 the sum of £24,649,024 was deposited, and after deducting the withdrawals there was an increase in the deposits on the year of £2,884,438, and the amount now due to depositors is £80,597,641. We cannot tell, but a very large proportion of this sum belongs to the working-classes, because the average amount standing to the credit of each person was only £14 0*s.* 5*d.*

Will the Post Office take up this business and add the scheme for Old Age Pensions to their present Annuity department? The business done at present is not very large, especially for deferred annuities; only 159 contracts were entered into last year (1893). A much larger number (1420) were taken out for immediate annuities. This is the very department we hope and believe the Post Office will be glad to increase, for there is no reason why the Assurance and Annuity department should not be as prosperous as all the other departments of the Post Office.

They could not take weekly premiums of 2*d.* or 6*d.*, neither are they likely to pay weekly annuities or pensions of 2*s.* 6*d.*, or even 8*s.* per week. But they have at present a capital scheme of receiving deposits of 1*s.* in postage stamps on a card in the savings bank. This business is now done by the savings bank, therefore the difficulty can be got over to secure so large a business. The employers could send all the subscriptions from the men in their employ and their own subscriptions in one sum; and the Government would pay

on a charge made by the Post Office on all who had paid the subscriptions ; for it is sure to be a hard and strict rule that the State shall only pay its proportion, after the workman has paid, and that is quite right.

If the Post Office will take up the business it can be carried on successfully. We shall have a post office and an established agency in every town in the United Kingdom immediately we commence business. And how it will inspire confidence. It will become a Government scheme, and will have Government security ; and that is required for an annuity society.

I don't think we need fear any interference from the friendly societies. They will not interfere with us if we do not interfere with them. We shall not require to do that by any means. This scheme must be carried out independently of all other societies and companies, except the Post Office. "The friendly societies are adverse to any scheme including State aid, because it implies 'State control and State interference.'" They have quite a distinct and separate business to this ; they pay sums to their members in sickness and at death, but pay very little by way of superannuation, except as sick pay, to the aged and infirm, which they cannot afford to pay because they do not receive sufficient subscriptions for a pension in addition to sick and death pay. We shall not and will not interfere with the friendly societies. We would rather help them. No doubt a large number of their members, out of the seven millions or more belonging to these societies, will also join our society, to secure a pension in old age. It will only cost him 2*d.* or 3*d.* a week more, which he can well afford to pay.

Shall we admit women as members, that women may also provide for themselves a pension in old age ? Why not ? There are a large number of women who are employed in factories and workshops, including saleswomen in shops and female clerks. But they are not permanent. They have not to work all their lives ; most of them will get married. Just so ; yet, under all these conditions, there are a much larger number of women in absolute poverty and distress in old age than there are men. I will repeat the number of paupers over sixty-five years of age : Men, 163,630 ; women, 238,274—which gives 74,644 more women than men who are paupers over the age of sixty-five.

And, besides this, we know, in the case of women, that there are a much larger number of them who will never apply for parish relief, and their distress must be very great. Women paupers over sixty-five are mostly widows. Then might they not take out an annuity, and subscribe for a 'pension, beginning when young ; and, when they get married, their husbands would, we sincerely hope

and believe, keep up the subscription to make a permanent provision for their wives, however small. They would lose the employer's allowance and contribution to the fund, but they would always have the Government allowance.

The subscription, however, to purchase an annuity for females, I am sorry to say, is much higher than the price for men. Why is this? Because women live longer than men, especially after attaining the age of sixty-five. There are 5,215 women living at the age of ninety, and only 2,616 men. That is exactly double. We all know that there are more women living than men, but, taking all ages, it is only about six per cent.; for every hundred men living we have 106 women, but here, at the age of ninety, we have twice the number. At the age of 100 there are 104 women living, but only forty-two men.

The following is the rate of premium for females at the ages twenty, twenty-five, thirty, and thirty-five, to secure an annuity of £1 per annum at the age of sixty-five, as published in the Post Office Annuity Table. Also for the receipt of £6 10s. per annum, being 2s. 6d. per week. I have added the premium for men for comparison.

	Age 20. Premium.	Age 25. Premium.	Age 30. Premium.	Age 35. Premium.	Annuity per annum.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Women	0 1 8	0 2 0	0 2 7	0 3 4	1 0 0
Men .	0 1 3	0 1 7	0 2 0	0 2 8	1 0 0
Women	0 10 10	0 13 0	0 17 0	1 1 8	6 10 0
Men .	0 8 2	0 10 4	0 13 0	0 17 4	6 10 0

To find the weekly subscription to receive 2s. 6d. per week pension, that is £6 10s. per annum, the annual premium must be divided by fifty-two weeks. For example, age twenty-five, women's annual subscription 13s. to secure £6 10s. per annum; weekly subscription 3d. to secure 2s. 6d. per week.

I fear it will also require a small extra charge to make up for the loss of interest, the premium being paid weekly, instead of annually, in advance as required by the Post Office and all annuity societies. On an average it will only be from 6d. to 8d., six months' interest on the annual subscription.

In prosecuting this business a great difficulty will arise from the large number of workmen who are frequently out of work when they would not be able to pay their subscription. In some trades, the painters for example, the men are out of work three months every

year during the winter. A large number in the building trade especially the bricklayers and plasterers, lose a great deal of time in the winter. Then we have to consider the period of sickness—an average of two weeks to every workman every year. A working man's wages are always stopped during sickness and absence from work for a day or quarter of day from any cause. This is very hard lines, but true. What is to be done in these cases? A rule must and can be provided that a member shall suffer no loss from non-payment of his subscription for any period. He must always have the full advantage of all the subscriptions he has paid into the society, and he must receive a less pension in proportion to his subscriptions paid in, or the pensions can be deferred for another year or two, as the case may be. The same rule must apply to those who discontinue payment from any cause whatever at any time. A man enters at the age of thirty-five. He has to pay his subscription for thirty years, when he would receive a pension of 7s. 6d. per week, but after twenty years he cannot pay any more. Then at the age of sixty-five he would receive a pension of 5s. a week instead of 7s. 6d.

What is our probability of success? How many members shall we get in this society for Old Age Pensions? It must be very popular, especially if the employers are compelled to contribute to the fund as well as the State. Shall we have as many members as they have in the friendly societies? No. That is impossible, because we have not the number of workmen who are eligible to become members. Our members are obliged to be limited to a certain age—say, from twenty to thirty-five, it may be less or more. The number of males and females respectively, at ages twenty to forty inclusive, in the several portions of the United Kingdom enumerated at the Census of 1891, were as follows:

	Males.	Females.
England and Wales	4,201,887	4,604,043
Scotland	561,996	622,073
Ireland	617,987	652,817
United Kingdom . . .	5,381,870	5,878,933

The number living from twenty to thirty-five may be taken at about 4,000,000 persons eligible to join the society. We should do well if at first about 2,000,000 became members, one-half of the estimated number. This would yield a very large income and make a large society.

The members' subscription may be taken at an average of 10s. per annum	£1,000,000
The contribution of the State at 2d. each, 8s. 8d. per annum	866,666
	<hr/>
	£1,866,666
To which we may also be able to add the contribution of the employers at 8s. 8d. per annum	866,666
	<hr/>
	£2,733,332

All this money would be received every year for thirty years before any pension would be payable. Then the pensions to the oldest members, those who entered at the age of thirty-five, would be due.

The expenses of establishing and working the society may now be considered. If the Post Office adopt the scheme all the expenses will at once be provided, and the cost will be very small and will yield a profit. If otherwise, if a new society has to be established, the expenses will be great. But that will depend on many circumstances. Will it be made compulsory? That is a great and important question for all to consider. If the State contribute to the funds it will be compulsory on the State, and the employers are not likely to contribute unless it is made compulsory for them to do so. Such being the case, there is great probability that the workman will also be compelled to make a provision for old age by subscribing 2d. or 3d. a week to buy a pension.

I fear it will never be accomplished to any extent without this is done, and the advantages are so great to the workman, to have about half the money paid by the State, and a great deal more if his employer also pays a part, that there may not be that objection to compulsion as at first may be expected.

The workman must and will admit that it is the best thing in the world for him to have a pension in old age, to provide him with food, and to save him from the workhouse, or from applying at the doors for a loaf of bread, or the small dole of 2s. or 3s. which they can only give him once a week.

If we have no compulsion, we shall be obliged to employ a large number of agents—a thousand at least—to solicit the men in every workshop and factory to become members. There are not less than 10,000 agents engaged by the various industrial insurance companies. It is a remarkable fact that very few persons insure their lives voluntarily; not ten out of every hundred, and so it would be in this case. To employ agents will be a great expense, and would cost 25 per cent. of the first year's subscription, which we can never pay out of the subscription for an annuity. We shall be free from the cost of future collections, because the money would be remitted direct by the

employers, who would deduct the men's subscriptions from their wages weekly.

A very important question now arises. Will it pay? Is it sufficiently remunerative to the working man to induce him to subscribe from 2*d.* to 4*d.* per week for forty-five, forty, thirty-five or thirty years, to secure a pension for life of 2*s.* 6*d.* per week after sixty-five? Yes! It is very remunerative and profitable to all the members and subscribers, as the following statement will show, which includes the pension payable on the members' subscription and the Government grant, but not the employers' grant.

The expectancy of life at sixty-five is stated at from 10·82 to 12·35 years. Say 11½ years.

Age on entry.	Year's Subscription payable.	Total Subscription paid.	Total Pension payable in 11½ years.	Profit to Members
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
20	45	19 9 8	160 19 2	141 10 6
25	40	21 13 4	139 11 8	117 18 4
30	35	22 15 0	124 17 8	99 2 8
35	30	26 0 0	112 2 6	86 2 6

This statement must be thoroughly convincing to all interested in the subject, and especially to the working man, who is invited to become a member and provide for old age, which should be the great object of his life.

J. W. WILLIAMS.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES.

IN discussing this subject we must remember that our public school system had its beginnings in New England, when the colonies in that region had not fully broken away from the old traditions respecting the union of Church and State. In those early days, when the population was homogeneous, when Congregationalism was, in a way, the established religion of Massachusetts and Connecticut, which for two centuries were chief in producing the teachers of America, it was very natural that the Bible should be used in the schools, and that a religious exercise should open the work of every day. But in process of time the tides and tendencies of our national life have carried the American State on to the complete realisation of the Secular Ideal, the principles of which were implied in that independency for which our Pilgrim and Puritan forefathers stood. So that, at last, in the United States, by a more peaceful process than that followed in Europe, our revolutionary fathers established, not simply universal toleration, but perfect religious equality, by making it unconstitutional for any State to enact any law respecting an establishment of religion. The civil Government of our land is subject to no ecclesiastical dictation, and the Churches within our borders are subject to no civil authority in matters of belief. We have practically realised this Secular Ideal. With us, not only are Church and State absolutely separate from each other; the State attempts no religious functions, and possesses no religious dogma. The secular State is therefore, in the United States, an accomplished fact; and our civil institutions have, and can have, no ecclesiastical duties or spiritual offices. And while some of our courts have held that Christianity is, in a certain way, the law of the land, yet these decisions have, in the main, been very vague; and, so far as any of them have taken ground against the purely secular theory of our Government, they have misstated the genius of our institutions, while they have been condemned by the manifest destiny and essential spirit of our national life.

It is often argued that Christianity is a part of the law of the land, because our Puritan forefathers tried to set up on these shores

a theocracy based upon the pattern found in the Scriptures. But people who so argue forget that the experiment was a failure; they forget also the history that we have made since that day. And what great men said on this subject, before we, as a nation, had completed our political evolution toward our manifest destiny as a secular State, is of no value or authority. Some things which cannot be ignored have happened since the days of John Cotton, or even Daniel Webster. And the position of Christianity in New England two centuries ago, to which I have alluded, is no more a precedent for us who live to-day than the behaviour of the men of that age respecting witches or heretics is a rule of action binding upon us. This question cannot be settled by appeal to precedent or technicality, or the authority of great names, but by the essential and inherent genius or character of our people, as it progressively discloses itself in our national life. And the one thing that becomes clearer and clearer is that public opinion, social custom, and civil policy are declaring more and more emphatically for the *Sécular Ideal*. And we must remember, what is so often forgotten by distinguished writers upon this subject, that there is a vast difference between what we, as a people, may be in religion, and what our institutions, as parts of the government, may attempt. As a people, taken in a mass, it is fair to say that we are a Christian community; but to the Government which we maintain we give no religious quality or function. It is proper to say that we are a *Christian people*; it is not proper to affirm that we are a *Christian nation*. It is equally improper to say that we have a *godless* or irreligious Government. The fact is that, with us, the State simply stands apart from these matters in absolute neutrality.

The religious beliefs of our people and the popular estimate of the Bible do not come into the discussion of the question, because the State has ceased to exercise religious functions. And this movement is not only irresistible, but beneficent. As Mr. Lecky remarks, "The secularisation of politics is the measure and the condition of all political prosperity." And we may add that the separation of the Church from the State is the measure and condition of all religious prosperity. The only way to make piety real and vital is to take it out of the reach of officialism and locate it in the individual heart. The secular State is, then, no sudden creation, the freak of frenzied enemies of religion. It has come out of the slowly accumulating experiences of mankind, as the political spirit has carefully and laboriously gone forward in its earnest quest for a Government that at the same time shall be best for the individual and for society, that shall give the Church the largest possibilities and the State the greatest political efficiency. The secular State is, too, the creation of religious men, who have persevered in their course with noble heroism in the face of persecutions, and who have

worked, with large views of humanity, and in obedience to the manifest teachings of history, to fashion a Government where politics shall be free from religious hatreds, and where the Church shall be free from the despotisms and corruptions of politics. We may lament, we may denounce; but the secular State is the expression and the outcome of a resistless tendency which will crush any man or institution that stands in its way and attempts to impede its progress.

Now, the secularisation of the State involves and necessitates the secularisation of its schools. Says Professor William H. Payne, one of the greatest of American educators: "The neutrality, or absolute non-theological character of the school, in all its grades, is but the application to the school of a rule that has prevailed in all our social institutions." The conclusion is self-evident. The State must have schools to educate its children, for no State can long endure whose children are not educated in hearty sympathy with its institutions and with its own fundamental principles. But, as the secular State, which our nation is, by manifest destiny and by the express declaration of its fundamental law, has no religion, it follows, as a necessity, that its schools can rightfully and lawfully have no religious instruction whatever. There is no possible escape from this logic. If we have a secular State, we must have a secular school. "Compulsory support, by taxation or otherwise, of religious instruction, is not lawful under any of the American constitutions," is the conclusion of Judge Thomas M. Cooley, one of America's greatest jurists. To demand that there be religious instruction in our public schools is virtually to demand that the State shall cease to be secular by establishing a religion and becoming ecclesiastical. Logically, there is no stopping short of a State religion, if religious instruction is insisted upon in the public schools; for how can a State school teach religion when the State itself has no religion? The primary question is: Shall the State be secular or ecclesiastical? The school question is a minor problem dependent upon this. If we put religious instruction into the schools, we cannot logically stop until we put the religious dogma taught into our Constitution; but this would destroy our secular State. Let, then, every man who is in favour of religious instruction in our public schools consider well the implications of his demand. Does he want a State religion? If not, then his request is perfectly illogical.

While the public schools have been gaining in power and popularity among us very rapidly in the last thirty years, and growing in efficiency both on the moral and intellectual sides of their work, yet the opposition to them by the Roman Catholic Church has continued aggressive and bitter. A half-century ago, Episcopalians and other Protestants made vigorous efforts to have the school funds divided *pro rata* among the different denomina-

tions; but these demands are no longer heard from these sources. The conviction deepens that the State has no right to raise funds that are to be passed beyond its control and divided among denominational schools. To tax people to support denominational schools is an ecclesiastical business; it is becoming a party to religious instruction. And a secular State can engage in no such business; it can never be the agent of any religious organisation. And yet, the State of New York has, in many respects, long been disloyal to these primary principles of true Americanism. The new Constitution recently adopted in New York puts a stop to the support of Sectarian Schools by use of public funds. And another conviction also deepens among the most intelligent church people, that even the denominational school of highest character does not afford the best educational environment for the training of the American citizen. It is true that to-day some Protestants, notably in the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, are making vigorous protests against the secular character of the common schools; and yet, the battle is mainly waged by ecclesiastics of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. How bitter, intemperate, and generally unjust, this attack upon our public schools by Catholic priests really is may be seen by consulting a little work prepared by a Catholic, for use as one of a series of educational manuals, and endorsed not only by the most eminent representatives of the Church in America, but commended by such men as the late Cardinal Newman. I refer to the book *The Judges of Faith: Christian versus Godless Schools*, where Rev. Thomas J. Jenkins has brought together the papal, pastoral and conciliar declarations against the school system, especially in the United States of America. A fair specimen from the pages of this book is the following extract from a declaration made by the Provincial Council of Oregon about ten years ago: "The wickedness of the present Public School system consists in the exclusion of religious principle, of the worship of God, of the teaching of Christianity; it consists in the selection of bad and pernicious schoolbooks; it consists in the carelessness of teachers with regard to the language of their pupils—swearing, cursing, and profane expressions being a distinctive mark of Public School children." A greater slander was never penned; and it is a misfortune to Catholicism in America that its priests indulge in such language. It is such words which keep alive sectarian prejudice and make it easy out of the mouths of its representatives to prove that the Roman Hierarchy is an enemy to our American institutions.

The charge of immorality and irreligion brought against our Public Schools is indeed a serious one. In the "Catholic World," November 1886, we read: "Secular education as it is called, has had time even with us to prove itself; and what is the result? The infidelity, communism, and socialism of the age; lack of reverence

for all that has been considered sacred ; the immorality of society that might shame a Sodom and Gomorrah—these are the fruits of secular education.” Some Protestants, I am sorry to say, use similar language. This is a serious charge ; but is it true ? Where are the facts to support it ? Our socialism is an importation ; a poisonous fungus of foreign growth ; a fungus produced, too, where a theological catechism is taught from two to six hours a week in every school. Our communists, as a class, have never been inside the Public Schools ; and they are in no sense a product of our institutions. Our anarchists, as a rule, were reared where the State forces religious instruction upon its children ; and of those American-born more have come out of the parish schools than out of the public schools. That some of our criminals are comparatively well educated is true enough, as might be expected in a land of general intelligence, but that their criminality is due to the public school system is one of the most irrational assertions that a human mind ever made. The causes of crime are many and deep-seated, while the moral character of each individual is the resultant of a great many tides and tendencies. To pass by the saloon, the coarse materialism of the age, political disorders, social disintegration—largely due to an enormous influx of immigrants of a low grade, and the break-up of a long-revered faith—and pitch upon secular education as the sole cause, is a blunder so ridiculous that nothing but the influence of blind bigotry can explain why any intelligent man should ever have committed it. And there are Catholic ecclesiastics among us, notably those of Irish birth or blood, prominent among whom is Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, who see the unwisdom of this language, and who, if not friends of our schools, are too wise Churchmen and too loyal Americans to take positions so opposed to the dominant spirit of American life. And the recent utterances of the Pope’s representative, Mgr. Satolli, have made us hope for a more friendly attitude on the part of Rome toward this most sacred, important, and characteristic American institution—the American Public School, providing an absolutely secular but not irreligious instruction.

There is one thing in this connection often overlooked, to which attention needs to be called. The Roman Catholic argument against secular schools is, in its essential nature, and by logical implication, an argument against the secular State. The Catholic demand, if allowed, would compel our Government to go to Rome for orders respecting everything, or surrender not only its essential functions of education, but its very existence as an independent institution. The Catholics have the same objection to godless Governments as to godless schools. They hold to De Maistre’s ideal,—that the spiritual power ought to control the temporal power. Their objections, brought against the secular schools, are equally

applicable to the nation itself; and the Papal Hierarchy will not be satisfied until it has destroyed the secular State. If the Catholics succeed in closing the Public Schools, they will restate and reapply their old argument, thus: We object to paying taxes to support a godless State. No compromise will satisfy them—neither rejecting the Bible nor introducing the primary affirmations of universal religion. Rome temporarily accepts the inevitable, but never compromises. The real question at the bottom of all this agitation is, shall we maintain our secular State, or go back to the Dark Ages? Whenever discussing the school question, we must always remember that it is only a subordinate part of that larger problem. And it will be well if careless critics of our Public Schools lay to heart in this connection a solemn warning. Let such persons remember that by these very denunciations they are putting a club into the hands of Catholics by which they will strive to strike down, not simply the secular school but the secular State. They even now quote with great glee these Protestant criticisms of the Public Schools. Our secular schools are far from perfect, but, on the whole, they are the best that the world has ever had, and their underlying policy must be maintained if we keep the secular State. So, unless one wishes to become a coadjutor of Rome, let him support and improve, but not malign, the common school system. The American State guarantees to all the right to believe as they see fit respecting religious problems, but it grants to none the liberty to imperil its own life. As the State, by manifest destiny and organic law, is secular; as it must educate its children to preserve and perpetuate its own life; and as its schools must be as secular as its own character, having no religion of its own to put into its system of education, it follows of necessity that an attack upon our Public School system is, by implication, an attack upon our Government. Every one is free to criticise the schools for their improvement, but no one has any right to attack them in order to destroy them.

In the last ten years various attempts have been made to conciliate the Roman Catholics and bring them into closer union with the common school system. Originally in Poughkeepsie, New York, and more recently in Faribault, Minnesota, the School Boards made arrangements with the priests for the occupancy by the public schools of buildings belonging to the Catholic Church, granting the right of Catholic teachers to keep Catholic children after the regular school hours for instruction in the Catholic catechism. For obvious reasons these experiments have not brought the peace desired. A successful solution cannot come along this line. The Catholic teacher who keeps a part of her pupils after school hours in the same room for an exercise which, by necessary implication, is of a more sacred and valuable character than the other instruction, subjects the children of Protestants to a needless irritation or an unfair influence. In

Western Pennsylvania an attempt has been made to have Catholic Sisters employed as teachers in the public schools. There certainly ought to be no discrimination against the employment of Catholics as teachers, and Catholics are found among our teachers everywhere. But when it comes to putting any person in the school-room who wears a peculiar religious habit or costume, many people protest and rightly urge, I think, that this very fact gives an undue prominence to a certain religious system and ideal—a prominence not consistent with the necessarily secular character of our schools.

As these principles respecting the secular character of our Government, and therefore the necessarily secular character of its schools, have in recent years been more fully realised, the former religious exercises, which for a time lingered in many of our public schools, have been wholly discontinued, until now even the old perfunctory Bible reading at the opening of the school has been quite generally abandoned. And all this has come about, not so much by legislative enactment or public discussion as by the silent outcome of experience—the recognition, on the one hand, that this formal exercise was worse than useless, and on the other, that it was out of place in the school maintained by a secular State. So that to-day, in a vast majority of our common schools—a majority constantly increasing—there is no attempt to give the school a religious character by prayer or Scripture-reading; though the singing of national and other appropriate songs is general; while many teachers strive, and very successfully, to give to their schoolroom the spirit of earnestness by reading some passage in literature aglow with ethical passion; or by telling the story of some great character who has served powerfully as an inspiration to nobler life. It must be borne in mind that there has never been with us any systematic or catechetical religious instruction in our public schools. We have never gone beyond a reading of the Bible without comment.

And this brings us to the last phase of this subject upon which the American mind has been declaring itself—What place has the Bible in the schools of the secular State? As a religious revelation, or the source of dogma, no place at all. For the secular State cannot be the patron of any dogma, or the custodian of any revelation. There is no going behind this fact. It may be obscured by sophistry, or condemned by sentimental prejudice, but the fact itself cannot be removed. The Bible as literature, to be read as literature, has the same place in the public schools as Shakespeare or Homer. To read Job is as legitimate as to read Hamlet, if it be read just as Hamlet is read. But the Bible has no place in the public schools as an authoritative statement of religious ideas, or as a means of worship. This follows of necessity, because the State, being secular, can have nothing to do with a religious service, or with religious instruction. To assert that the Bible ought to be

read as a religious exercise is equivalent to asserting that the State ought to have a religion. That thrusts upon us the problem, What religion shall the State adopt? Even lovers of the Bible here in America do not want to go as far as that; but, to be consistent, they must go as far as that, or cease to claim a place in the public schools for the Bible as a religious revelation. The secular school is not an enemy of the Bible. It simply refuses, in loyalty to the constitution of the secular State, of which it is a part, to make any formal religious uses of the Bible. This policy does not exclude the Bible from the schools; it simply excludes certain ecclesiastical uses of the Bible.

Many urge that the Bible may be so used, because it is not sectarian, but simply religious. But this does not touch the point. The secular school must be more than non-sectarian; it must be religiously neutral. The Bible-reading may be non-sectarian; but if engaged in as a religious exercise, if the Bible is treated as a revelation, it is contrary to the spirit and law of the secular State, however frequently it may be done. We hear it said that stopping such Bible-readings is practically closing the fountain of civilisation from which our fathers drew their inspiration. Now, without giving any estimate of the Bible as a civilising agent, we may safely say that our forefathers got whatever they did out of the Bible by a very different process than the Bible-readings which we are asked to have put in the public schools. What they got out of the Bible they obtained by a prolonged private study, not from the formal reading of a few isolated verses by the schoolmaster once a day during term. This form of argument does our forefathers injustice; and, were they able to speak to us, they would denounce the assertion that such Bible-readings were the fountains of their civilisation. And while there are a hundred thousand pulpits and a million Sunday-school teachers engaged in enforcing the Scriptures in our land, it is folly to claim that ceasing to use it for religious purposes in the public schools is depriving our people of the Bible. We hear it said also that it is wrong for our public schools to teach the history of Cæsar and rule out the history of Christ. But the story of Jesus' life, when taught as Cæsar's life is taught, is not ruled out. It is only the dogmas which cluster about Jesus that are ruled out; and if such dogmas clustered about Cæsar, they, too, would be ruled out. It is needless in the discussion of this subject to consider the character of the Bible. It is unnecessary, for instance, to show that some of its ideas of nature are contrary to those taught the child by science; that some of its morals are barbarous; that its historical statements are often conflicting and incorrect. The whole question turns upon the fact that such Bible-reading as is demanded, being a religious exercise, is contrary to the spirit and law of the secular State. The whole argument lies, not against

the imperfect character of the Bible, but against its ecclesiastical use in a secular school.

Four years ago, the Supreme Court of the State of Wisconsin delivered an epoch-making decision upon this subject. The judges who then constituted that Court were not only learned jurists, but also men of positive religious convictions. The decision was unanimous and decisive: that the reading of the Bible in the public schools, as a part of a religious exercise, was unconstitutional and contrary to the spirit of our American institutions. This decision made a profound impression; it has had a very powerful influence. While some of the narrower dogmatists in various churches at once condemned it as revolutionary and unchristian, still it has been widely accepted as a just decision—as the only one that could be made in loyalty to the fundamental character of our Government. Two recent incidents illustrate the truth that the national consciousness is becoming clear and strong in this precise direction. The Attorney-General of the State of Montana, Hon. H. J. Haskell, has in a recent decision taken the same positions and affirmed the same principles as those occupied and asserted by the Supreme Court of Wisconsin. In a recent sermon, Rev. Dr. Tannis S. Hamlin, of Washington, D.C., one of the most prominent clergymen of the Presbyterian Church, forcibly advocated the complete secularisation of our schools in the line of what has here been written; and he is only one of an ever-increasing cloud of witnesses to the wisdom and justice of this policy.

The fact is, that our public schools, without text-book on ethics or formal moral instruction, are efficient training schools of character in more ways than one.

1. Moral lessons are impressed upon the pupil by all the educational material which he there uses. Moral sentiment is held in solution by the reading-books, which are full of the choicest specimens of the world's literature. In every mathematical operation, the necessity of exactness, fidelity, and veracity is enforced. In historical studies, moral laws are illustrated upon a large scale, and moral qualities are made impressive by the lives of great men. All these facts are sources of moral influence which play continually upon the pupil's nature like a tonic breeze. And this training is all the more efficient because it comes informally and operates independent of any preachment. To remind children continually that they are in this way becoming moral, would destroy that good influence and arrest their growth in character. So that to turn away from this vital training to a set exercise, observed for the sake of being good, would be a great misfortune. It would make our schools far less moral.

2. The discipline of the school in itself affords a very precious training in morals. We doubtless seldom realise how much is gained

for higher civilisation by the attendance of a child for even six years upon our public schools. There he is put during his formative period of life into an atmosphere and under a discipline which afford him training in nearly all the rudiments of good citizenship. Let us enumerate a few of them: punctuality and habits of order; the lesson of obedience and reverence for the rights and feelings of others as human beings; the sanctity of property and the necessity of truthfulness; a manly bearing and respectful speech; the consciousness of independence, tempered with the recognition of communal interests and obligations; the steadiness of purpose cultivated by task-work, and the importance of fidelity, illustrated by every recitation; the sentiment of equality and the feeling of justice enforced by the constant pressure of experience;—these and other moral qualities of highest moment are for ever being imparted by the vitalising conditions of the school.

3. The personality of the teacher is the chief source of moral influence. The presence of the teacher, if a proper person for the position, is worth more than a thousand text-books, though they all may be as good as the Sermon on the Mount. In the casual judgments which the teacher passes upon persons and events; in the patience and self-control which he exercises upon himself, and which spreads from him by a subtle contagion until it infects with moral health every pupil; in the looks of approval and disapproval with which he meets the behaviour of children; in the decisions which he passes upon the conduct of those under his control; in the tones with which he speaks to the dullest girl or the most timid boy; in the forgiveness which he enjoins and practises; in the veracity which he displays and the sincerity which he inspires; in the kindness which he bestows and the self-sacrifice which he recommends—in all these acts and attitudes the true teacher makes his school a school of applied morals where character really grows.

Shall, then, our public schools teach a formal moral code? No, rather let them possess a moral atmosphere derived from the personality of the teacher. For there is only one way to increase the moral power of the school, and that is, not by creating didactic machinery, but by investing in noble teachers. Place a Horace Mann or a Thomas Arnold in a schoolroom, and that school will possess more moral power than resides in all the ethical handbooks in the whole world. We must, then, put our faith and our money into teachers of the very highest character; and we may be sure that where they are there will be moral culture ripening noble manhood and womanhood, for more powerful than everything else is moral life itself.

When we lift up our eyes to discern the deepest movement of modern history, and bend our head to hear "the tread of men in fulfilment of the great destinies of the race," what we see is the

slowly uptowering modern State, where law is free from ecclesiastical dictation and politics from sectarian rancour; where education is free from theological despotism, and science from the yoke of tradition; where every man shall be secure in the exercise of his religious convictions, and where no man shall be obliged to contribute to the support of a dogma which he disbelieves; and also, where religion, divinest daughter of Heaven, unmolested in its own kingdom, shall be free from bureaucratic dictation, and the corrupting entanglements of political strife; and what we hear is the chorus of multitudes, like the mighty roar of Niagara, all pleading for what has proved the providence of God, that every man be given a chance to find and live the good, the true, the beautiful, in his own fashion, as long as he does not trespass upon the rights of others. To the pattern of the Modern State our courts have fitted their decisions; to the prophecy of the ages our Government has given a local habitation. And as we bend our ear to catch the faintly whispered demand of the myriads of children yet unborn, we hear the divinely urgent exhortation: Guard for us the Public School from priestly tyranny and dogmatic zealotry, from ecclesiastical dictation and the poison of sectarian passion; preserve it in all its sacred freedom and truly Catholic functions; protect it as the organ and oracle of the humanity of man; and finally, hand it down to us as the seed plot of patriotism, more efficient for citizenship because dogma is not there, and more friendly to religion because no unwise use of the Bible or the Catechism is there attempted.

JOSEPH HENRY CROOKER.

" CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

SCIENCE.

WHEN a modern man of science turns to ancient records in search of facts relating to natural history, he cannot fail to be surprised at the remarkable statements which were accepted as facts by our forefathers. Assertions of the most astounding character passed current for centuries, when a few minutes' experimental work would have negatived them completely. Mr. F. E. Hulme, in his *Natural History Lore and Legend*,¹ gives us a number of interesting instances of the credulity of those who wrote to instruct the masses in mediæval times. Many of the beliefs held universally by even well-educated people could have been negatived by the most simple tests; for instance, a spider was considered a deadly foe to a toad, and a naturalist in comparatively modern times was much astonished when he found that a toad was capable of swallowing an almost unlimited number of spiders. The belief in the existence of a wonderful stone in the head of a toad existed for centuries, although the practical test of sacrificing a few toads and exploring their brains was not a difficult one. Some of the descriptions are so graphic that they must have carried conviction to the mind of the less well-informed reader. For instance, the explanation of the origin of that remarkable organism, the cockatrice, leaves nothing to be desired as regards accuracy of detail. We are told that: "When the cock is past seven years old an egg grows within him, whereat he greatly wonders." We can well imagine the dismay of any well-conducted masculine bird of that age on finding himself in such a compromising predicament; but how did he communicate his feelings to the historian? That the embryonic cockatrice had some mysterious power of self-advertisement is evident, for we hear further that: "A toad privily watches him and examines the nest every day to see if the egg be yet laid. When the toad finds the egg he rejoices much, and at length hatches it, bringing forth an animal with the head, neck, and breast of a cock, and from thence downward the body of a serpent." For the description of the powers of the deadly cockatrice we must refer to the interesting account given by Mr. Hulme. In regarding the wonderful tails attached to the effigies of lions produced by heraldic artists, we do not, perhaps,

¹ *Natural History Lore and Legend.* By F. E. Hulme. London: Bernard Quaritch. 1895.

realise the importance attributed to that appendix by our forefathers. The lion was supposed to lash his sides and back with his tail, "to the end to do nothing faintly or cowardly," and if, in spite of this stimulus to his valour, he was obliged to flee, he made use of his tail to obliterate his footsteps. When hunting, he roared vehemently, and then with his tail traced a circle in the sand round the victims, which he afterwards consumed at his pleasure. As may be imagined, the elephant was the subject of countless legends, and some of the peculiarities attributed to him were at least original. For instance, the creases in his skin were said to be fly-traps. They exhaled a peculiar odour, attractive to the flies, and when these incautiously ventured within the creases the wily elephant suddenly contracted his skin and massacred them by thousands. Mr. Hulme's statement that elephants were first used in war by Pyrrhus, B.C., 280, is not quite correct for these "horrible Leucanian oxen" played an important part in the battle between Porus and Alexander the Great, B.C. 327, and their use for warlike purposes appears at that time to have been general among the inhabitants of India. Of the credulity and illogical way of thinking of our mediæval ancestors Mr. Hulme has collected many curious examples. The salamander, for instance, was held to be not only incombustible itself, but was said to extinguish any fire with which it came into contact; yet a prescription is given, one of the ingredients in which is the ashes of a salamander. Asbestos was popularly known as salamander's wool, although one incredulous writer remarked that the salamander was without "woole, furre or haire." The quaint illustrations dispersed throughout the work contribute much to the elucidation of the text as well as to the amusement of the reader.

When Gilbert White wrote his interesting essay upon earthworms more than a century ago he can hardly have imagined that our knowledge of these lowly organisms would grow to such an extent that a quarto volume of more than 750 pages would now be necessary to record it.¹ Even with this space at his disposal Mr. Beddard finds it necessary to apologise for compression and omission. As regards the latter, it is clear that, with a subject which has been but recently studied with scientific accuracy, many synonyms must have originated, and it has doubtless been a work of some difficulty to reconcile the claims of different simultaneous observers. This difficulty appears to have been surmounted by giving very complete lists of synonyms for each species. The monograph is mainly descriptive of the morphology of the various genera and species, and does not enter into their habits or life history. The illustrations are clear and accurate, and the work is in every respect equal to its predecessors which have issued from the Clarendon Press.

¹ *1. Monograph of the Order of the Oligochaeta.* By F. E. Beddard. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1895.

Singers who are interested in the mechanism by which the human voice is produced will read with interest Dr. H. Jaehn's work on the structure and functions of the human larynx.¹ In 1894 Dr. Jaehn delivered a series of lectures on the subject in Berlin, and these are now published in book form. While the work contains but little original matter, it gives a fair idea of the mechanism by which the human voice is produced. The section on the treatment of catarrh will be found useful to those who are obliged to make frequent use of their voice in public.

PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

IF the essay on *Certain Phenomena Belonging to the Last Geological Period*,² by Dr. Prestwich, referred only to the scientific aspect of the subject, a notice of it would scarcely be in place in this section, but as the aim of it is to confirm the tradition of the Flood, which is looked upon rather as a theological than a scientific question, we may fairly give it a moment's consideration. The story in Genesis is definite in its details, and it asserts that a metereological, rather than a geological, catastrophe miraculously occurred less than 3000 years B.C., in which all living things were destroyed except such as were preserved in Noah's Ark. Mr. Prestwich contends that in the "rubble-drift" he finds evidence of a wide-spread submergence of the earth at a comparatively recent geological period, and in this there may be some truth, but few geologists will admit that the submergence was as recent, as sudden, and as brief as Mr. Prestwich asserts, and no Biblical critic can admit that there is any resemblance between such a geological catastrophe, if it occurred, and the Noachian deluge. Genesis does not refer the flood to the palæolithic age but to a time when mankind had reached a stage of advanced civilisation. If the Pentateuchal story of the Deluge only means that in some remote period there was a different kind of submergence due to entirely different causes, unattended by any of the theological implications and supernatural circumstances of the Biblical narrative, it is waste of words to try and prove that the one has any relation to the other. And we may fairly ask, is it not much more likely that the tradition of a flood grew up out of the evident traces of some unknown submergence in a pre-human or almost pre-human epoch, than that some palæolithic man survived

¹ *Vorlesungen über den Bau und die Funktion des menschlichen Kehlkopfes.* By Dr. H. Jaehn. Berlin: A. Hirschwald. 1895.

² *On Certain Phenomena belonging to the Close of the Last Geological Period, and on their bearing upon the Tradition of the Flood.* By Joseph Prestwich, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.G.S. London: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

the catastrophe and told the story to his descendants, and it was handed down through countless generations until the tradition, transformed out of all likeness to the original event, fell into the hands of the writer of the Pentateuch, whose belief in the marvellous was in direct proportion to his ignorance of facts?

It is altogether something new to receive a volume of selected passages from the Bible, compiled without any theological motive and entirely from a literary standpoint, but this is the characteristic feature of Mr. Frazer's *Passages of the Bible*.¹ It may enable some people to realise that the Bible is an interesting book, or at least contains many interesting and even beautiful passages when read without prejudice; and, at the same time, it may convince them of the absolute want of unity in the collection of writings which for so long has been popularly considered only one book. The incongruity of the juxtaposition of such very diverse compositions as the Patriarchal legends; the myth of Samson; the plaintive devotional utterances of the Psalmists; the Gospel parables and the Apocalyptic visions, is made the more impressive by their being taken from their conventional surroundings, but in the same measure they seem to acquire fresh interest and almost originality. Mr. Frazer has just offered the text as it stands, without attempting to offer the reader any critical assistance, which seems to us necessary to render many of the passages intelligible. But keeping the compiler's purpose in view, the collection is admirably made, and the get-up of the volume is very appropriate and attractive. Mr. Frazer has added about forty pages of notes of his own, which increase the literary interest of the volume; they contain numerous references to parallel stories and passages found in ancient and modern literature.

*The Influence of Jesus*² is the title of a series of lectures delivered by the late Phillips Brooks in Philadelphia, as long ago as 1879, and are marked by the cultured orthodoxy for which this preacher was famous in certain circles. To us we confess this kind of teaching is unsatisfactory and distasteful; it is based too much upon ill-founded assumptions and shallow assertions. The following passage appears to us to be meaningless: "The idea of Jesus is the illumination and inspiration of existence. Without it moral life becomes a barren expediency, and social life a hollow shell, and emotional life a meaningless excitement, and intellectual life an idle play or stupid drudgery. Without it the world is a puzzle, and death a horror and eternity a blank." This is simply pulpit rhetoric of the commonest kind. It becomes worse when the lecturer talks of the "wild, sad, frightened cries of men who believe nothing"; according to our experience the orthodox believers are much more

¹ *Passages of the Bible, chosen for their Literary Beauty and Interest.* By J. G. Frazer, M.A. London: Adam & Charles Black. 1895.

² *The Influence of Jesus.* By the Rev. Phillips Brooks. London: H. R. Allenson.

given to indulge in "wild, sad, frightened cries" than are sceptics or agnostics.

Lectures on Preaching are by the same writer (from the same publisher). The utility of such lectures is doubtful. Successful preachers are like poets, born and not made. Born preachers are not likely to need such assistance, and manufactured ones might be dispensed with.

According to the author of *The Spirit of the Papacy*,¹ Catholics are of two classes, Papistic or Ultramontane, and Liberal, and the animadversions in this volume apply solely to the first class. The distinction is no doubt just, and it is gratifying to learn that the Liberals are increasing in numbers. Mr. Hittell has piled up systematically every possible charge against the Papacy, and has supported his accusations with abundant authority. This book will be found a useful armoury for the ultra-Protestant lecturer or preacher.

The author of *Some Notable Archbishops of Canterbury*² claims neither originality of thought nor depth of research in the composition of the sketches which the volume contains, but the information given is gathered from accepted Church authorities, the short biographies are effectively written, and the writer displays a certain independence in his criticisms. The lives of fourteen notable Archbishops are described at some length—these include Augustin, Beckett, Laud, and Tait. An appendix gives a full list of the primates, about ninety in all, with a line or two about each. There are also half-a-dozen highly-coloured portraits.

The Rev. James Robertson, D.D., in *Our Lord's Teaching* (A. & C. Black), makes the candid admission that, "familiar as are our Lord's words in the Gospels, it has not been customary with us to isolate His teaching, or to inquire what and how much we may believe on His own direct authority. Nor have we gone first to Him for the form in which to hold our Christian beliefs." Though the writer professes to correct this practice he ultimately falls into the same method, and gives us a great deal of theological doctrine which is not to be found in the Gospels.

Everybody knows that Count Tolstoy also goes direct to the Gospels and finds there a very different kind of teaching from that which is professed by the Church; but Mr. J. H. Harrison, in *Tolstoy as a Preacher* (Walter Scott), has taken the great neo-Christian to task, and disputes the soundness of his conclusions. We are quite willing to admit that Tolstoy's inferences are extreme, but they find more support in the Gospels than can be found for the orthodox doctrines of the Churches. Some of Mr. Harrison's criticisms are just, and his pamphlet is a thoughtful and well-written one.

¹ *The Spirit of the Papacy*. By John S. Hittell. San Francisco: J. S. Hittell. 1895.

² *Some Notable Archbishops of Canterbury*. By the Rev. Montague Fowler, M.A. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1895.

SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

MR. GARNIER'S new venture, *Annals of the British Peasantry*¹ is a work full of the deepest interest and instruction, but it is marred by the same blemish which marked his former efforts in *The History of the English Landed Interest*.

Mr. Garnier assumes, and assumes honestly, the attitude of an impartial historian, but the innate forces of political and class bias are too strong for him.

We demur altogether to his theory that the position of the villein of Norman or even Saxon times was one of pure contract. In a sense no doubt the relations between a villein and the lord of the manor presented all the features of a voluntary agreement with its reciprocal duties and rights, but in reality those relations were begotten of compulsion. It was simply a case of "needs must when the devil drives." Just as to the tribal man exclusion from the tribe meant death, so in Saxon or Norman times to be a "lordless" man meant outlawry. Mr. Garnier appears to have forgotten both the famous aphorism of Sir Henry Maine and its import, "the progress of society is from status to contract."

At one period the feudal system was a necessity and well suited to the times, but that the *adscriptus glebae* should have glowed with the warmest gratitude and devotion in return for the protection of his lord, as Mr. Garnier appears to think he ought to have done, is too ridiculous.

Even now Mr. Garnier doubts whether Hodge is capable of self-government, and he evidently still has faith in the old parental government of the squire and the parson. No one expects the Local Government Act, 1891, to be the panacea of all the ills of the agricultural depression. But Mr. Garnier and the class he represents should remember that it is now the law of the land, and that if they would only co-operate with the labourer in carrying out the spirit of the Act, instead of endeavouring to use the new machine to maintain their old authority, or instead of standing sullenly aloof, they would benefit not only the class they profess to be so deeply interested in but themselves also.

Hodge, no doubt, is woefully illiterate and stupid, but we have not such an ill opinion of him as to believe with Mr. Garnier that he would sell his country for a glass of cheap beer.

Mr. Garnier's advice to his fellow landowners and landholders is no doubt honestly meant. "We farmers," he says, "must not shirk our responsibilities by laying part of our holdings down to quitch. We landlords may not turn our backs on duty by absconding to foreign pleasure resorts. If cottages are still

¹ *Annals of the British Peasantry*. By Russell M. Garnier, B.A. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

deficient in sleeping accommodation their owners must curtail gaiety indulged in at the Metropolis. . . . Our aristocracy must submit itself to that irksome self-abasement which *noblesse oblige*, the traditional motto of the order, renders imperative." This is very fine sentiment, no doubt. But the labourer does not want charity and does not ask for it. All he wants is equal opportunity for all. If the aristocracy must needs be charitable, let them commence by restoring to the landless those wastes and commons which even in recent years they have filched. We have every respect for Mr. Garnier as an extremely able and interesting writer, and as a laborious searcher after truth, but with his political ideas we have no sympathy.

*A Handbook of Socialism*¹ by Mr. W. B. Bliss is what it professes to be, viz., a *vade mecum* for students of sociology. Mr. Bliss explains not only what Socialism is not, but also what Socialism is. "Socialism," he says, is not paternalism, nor even the expansion of State activity, nor the regimentation of life, nor even the co-operation of arbitrary groups of workers, nor the total abolition of competition, nor the leaping into a utopia of brotherly love, nor the sudden and violent overturn of existing institutions." Paternalism, the regimentation of society, co-operation, communism, philosophic anarchism and anarchist communism are admirably defined and clearly differentiated from Socialism. The latter is defined as "the fixed principle, capable of infinite and changing variety of form and only gradually to be applied, according to which the community should own land and capital collectively and operate them co-operatively for the equitable good of all." After tracing the origin and growth of Socialism generally, Mr. Bliss deals in detail with its progress in Europe, the United States, Australia and New Zealand. The *appendices*, which form a third of the work, should prove extremely useful to the beginner. As an aid to the acquirement of clear ideas upon the Socialist movement, this book cannot be too highly recommended.

A fresh translation of Rousseau's *Contrat Social*² is not amiss, and when this is preceded by such a masterly introduction as is provided by the translator and followed by a series of critical and explanatory notes, the whole becomes a work of exceptional value. As Mr. Bosanquet is careful to point out in the preface, the *Contrat Social* should be read, not only with a due appreciation of the political and ethical thought of the time, but also "apart from the preconceptions with which others of Rousseau's writings have

¹ *A Handbook of Socialism*. A statement of Socialism in its various aspects, and a history of Socialism in all countries, together with Statistics, Biographical Notes on prominent Socialists, Bibliography, Calendar, Chronological Table and Chart. By W. B. Bliss. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1895.

² *The Social Contract or Principles of Political Right*. By Jean Jacques Rousseau. Translated, with an Historical and Critical Introduction, by Henry J. Tozer, M.A. (Lond.) With a Preface by Bernard Bosanquet, M.A. (Oxon.) London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1895.

surrounded it." Mr. Tozer's introduction should do much to eradicate many of the current prejudices which envelop the personage of Rousseau.

We gladly welcome in a permanent form a record of the proceedings of the Conference held in October of last year at the Holborn Town Hall under the auspices of the English Land Colonisation Society. Under the title of *Co-operative Labour upon The Land*¹ is now published a series of papers dealing with co-operation in land-holding, credit banks and agricultural production; with improved methods of cultivation; with the unemployed in relation to the land, and with farm colonies. These papers were contributed by such experts, amongst others, as Major Poore, Lord (arrington, Mr. Harold Moore, Mr. Walter Hazell, M.P., and Mr. H. V. Mills.

Private International Law,¹ by Sir William Henry Rattigan, is intended by the learned author more especially for the use of Indian students in reading for examinations at the native universities. As some 600 or 700 independent native States exist within our Indian Empire, it will be readily seen that there is plenty of scope for an authoritative text-book written to suit the requirements of both native lawyers and students. The present volume is admirably calculated to meet this want, and dealing as it does with the conclusions of the leading English and Continental authorities, it cannot afford to be disregarded by students of this branch of jurisprudence in this country.

The arrangement of subjects is well chosen, and the language is clear and concise. In view of the increasing importance of copyright, patents and trade marks, and of the recent developments in the law, a separate chapter is devoted to their treatment. The work, in our opinion, is a distinct acquisition.

We have not formed a very high opinion of Dr. Walker's *Manual of Public International Law*,² neither do we entirely agree with the author that another text-book, "which, whilst excluding unnecessary detail and mere theoretic discussion, might serve as a fairly comprehensive general introduction to detailed study of the subject" is really required. In our opinion, the late Mr. W. E. Hall's standard work satisfies these self-imposed conditions of Dr. Walker. Of this work Professor Holland has recently written: "No work so well proportioned, so tersely expressed, so replete with common sense, so complete, had ever appeared in this country."

Co-operative Labour upon The Land (and other papers). The Report of a Conference upon Land, Co-operation and the Unemployed, held at Holborn Town Hall in October, 1894. Edited by J. A. Hobson. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1895.

¹ *Private International Law*. By Sir William Henry Rattigan, LL.D., barrister-at-law, Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Punjab. London: Stevens & Sons. 1894.

² *A Manual of Public International Law*. By Thomas Alfred Walker, M.A., LL.D., Fellow and Lecturer of Peterhouse, Cambridge. Cambridge: University Press. London: Stevens & Sons. 1895.

Dr. Walker's method too, though bold, is extremely dangerous. He reduces the principles of International Law to fixed rules and propositions followed by running commentaries. Since International Law consists largely of customs and practices which are usually observed by civilised States in their relations *inter se*, but which are not universally recognised as obligatory, it does not tend to clear ideas to find such customs and practices embodied in rules of apparently equal legal force with those which are universally accepted as obligatory.

As an introduction to the study of International Law, we cannot recommend this book. The principles must be grasped first by both the student and the general reader. But when the former has accomplished this he may find Dr. Walker's Manual useful in fixing the leading rules in his mind for examination purposes.

We think that Dr. Walker might at least have acknowledged his indebtedness to Mr. J. T. Laurence for his leading definition of international law.

A Compendium of the Law of Torts,¹ by Mr. Hugh Fraser, can be confidently recommended not only to students but to any who wish to obtain a general acquaintance with the leading principles of this complicated branch of the law. This little book is written on scientific lines, and is something more than a mere cram-book. Mr. Fraser is a recognised authority on the law of slander and libel.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

A Vagabond in Spain,² by Mr. C. Bogue Luffmann, is something more than the recorded experiences of a mere tourist. We cannot recall any similar instance of a man voluntarily assuming the rôle of a "tramp," in order to study the real character of the rural population and its pursuits. Goldsmith, it is true, tramped it through France, but then it was from *force majeure* and not from choice. Arthur Young travelled with similar objects, but he travelled at his ease and consequently missed much. As the saying goes in Lancashire, "You must live with folk to find them out," and Mr. Luffmann seems to have realised this to the full. He lived the life of a tramp in real earnest. The vagrant's rest-house was his only hotel; the succour doled out by the *alcalde* his only means of sustenance. Every now and then in the large cities Mr. Luffmann laid aside his part, but with these few exceptions he tramped

¹ *A Compendium of the Law of Torts specially adapted for the Use of Students.* By Hugh Fraser, M.A., LL.D., barrister-at-law. Third edition. London: Reeves & Turner.

² *A Vagabond in Spain.* By C. Bogue Luffmann. London: John Murray. 1895.

it on foot from Biarritz to Malaga, enjoying all the privileges and suffering all the discomforts of a common vagrant.

Although speaking highly of the generous treatment received at the hands of the natives, Mr. Luffmann's impressions are anything but favourable to the Spaniards. He scouts, however, the idea that every Spaniard is either a courtier or a cut-throat. Even in fairly good society the manners at table are simply disgusting.

Although every native carries a knife of some sort, it is more for purposes of defence than offence. Quarrels are carried on with words, not with knives.

The typical Spaniard, says Mr. Luffmann, is seen in Mazaneres. Of graceful figure, with pale skin, fine even teeth and beautiful hands, he is vicious in temper, self-indulgent and indolent. Mr. Luffmann has a very poor opinion of the women, amongst whom he says one rarely sees a good face. There is a complete absence of that spirit which stimulates a son or husband to action, and this Mr. Luffmann considers is the chief cause of the decadence of the Spanish nation. Of the agriculture, Mr. Luffmann only speaks incidentally: he has reserved his observations for a further work.

"Much of the bad land," he says, "might produce a little, all the good land much more." There is a general absence of ambition and energy.

We have only space to add that the book is a charming record of an experience probably unique in the history of travel.

*Among the Gods,*¹ by Miss Augusta Klein, is an account of a tour undertaken by an English family through India. The tour commences with Ceylon, and after a Christmas spent in Southern India, the travellers work up north to Calcutta, with stoppages at Trichinopoly, Tanjor, and Madras. From Calcutta the route lies north-west, through Benares and Gwalior to Peshawar, whence an expedition is made to the Khaiber Pass. To escape the heats of the plains, a diversion is made to Simla and the Himalaya, on the breezy heights of which our travellers recruited their strength before crossing to Bombay by way of Delhi and Jaipur.

Miss Klein is a word-painter of a high order, and we have seldom read more brilliant descriptions of scenery than are scattered throughout this volume. One defect, however, we cannot overlook. Whenever the opportunity occurs, we have minute accounts of the condition of the S.P.G., the S.P.C.K., and various other missionary societies. We feel convinced that the average reader, when he buys a book of travels, expects to get a book of travels, and has good cause for complaint when he receives therein a mass of irrelevant information.

With the religions of India Miss Klein has no sympathy. In

¹ *Among the Gods. Scenes of India, with Legends by the Way.* By Augusta Klein. With full-page illustrations. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1895.

fact, she evidently knows but little about them. At any rate, she entirely fails to recognise the inner meaning and high philosophic thought of Buddhism, and her charges against its grotesque ceremonials might just as well be made against those of any other religion. Religious ceremonial differs in degree, not in kind.

The Real Chinaman,¹ by Mr. Chester Holcombe, is not strictly a book of travel, but is the result of the author's observations made during "many years of residence among the Chinese, in course of which he was brought into close and familiar relations with all classes of the people in nearly every section of the Empire." Mr. Holcombe's official position gave him unrivalled opportunities for observing the inner life of the Chinese, and the intimate acquaintance he displays with the various phases of Chinese society, political, social and religious, proves that he has made the most of his opportunities. The narrative is enlivened with numerous anecdotes which are both entertaining and explanatory of peculiar traits in the Chinese character.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

UNDER the title of *An Unrecorded Chapter of the Indian Mutiny*, Mr. Reginald G. Wilberforce has given a most interesting account of the great Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, with special reference to the exploits of the gallant 52nd Light Infantry, in which he served. This regiment was the first regiment in the English army that was distinguished by the affix of "Light Infantry." The discipline of the regiment was very strict, and its exclusiveness was shown by the fact that no one could be an honorary member of the Mess.

Mr. Wilberforce's little book does not aim at giving a complete history of the Mutiny. The events recorded in it are taken from a diary, which is supplemented by a number of letters written at the time by him to his father. A considerable portion of the volume is devoted to the achievements of General Nicholson, who was in command of the Movable Column, and who was the terror of the Sepoys. The book is well worth reading.

Fifty Years, or Dead Leaves and Living Seeds,² is the title of a book dealing with some important features in a clergyman's career. The author, the Rev. Harry Jones, is by no means an untried writer, having already published several works, including *Days I have Known*, and *The Days of Our Age*. Some odd details will be found in the

¹ *The Real Chinaman*. By Chester Holcombe, for many years Interpreter, Secretary of Legation and acting Minister of the United States at Peking. With seventy-seven illustrations. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1895.

² *An Unrecorded Chapter of the Indian Mutiny*. By Reginald G. Wilberforce. London: John Murray. 1895.

³ *Fifty Years, or Dead Leaves and Living Seeds*. By the Rev. Harry Jones, M.A. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1895.

Rev. Mr. Jones's latest work. For example, he describes his efforts to preach to lunatics and paupers. He informs us that "next to lunatics paupers are the most trying to address." The reverend gentleman was also engaged in ministering to the religious requirements of convicts, and he appears to think the latter class of unfortunates are not quite capable of appreciating a clergyman of refined manners and ideas. While the greater portion of the book reveals a very commonplace intelligence, it shows that the Rev. Mr. Jones has a very exalted notion of his own personality.

Messrs. H. S. Nichols & Co. have published in two volumes *The Secret History of the Court and Cabinet of St. Cloud.*¹ The work, which forms the sixth of Messrs. Nichols's collections of Court memoirs, is exceptionally interesting, as it contains some very curious information. The writer of the letters contained in this work was apparently an Englishman named Stewarton, and had been a friend of the Empress Josephine, though his imputations on the virtue of Napoleon's first wife show that his "friendship" did not teach him either delicacy or honour. The picture given of the Emperor in these letters is an unfavourable one, though it is evident that many of the details are merely exaggerations and distortions of real incidents. The account of an attempted assassination of Napoleon by a lady who called herself "Charlotte Encore," is very curious. We are informed that she resided in Abbéville, where she passed as a widow, and that, when in July 1794, the Emperor was on his way through that place, she threw herself at his feet and asked for the honour of embracing him. Napoleon, it is said, intended to assent when Duroc, his favourite aide-de-camp, seized her by the arm, and dragged her to an adjoining room, where a poisoned stiletto was found in the left sleeve of her gown. The narrative concludes with the statement that she expired on the rack without telling even her name, and that orders were given to the sub-prefect of Abbéville to disseminate a report as to her having been sent to a lunatic asylum. Another strange narrative in the work is the account of the tortures inflicted on an English officer named Captain Wright by the French Government. We are inclined to believe that both this and the story of the attempted assassination are slightly apocryphal. However, there can be no doubt that this addition to Messrs. Nichols's collection of Court memoirs is well worth reading. The work has been beautifully printed and brought out, reflecting great credit on the publishers.

Mr. Lloyd Sanders has written for the Statesmen series, published by Messrs. Allen & Co., an excellent biography of Lord Palmerston.² The part played in British politics by Lord Palmerston was so

¹ *The Secret History of the Court and Cabinet of Saint Cloud.* In two volumes. London: H. S. Nichols & Co. 1895.

² *Life of Viscount Palmerston.* By Lloyd C. Sanders. Statesmen Series. London: Allen & Co.

remarkable that it is hard to compress the facts into one small volume, but Mr. Sanders has done his work well. It may be interesting to remind the general reader—the proverbial personage who “runs” as well as “reads”—that Lord Palmerston was a descendant of Sir John Temple, speaker of the Irish House of Commons, and brother of the celebrated Sir William Temple, the patron of Swift. Some good anecdotes of the late statesman’s early life will be found in the book. While discharging the duties of Secretary at War (not *for* war, for this at the time was a distinct office) Palmerston amused himself by contributing squibs to the *Courier* and other political journals. His verses on “The Choice of a Leader” contain a rather clever burlesque of a speech by Sir James Mackintosh against the annexation of Heligoland. In those days Palmerston, who had not yet reached his thirtieth year, was a great dandy, and was known as “Cupid.” He was present at the dinner given by Sheridan, at which the bailiffs acted as waiters. On this occasion the improvised waiters made frequent appeals to “Mr. Sheridan,” and, as the eccentric host got drunk, some language of doubtful propriety was used. Such at least was Lord Palmerston’s account of this odd dinner. The sunny, optimistic character of Palmerston served him in good stead throughout his life, and saved him from the anxieties and apprehensions which, no doubt, form the miseries of a political career. This is not the place to appraise his merits as a statesman. His foreign policy was certainly a bold and decisive one, and he won for England a proud reputation for love of liberty and humanitarianism. At the same time, Palmerston had his faults, and they were not trivial faults by any means. But, after all, the good outweighed the evil in his career.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co. have published a biography of General Wolfe by Mr. A. G. Bradley.¹ That heroic commander, who, like Nelson, “died in the arms of victory,” deserves to have his exploits commemorated. The little Kentish town of Westerton enjoys the distinction of having given birth to the conqueror of Canada. The house where he was born is appropriately called “Quebec House,” and it is said that its appearance has little changed, with the exception of an unlovely modern front, since the parents of James Wolfe went to live there two centuries ago.

The Wolfe family was connected with the Anglo-Irish family of that name, and it would seem that an ancestor of the famous General, Captain Edward Wolfe, was both a Roman Catholic and a Nationalist in Ireland, where he had settled, and that, owing to his religion and politics, he had found it expedient to return to England, the land of his ancestors. The date of Wolfe’s birth was 1727, and the story of his life brings us back to the early part of

¹ *Wolfe*. By A. G. Bradley. London: Macmillan & Co.

the last century. At the tender age of thirteen and a half he entered the British service as a volunteer under his father, Colonel Wolfe. His martial precocity was, however, "nipped in the bud," for he got sick, and "was sent home to his mother—and to school." However, at fifteen we find him carrying the colours of the Twelfth Regiment of Foot. He served in the campaign in Flanders between 1742 and 1745. Subsequently he served in "the Forty-Five" in Scotland against the Pretender, and was engaged at Prestonpans and Culloden. But it was in the war in Canada that he won his best laurels, and, to use Macaulay's stock phrase, "every schoolboy knows" the story of his glorious death at Quebec just when he had captured it. The national memorial to Wolfe in Westminster Abbey was unveiled in 1773. England has, no doubt, had greater generals, for he died while still comparatively young, but she can boast of no more genuine hero than James Wolfe. Mr. Bradley has done full justice to the subject, and we are sure the book will be widely read.

Mr. Thomas Hodgkin has brought out two additional volumes of his important work, *Italy and Her Invaders*.¹ The two volumes cover nearly two centuries (A.D. 553–711), extending from the expulsion of the Goths from Italy to the death of the Lombard King Luitprand. The materials for the history of this period are very meagre and fragmentary. Mr. Hodgkin devotes considerable space to the history of the Franks and the Papal affairs, as a preliminary to the account of the struggle between the Frankish king and the Pope, which will form the subject of his concluding volume. The work is a monumental one, but is more suitable for the student than for the general reader. The chapter on the laws of Luitprand is very curious, containing a number of extracts from this extraordinary code. The oddity of these laws may be seen from one or two examples. Under the head of "Insult to a Woman," we find this piece of legislation: "It has been reported to us that a certain perverse man, while a woman was bathing in a river, took away all the clothes which she had for the covering of her body; wherefore, as she could not remain in the river for ever, she was obliged to walk home naked. Therefore, we decide that the hateful man who has been guilty of this presumptuous deed shall pay for his whole *quadrigild* to her whom he has offended. We do so for this reason, that if her father, or brother, or husband, or other male relative had found that man, there would undoubtedly have been a breach of the peace, and the stronger of the two would probably have killed the other. Now it is better for the wrongdoer to live, and pay his own *quadragild* than to die, and cause a *faida* to those who come after him, or to kill and lose the whole of his property." Again, where men incite their

¹ *Italy and Her Invaders*. Vols. v. and vi. By Thomas Hodgkin, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

wives to attack other men, it is decreed that those who have defended themselves against such women should not be answerable for injuries or even death inflicted on the disorderly females; that, in the next place, the women's heads should be ordered by the magistrates to be shaved; and lastly, that the husbands should pay for any injuries done by their wives. What would a modern police-magistrate say to such a drastic ordinance as this?

In spite of the elaborate character of Mr. Hodgkin's work, it contains many chapters quite as interesting as romance. The story of Queen Gundiperga, for instance, might furnish material for a poem in the Tennysonian vein. The account of the Lombard superstitions concerning witches and vampires is exceedingly curious. Mr. Hodgkin gives an admirable sketch of the life of Saint Columbanus. We anticipate that the concluding volume will be the most interesting portion of the work.

BEILLES LETTRES.

DANIEL DEFOE's work, entitled *Of Royall Education*,¹ may well be described as a literary curiosity. It is now published by Mr. David Nutt, and there is an introduction by the erudite editor, Dr. Karl Bülbiring. The essay was preserved in the middle of a manuscript in the autograph of Defoe. It is a remarkable production, and contains some characteristic passages. We can scarcely admire the editor's readiness to attribute to Defoe a deliberate falsehood with reference to the date of composition, but we deem it undesirable, having regard to the limits of time and space, to enter upon a controversy on the point. All who have read Defoe's *Complete English Gentleman* ought to read this less well-known work of a famous English author.

Some Passages in Plantagenet Paul's Life,² is the title of a somewhat discursive work, which cannot be described as either a novel or a biography. The topics dealt with are an English boy's early life, an account of his great grandparents' adventures during the French Revolution, a description of a trip to New York, and over a hundred pages of matter under the general heading of "Life and Death in South America." This part of the book is full of improbabilities. The work is not entirely devoid of literary merit, but it lacks coherence, and the style is decidedly amateurish.

Professor Warr's book on *The Greek Epic*,³ contains in a condensed

¹ *Of Royall Education*. By Daniel Defoe. With an Introduction by Dr. Karl Bülbiring. London: David Nutt.

² *Some Passages in Plantagenet Paul's Life*. By Himself. London: Digby, Long & Co.

³ *The Dawn of European Literature. The Greek Epic*. By George C. W. Warr, M.A. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

form the latest results of archæological and linguistic research on the subject. Schliemann's discoveries have thrown much light on the actual condition of the Greeks at the time of the Siege of Troy. Professor Warr refers frequently in his work to Schuchhardt's survey of Schliemann's investigations and to other authorities. Some curious facts are noticed in this interesting little volume, which, within the narrow limits of 280 pages, compresses an enormous amount of learning. The following are some of the more notable results of his researches:

The Homeric civilisation did not belong to a very remote past, as Herodotus pointed out, being probably 400 years before his own time (B.C. 850). The Homeric Greeks were masters, except in the South, of their own lands and seas. They had not, however, followed the Phœnicians far outside the Aegean. Sicily is only just within the sphere of the *Odyssey*. Egypt is known in that poem, not merely by fame; but there is hardly any allusion to any of the Asiatic empires. There is some report of the Nomad tribes beyond the Balkans, but the northern shores of the Euxine are supposed to be the haunts of ghosts and wizards. The Greek epic was probably of religious origin. It served much the same purpose as the Vedic poetry.

We need not dwell on the chapters in which Professor Warr deals with both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* analytically, for the subject is too abstruse to be summarised. Readers who desire to get a thorough acquaintance with Homeric literature should read this book carefully, and supplement their reading by a reference to the original text of Homer, on a minute study of which the learned Professor has based most of his conclusions. Some translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in the course of the work are admirably done. The concluding chapters, which deal with Hesiod, contain a good English version of one of the most celebrated passages in the *Works and Days*. The notes exhibit a thorough mastery of early Greek literature.

We have had on our table for some time three German works which seemed to deserve more than passing notice.

The *Letters of William von Humboldt to his friend G. H. Ludwig Nicolovius*¹ form the first volume of a series of typical examples of modern German literature. The selection published in this little volume, running over those pregnant and exciting years from 1809 to 1819, contains scarcely a reference, so far as we notice, to the great events of the time. They are concerned chiefly with questions of education and church government, and have more than an academic value, as both Von Humboldt and his correspondent were at different times at the head of the Prussian Department of Public Worship and Instruction.

¹ *Briefe von Wilhelm von Humboldt an Georg Heinrich Nicolovius*. Herausgegeben von R. Haym. Berlin: Emil Felber, 1894.

To appreciate the able and exhaustive little work of M. Farinelli¹ requires a very considerable knowledge of both German and Spanish literature. We confess that we had hitherto been ignorant that Spanish literature could be credited with such extensive influence on that of Germany. M. Farinelli, however, makes out an excellent case for that influence; Schiller and Goethe being curiously exempted from it. All good literature of a past age may be said to have affected some or other of the literary work of the later centuries. Each great writer may leave some trace of his influence on the greatest of his successors; but the influence which M. Farinelli ascribes to Lope de Vega over Grillparzer is direct and unequivocal; and, starting with Spanish literature, Grillparzer ended with an unbounded admiration for the Spaniards themselves. "He loved the Spanish nation," says M. Farinelli, "as he loved the Spanish authors."

The book which will be more interesting to English readers is Herr Mauntz's translation of Shakespeare's Sonnets.² We certainly admire the labour and scholarship which have produced this careful and usually poetical translation. But we cannot see that Shakespeare has gained much in the operation. His vigorous language is too often filtered off into pure sentimentalism; and his forcible coarseness is either evaded altogether or diluted into a flabby misrepresentation. A re-translation of the German would present our drawing-room tables with the milk-and-water edition of a great poet which is so dear to some minds.

We had enjoyed reading *Some Men are Such Gentlemen* so much that we opened Miss Kenealy's last venture, *The Honourable Mrs. Spoor*,³ with pleasurable anticipation. But we must confess to having been considerably disappointed. Both the plot and the characters lack the originality which marked her previous work, and the style and workmanship suggest carelessness and hurry. We are given to understand that the Honourable Mrs. Spoor had, previous to her marriage, led a life as bad as it is possible to conceive, from the frequent references to her "polyandric" existence. Her husband, a man about town of equally disreputable morals, had dared the risk of taking her, apparently straight from the streets, and introducing her to society as his wife. At the opening of the story all had gone well so far. Mrs. Spoor had risen to the occasion; the secret had not leaked out, and the seal of respectability had been stamped on the Spoor household in the acceptance of its hospitality by a duchess and sundry smaller fry with handles to their names. But one fine day, while carolling chansonnettes in the solitude of a pine wood, Nemesis overtakes her in the shape of a young girl. "In the limpid brilliance of her look shone frank-souled maiden-

¹ *Grillparzer und Lope de Vega*. Von Arturo Farinelli. Berlin: Emil Felber. 1894.

² *Gedichtes von W. Shakespeare in Deutsch übertagen*. Durch Alfred von Mauntz. Berlin: Emil Felber. 1894.

³ *The Honourable Mrs. Spoor*. By Arabella Kenealy. London: Digby, Long & Co.

hood. . . . The depths within the velvet pupil zone seemed stirred by a certain trouble, as though they trembled to jarred mind-vibrations. The questions in them searched like a jagged knife among Mrs. Spoor's deluded emotions: the white superiority—that keenest of whips wherewith we are whipped—stung like a lash across her bared sense-consciousness. . . . Mrs. Spoor clutched her fashionable coat about her as though it had been a garment of shame, and, with a humiliated awkwardness, slunk aside to let the girl pass.” In the newly awakened sense of shame and self-degradation Mrs. Spoor loses the self-restraint which had enabled her so long to pose as a virtuous matron, and “gives herself away” in sundry outbursts reminiscent of her “polyandric” days, to the utter undoing of herself and her husband, both in their domestic and social relations. The secret of the girl with “lustrous, innocent eyes, fraught with purity and wise all-knowledge” we are requested not to divulge. The idea of the evildoer overtaken in the hour of his triumph by a Nemesis of his own creation, the workings of shame, remorse, and self-humiliation in his own brain, is as old as literature itself; but the theme requires for its requisite handling powers of a different kind from those with which Miss Kenealy is endowed. A very little care and trouble, too, would have excised many errors of style and phraseology, and would have, for instance, saved Miss Kenealy from the perpetration of a sentence like: “Besley retreated mentally to the pages of his guest book, and there drove the black bar of a recording pen through the Theosophist's name, as one drives the stake of ostracism through a malefactor's body.” Any Greek dictionary would have told Miss Kenealy the meaning and derivation of *οστρακισμός*.

All students of literature will welcome the appearance of Professor Dowden's *New Studies in Literature*,¹ a collection of papers contributed from time to time to the *Fortnightly Review*. The Professor discourses, with professorial learning and without professorial pedantry, of the poetry of Mr. Meredith, Robert Bridges, John Donne, and Coleridge, bringing to his task an enthusiasm and sympathy for his subjects, and a charm of style and treatment which remind us at times of the late Professor Froude's similar work in the field of history. About a third of the volume is given to five papers on Goethe, full of the weightiest and most pregnant criticism on the life-work and influence of the great Master.

With a little less hashed-up Baedeker matter about temples, tea-houses and the like, and a little less slap-dash in the heroine, Mr. Sladen's *A Japanese Marriage*² would deserve no small praise. And the author would properly retort in regard to the first objection, that all who have not enjoyed a visit to Japan should take every

¹ *New Studies in Literature*. By Professor Dowden. London: Kegan Paul & Co.

² *A Japanese Marriage*. By Douglas Sladen. London: A. & C. Black.

chance of learning all they can about the habits and customs of the victorious English of the East ; and in regard to the second, that it is quite possible for an Anglo-Japanese girl, without loss of modesty, to accept "as a pick-me-up" the kisses of an unsuccessful lover. No sensible man, free from the shackles of English Church orthodoxy on the point, will deny that Philip had every moral right to wed his deceased wife's sister, and the reader's sympathy for the two lovers is sufficiently evoked to allow one to excuse the questionable taste (for which Mr. Sladen apologises, by the way, in the preface) by which the heroine's prejudices on the marriage question are overcome by contact with the personal delinquencies of a thoroughly bad specimen of the English parson.

There is scarcely a question, social, political, ethical or educational, on which Mr. Geoffrey Drage has not something to say through the mouths of the lay figures who figure as characters in his *Cyral*.¹ Like so many phonographs, they are turned on at the requisite time and place to spout forth the ideas of Mr. Drage on men and things in general, and the glories of the British Empire in particular. His fervid patriotism leads him at times to indulge overmuch in the rant of blatant Jingoism, and to look at international problems through the spectacles of insular prejudice, but, discounting this, there is a solid residuum left of sober criticism, both constructive and destructive, which makes this volume deserve to be read by all who realise the glorious heritage left to us Englishmen by our forefathers, and the duties and responsibilities towards our paternity entailed thereby on the present generation in its management and development.

The anonymous author of *Marmaduke, Emperor of Europe*² is no less ambitious than Mr. Drage in the breadth and scope of the problems which he sets forth to discuss and solve. For all the ills which unhappy flesh is heir to in modern Europe in these days of militarism and industrial competition X. finds a too ready and simple remedy in the restoration by the German Emperor, acting on the advice of his Marmaduke, of the two lost Provinces to France. That such a restoration or neutralisation may one day come within the sphere of practical politics has long been the dream of many statesmen and thinkers, but that it would lead by so sure and ready a sequence of events to the reign of peace on earth and goodwill towards men among the nations of the earth, as X. imagines, has never, we presume, entered the heads of the most optimistic members of the Peace Society, and we certainly do not think X.'s train of reasoning will convince any of such a possibility.

From Cassell & Co. we have received copies of their excellent illustrated editions of *Kidnapped* and *Catriona*.³ The paper, print, and binding leave nothing to be desired, and an additional charm.

¹ *Cyral*. By Geoffrey Drage. W. H. Allen & Co.

² *Marmaduke, Emperor of Europe*. By X. Chelmsford: Durrant & Co.

³ *Kidnapped* and *Catriona*. By R. L. Stevenson. London: Cassell & Co.

if such were possible, is lent to the now classic narrative of Davie's adventures, by so appropriate a presentment.

Mr. Richard Le Gallienne's *Elegy on Robert Louis Stevenson*¹ is quite the best piece of work that has yet come from his pen, and it is almost safe to prophesy that these few lines will share the immortality of fame which he predicts in words of touching reverence for the works of the Master, "Virgil of Prose."

Under the modest title of *Monochromes*² are published six short stories by Ella D'Arcy, three of which, at least, are as perfect as anything of the kind we have read from an English pen since our writers have cultivated so assiduously, and for the most part so unsuccessfully, the task for the short narrative studies in psychology in which our neighbours across the Channel have excelled so long. We can only regret that lack of space prevents us saying more in detail either about these or a similar collection in a sister volume of the same series entitled *Grey Roses*,³ by Henry Harland, in which the author has drawn largely on his intimate knowledge of French life and character, and introduces to us, among others, a gay and characteristic company of students in the Quartier Latin.

The reissue of Ruskin's *Turner's Harbours of England*⁴ in cheap and handy form will be a boon to many. Since 1877 no new edition of this work has been published, and the first edition of 1856 has long been out of reach of any save the wealthy collector. The plates of Turner's twelve original illustrations for the work have been reproduced in photogravure from specially selected impressions of the engravings of the first issue, and their excellence forms a striking refutation of those who even now maintain that mechanical effects only can be given by the mechanical art of photo-reproduction.

At the present time, when most people contemplate taking their holidays, guide-books will be welcome. New editions of Baedeker's Guides have reached us. The one to South-Eastern France includes Corsica, of which it gives a good map. We have also received guides to South-Western France, Canada, London and its environs, and Part I. of Lower Egypt.

The best recommendation which can be given of Messrs. A. & C. Black's Guide to Ireland is to say that it has reached its twenty-second edition. It gives 361 pages of most interesting information concerning the Emerald Isle, its traditions and history.

Their guide to Belgium and Holland includes part of Northern France and the Rhine. These last-named guides are very explicit, printed on good paper and in good clear type.

¹ *Robert Louis Stevenson: an Elegy, and other Poems.* By Richard Le Gallienne. London: John Lane.

² *Monochromes.* By Ella D'Arcy. London: John Lane.

³ *Grey Roses.* By Henry Harland. London: John Lane.

⁴ *The Harbours of England.* By John Ruskin. With thirteen illustrations by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Edited by Thomas J. Wise. Orpington: George Allen.

ART.

MESSRS., JACK, of the Grange Publishing Works, Edinburgh, have issued the first of a series of 10s. volumes, which are "to include the favourite songs of all classes of the English people during three centuries up to 1810." The present volume, a royal quarto, bound in green cloth gilt, with gilt edges, is plainly intended for the music-stand. The melodies are written in the Tonic Sol-Fa as well as in the Old Notation, and both words and music are handsomely engraved, so as to be thoroughly legible by vocalist and pianist. Besides the forty-two songs—reaching from "Rock'd in the Cradle of the Deep" to "As Dolly sat Milking," and Henry VIII.'s "Pastime with Good Company"—the book contains an historical sketch of English national song by the editor, in twenty-four well-filled pages, with six more of curious notes concerning the more interesting of the songs. There is also a number of reproductions of contemporary designs of old musical instruments, head-pieces of engraved songs, and portraits of musicians. Altogether, the series is of interest from other than the musical point of view, and merits for the general reader its title of *English Minstrelsy: A National Monument of English Song*.¹

The part taken by the editor, the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, will surprise no one who remembers his versatile evolution through Hegelian philosophy, hagiography, and novel-writing. His universal success must come from the long period of incubation comprised in his successive literary developments. For the present work, we are told that he has been engaged for ten years in collecting the folk-music of the English people, and in the study of old English printed and engraved music. The result should lift from the Englishmen of to-day that burden of belief which persuades them there is nothing artistic in their race, and that, willy-nilly, they have to seek the higher delight of their sensory nerves in foreign products. Their ancient architecture furnishes innumerable proofs to the contrary, and so does the influence of Constable over the French schools of landscape-painting. The detailed study of polyphony, which, after Palestrina, took the place of the unisonant plain chant inherited from the Greeks, has also brought out the musical value of our cathedral choirs with their century-old traditions. Mr. Baring-Gould goes a step lower, and shows that even the English common people were the most musical in Europe at the close of the Middle Ages.

It was the reign of Charles I. which began self-depreciation in the English, and its outcome was the habit of musical composition to words having no relation to real life, and describing the amours

¹ *English Minstrelsy: A National Monument of English Song*. Edited by S. Baring-Gould, M.A. The Airs arranged by H. Fleetwood Sheppard, M.A.; F. W. Bussell, B.D., Mus.B. Oxon.; and W. H. Hopkinson, A.R.C.Q. In eight volumes. Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack. 1895.

of Corydons and Pastorellas. Such music tells "of a past stage of thought that was as picturesquely absurd as that of the wig and the patch." It was the music of the great world which lives by affectation. The present work is intended to show a very different music—native in tune and thought—in all "the freshness and sweetness of our English folk-airs." We fear, however, that the editor invokes a dream of Christian Socialism when he says that "the music of the ploughboy demands to be recognised as an integral portion of our 'English minstrelsy,' just as his opinion demands a hearing in all that concerns our commonwealth." The ploughboy is well-nigh an extinct species in the fauna of England, while the factory workman, who has more than taken his place in political importance, sings nothing that is fresh or sweet. You might as well expect him to live in one of Pugin's Gothic houses. That will not prevent the great middle class, those who lie open to clerical influence and have pleasant reveries of a "Merrie England," from enjoying this "lark and thrush and blackbird song of the ploughman, the thrasher, and the milkmaid," even though it has little more relation to the real life of nowadays than Corydon and Pastorella and other old Chelsea china shepherds and shepherdesses.

Where the words of some of the finest old English airs are "objectionable" or "undesirable," others—of a piece with the modern reveries—will be found substituted in their stead. After all, a collection of this kind is not for the technical folk-lorist, who traverses fair and foul in search of his peculiar knowledge, but for the romantic lover of "Old England." From a comparison, in one case, of the new words with the old ones rejected as being too long and uninteresting, we are tempted to doubt the success of the emendations. "The air of this song is known to the peasantry of all England" under the name of "Young Edward, the Gallant Hussar." The original words ran as follows :

" A damsel possessed of great beauty,
 She stood at her own father's gate ;
 The gallant hussars were on duty,
 To view them this maiden did wait.
 Their horses were cap'ring and prancing,
 Their accoutrements shone as a star ;
 From the plains they were nearer advancing,
 She espied her own gallant hussar.

In all this, and the many verses which follow, there is at least a ring of war and glory, which we should dote on if it were only the French song, *Les hussards de la garde*. It is a pity the editor could not have judiciously abridged it as it was, instead of substituting the following morality, which has not even the strident call of the New Woman :

" A damsel possess'd of great beauty,
 But possess-ed of nothing beside,

I think I would tarry a twelvemonth
 Before that I made her my bride.
 For a damsel possess'd of great beauty,
 Without any sense in her head,
 Is naught but a beautiful dolly,
 And a dolly that asks to be fed."

The whirligig of time has brought changes of its own into the National Anthem. In 1745 it began :

"God save great George our King."

The king's name was again inserted in that second verse which has been used as an argument to prove that the words were written by Ben Jonson, as early as 1607, to celebrate King James I.'s escape from the Gunpowder Plot :

"Confound their politics,
 Frustrate their knavish tricks,
 On George our hopes we fix,
 God save the King."

The editor does not notice the change to the present form :

"On Thee our hopes we fix"—

where Deity has been substituted for Majesty. But he adds a fourth verse, which the exigencies of the times no longer demand :

"O grant that Marshal Wade
 May by Thy mighty aid
 Victory bring.
 May he sedition hush,
 And like a torrent rush,
 Rebellious Scots to crush,
 God save the King."

A good word should be said of the symphonics and accompaniments with which these simple melodies are judiciously presented to the musical public. The series should be as successful as the previous collections, by the same publishers, of *Scots and Cambrian Minstrelsy*.

M. Alfred Habets, a Belgian musical critic, several years ago narrated his pursuit of a knowledge of Russian music under difficulties in Russia itself. He has now written a book on the life and works of Borodin, one of the greater lights of the Russian school, with the letters of Borodin which relate to Liszt.¹ The latter pronounced the works of the Russian composers "well worth the serious attention of musical Europe." Most people feel the same difficulty in the matter as M. Habets. The fame of Wagner shows that, not music alone, but acquaintance with the composer's personality is needed before conquering the public. The present volume is well calculated to introduce the reader to the development of modern music in a country where the folk-songs are half Oriental and the religious chant what it might have been in the Latin Church without Palestrina. The translator has added a valuable preface, giving a clear and interesting history of musical composition in Russia.

¹ *Borodin and Liszt*. By Alfred Habets. Translated, with a Preface, by Rosa Newmarch. London : Digby, Long & Co.



THE CAUSE OF THE COLLAPSE.

A RADICAL RALLYING CRY.

MANY and conflicting are the theories that have been advanced to account for the utter collapse of the Liberal party at the polls, but in no case, it seems to me, has the true cause of the disaster been located. While the failure of the Government to carry a one-man-one-vote measure, with three months' residence as the sole qualification, undoubtedly lost many votes to the Liberal party, and while the unscrupulous misrepresentations circulated with regard to the Local Veto Bill and the Indian Cotton Duties, adversely influenced thousands more, the primary cause of the collapse was, in my opinion, the want of a thoroughly Democratic Budget.

Sir William Harcourt's failure in his three successive Budgets to redeem the Budget pledges of the Liberal party can be regarded only as deliberate and flagrant political dishonesty, or as one of those blunders which are worse than crimes. On the one hand, the Government put forward their pledges merely as electioneering baits; they promised what they never intended to perform; in plain language, they got into power by means of false pretences. Or, on the other hand, if they did mean business, their leaders exhibited a fatuous incapacity well-nigh incredible. For the Budget afforded the only means by which the Government could establish beyond doubt their *bona fides*. Nothing would more certainly have strengthened the position of the Government, both in the House and in the country at large, nothing would more certainly have aroused the flagging energy and expiring enthusiasm of their followers, than a good Democratic Budget; and the Budget the House of Lords cannot touch. Having failed to fulfil their Budget pledges, having failed to do what they could if they would, it was in vain that the Government approached any intelligent elector with the plea that they would have given us Home Rule, Employers' Liability, the Evicted Tenants Bill, &c., &c., had not the House of Lords blocked the way. It was in vain, also, for the Government to plead want of time, for they had notoriously failed to grapple with obstruction in anything like an energetic and business-like spirit, and had repeatedly sacrificed to the obsolete forms of the House the most vital interests, the most pressing needs of the Democracy. There must be a Budget each year, and if obstruction were

put down with a firm hand, it would be as easy to pass a good Budget as to pass a bad one.

To use an expressive Americanism, the Government throughout their whole career were "afraid of their horses." Even as drafted by Ministers, the measures blocked by the Lords were nothing like so Radical as they should have been, judged by the standard of their election pledges. The Home Rule Bill, for example, gave the shadow for the substance, and could by no stretch of the imagination be considered a Democratic measure. In the interests of property it restricted the franchise; in the interests of property it created a Second Chamber; and with the land question, without the settlement of which the Irish Parliament would have been utterly powerless to ameliorate the industrial conditions of that distressful country, it gave that Parliament no power to deal. Again, the Parish Councils Act failed to provide that all revenues for the purposes of the Act should be derived from land values—a provision which would have gone far to break down the barriers of land monopoly, and to enable the labourers to obtain allotments on reasonable terms—a provision, also, which certainly comes within the spirit, if not within the letter, of the Government pledge to give full municipal powers to the London County Council and all other municipal bodies to tax land values. The allotment clauses, even as drafted by Mr. Fowler, were wholly inadequate, while the Government's pusillanimous acceptance of the Lords' amendments, by which compulsorily obtained allotments are limited to four acres, only one of which is to be arable land, practically stultified the Act as a means towards the social and industrial emancipation of the workers. Deeds, again, speak louder than words, and the creation of four "Liberal" Peers aroused considerable doubt as to the genuineness of the Liberal battle-cry, "Down with the Lords," while Lord Rosebery's utterances on the question were eminently unsatisfactory. Though inviting the Democracy to place its trust in him, he showed by his advocacy of a Second Chamber that he did not place his trust in the Democracy. If we are to have government of the people, by the people, for the people, there is no room for a Second Chamber. The Senate in the United States of America is much more powerful than our House of Lords, and has again and again proved to be a much greater obstacle in the pathway of progress; and in the Australasian Colonies the "Upper" Chambers, whether elected on a property franchise or nominated by the Government of the day, are mere bulwarks of monopoly and privilege. It stands to reason that this must be so. From the nature of the case, a Second Chamber can only do one or other of two things. It must either agree with or oppose the will of the people. If it agrees with the will of the people it is useless, a mere replica of the "Lower" Chamber, a fifth wheel to the legislative coach. If it opposes the will of the people it is dangerous.

In either case—whether useless or dangerous—it ought to be abolished. The only legislative check should be an appeal back to the people by means of the referendum.

The leadership of the party was, in short, characterised throughout by a pusillanimity, a want of backbone, a lack of inspiration and foresight truly appalling; and these characteristics were never so clearly exemplified as by the resignation of the Government in consequence of their defeat by a majority of seven on a snatch vote which in no way traversed the mandate they had received from the country.

But, in order to realise to the full their culpability, let us compare with their past three Budgets what might have been had the Liberal Government proved faithful to their election pledges. In the Newcastle programme the Liberals stand pledged to the hilt to the payment of members, the payment of election expenses, the abolition of the breakfast-table duties, and the taxation of land values. I am aware that their pledge is to place election expenses on the rates, and that it is urged that it would be unconstitutional to introduce payment of members by way of the Budget. The latter objection can only be fitly characterised as sheer nonsense—or worse. We have no Constitution, except that which has “broadened slowly down from precedent to precedent,” and to every sensible man each precedent forms an unanswerable argument for another and a better precedent. The only imaginable objection to the introduction of payment of members in the Budget is that the House of Lords could not in that case block the measure, and it would therefore be impossible to repeat the good old “Liberal” dodge of passing Bills through the House of Commons in order to make a show of zeal, while thanking God, with tongue in cheek, that there is a House of Lords. The same holds good with regard to placing returning officers’ expenses on the rates. The House of Lords would most certainly reject any measure for that purpose, while if included in the Budget they could not touch it, and the matter could be readily adjusted by simply deducting the charge from the local grants in aid from the Imperial Exchequer. I include, therefore, the payment of members and the payment of election expenses among the Budget pledges of the Government; for the Budget affords the only safe and certain method of redeeming those pledges, and had the Government meant business with regard to them, they would certainly have been introduced in their first Budget.

Had Sir William Harcourt, in the Budget of 1893, fulfilled his promises with regard to the taxation of land values by imposing upon the present value of all land the tax of 4s. in the £ now levied upon the values of 1692 (!), and bringing in a paltry £1,020,000 only, he would have netted from £32,000,000 to £10,000,000, the

rental value of the land of the United Kingdom being estimated at £160,000,000 to £200,000,000. He could then have introduced the payment of members and of election expenses, thus enabling the workers to be represented in Parliament by those of their own class; he could have abolished the breakfast-table duties, thus conferring a great boon upon every working class household; and he could have given a good instalment of old-age pensions—5s. a week to every person above the age of 55, or 10s. per week to every person above the age of 65; while the tax on land values, being levied upon the full annual value of all land, whether the land were put to use or not, would, by giving the idle hands access to the idle acres, have solved the unemployed problem. The 18,000,000 or 26,000,000 acres of land now held idle would have been forced into the market, the workers would have been able to obtain allotments on reasonable terms, and, as a consequence, agricultural wages, which now average from 8s. to 15s. per week, would have risen to 26s. or 30s. per week—the average weekly earnings of the labourers on Lord Carrington's estates, where the men obtain the land at the same rent as the farmers. "Surplus labour" would at once have been drafted from the town to the country, and the constant flow from the country to the town, which is largely, if not wholly, responsible for the present deadlock, would have been reversed. The town labour market would have been relieved, and as a result town wages would have risen proportionately, and the general conditions of labour would have been greatly improved.

All this, and more, might have been done by the Budget of 1893. It would, indeed, be difficult to exaggerate the great stimulus to trade and industry that would result from the breaking down of the barriers that now fence the land in and fence the labourer out. Sir William Harcourt, however, merely "put a penny in the slot." In other words, he put another penny on the Income Tax.

By a second Democratic Budget in 1894, Sir William Harcourt might have levied an additional 1s. in the £ on land values, which would have netted from £8,000,000 to £10,000,000 more, and would have enabled him to reduce, by that amount, the more burdensome of the taxes which now hamper trade and industry. The Budget of 1894, however, simply placed an extra 6*d.* per barrel on beer, and an extra 6*d.* per gallon on spirits; and, while professing to level up the taxation upon realty with that on personalty, Sir William Harcourt, to quote the figures used by himself in the course of the Budget debate, actually relieved the landlords of £600,000 of taxation under Schedule A of the Income Tax, and placed on them an additional £350,000 to £400,000 only under the new Death Duties. Thus, so far from taxing land values, this "Liberal" Chancellor of the Exchequer relieved the landlords of taxation to the extent of £200,000 or £250,000!

In the Budget of 1895, again, he might have imposed a further 1s. in the £ on land values, thus admitting of a further reduction of the taxes on labour and capital by £8,000,000 or £10,000,000. Instead of this, however, we had a featureless, humdrum Budget, the 6d. on beer being retained, while that on spirits was remitted.

Had Sir William Harcourt seized these golden opportunities, and established on a sure foundation the *bona fides* of his Government, by introducing three such Budgets as I have outlined above, he would, I am convinced, have aroused throughout the country such a wave of enthusiasm as would, at the recent general election, have carried him into power with a greatly increased majority—a majority that would have enabled him to tackle boldly the much-needed reform of the procedure of the House of Commons, to end “the House of Landlords,” and to carry out the many other measures to which the Liberal party stands pledged. Not only could he have done this, but by continuing the financial policy enunciated above—by raising the tax on land values by annual increments of 1s. in the £—he might in ten or twelve years have abolished the whole of the present rates and taxes, which total some £128,000,000. In sixteen years the whole of the rental value of the land would have gravitated into the public coffers, and the State could have utilised the surplus to institute a generous and comprehensive scheme of old-age pensions, to pay off our national and local debts, and to carry out much-needed public improvements.

As it is, however, the leaders of the Liberal party, whether by downright treachery or by blundering incompetence, have forfeited the confidence of the electorate; their party has been absolutely “snowed under” at the polls; we are, to all appearances, doomed to six or seven years of Tory misrule, and all hope of thoroughgoing reform is for that length of time at an end.

Not only did Sir William Harcourt fail to carry out his pledges with regard to the taxation of land values, but, from his reply during the Budget debate to those wolves in sheep’s clothing, the landlords, who have the hardihood to call themselves “the representatives of the agricultural interest,” it would seem that, so far from taxing the land “owners,” he desires to relieve them of even the small amount of taxation they at present bear.

In reply to Mr. Jeffreys, our “Liberal” Chancellor of the Exchequer said (*Times* report, May 3, 1895): “The hon. member for Hampshire complained that I said nothing to express sympathy and proposed no remedy for depression in the landed interest. It is not from any want of sympathy I said nothing; it was from a want of means. I take great interest in the depression of the landed interest; but what can I say? If I had any money to give away, they would be among the first persons who would be deserving of the sympathy of this House; but I have no money to give away. The hon. membe-

asked why I did not give away the land tax. How can I? It is a difficult question. I entirely admit that the land tax is of all taxes the most unsatisfactory, and I believe one of the first duties of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is to look into the question of the land tax with a view of putting it entirely on a new footing. I have not been able to do that this year. Of course I could not do it last year, because I had a great deal to do last year; and I cannot do it this year, because I have not the funds at my disposal to enable me to deal with it. But I have no hesitation in saying that I regard the land tax, in its present position, as altogether unsatisfactory."

How is it possible to reconcile such a declaration with the Liberal pledges as to the taxation of land values—a matter regarded as of so much importance that there are no less than three references to it in the Newcastle programme.

The Liberal party in that programme pledges itself, among other things, to give "full municipal powers for the London County Council, and all other municipalities, including the control of its own gas and water supplies, markets, and police; *the taxation of land values* and other financial reforms," and to "reform of the land laws such as will secure . . . *the just taxation of land values and ground rents . . . the taxation of mining royalties, &c., &c.*" Yet, in spite of this, our "Liberal" Chancellor of the Exchequer "takes great interest in the depression of the landed interest," and declares that, if he had any money to give away, the landlords would be among the first persons deserving of consideration!

Note also Sir William Harcourt's *naïve* assumption that "the agricultural interest" and the "landed interest" are identical. That the Tory landlord "representatives of the agricultural interest" should consider them as such is not to be wondered at, but from a Liberal statesman one expects a much higher level of intelligence than that of the Tory squire. As a matter of fact, the interests of agriculture and the interests of the landed classes are diametrically opposed, and the man who speaks of them as being identical stands at once self-convicted either of conscious hypocrisy or of the most profound ignorance of the very first principles of political economy. The veriest tyro in economics should know that no wealth is produced except by the application of labour and capital to the land; that if the whole earth was merely "owned" till doomsday no wealth would be produced; and, therefore, that whatever the landlords receive merely because they "own" the land must in the nature of things be a tax or tribute upon industry, a direct misappropriation of the earnings of others.

Moreover, it is absolutely impossible to relieve, not only agricultural depression in particular, but industrial depression in general, until the land question shall have been solved. Under present conditions the returns to labour and capital are not fixed, as should be

the case, by what they respectively produce; but, so long as the land is the subject of a close monopoly, the wages of labour and the profits of capital constantly tend to the minimum upon which the labourer will consent to live and propagate his species, and the capitalist will consent to lend his capital. If, for instance, the moon were a habitable globe with a population of 100,000 souls, 1 per cent. of whom "owned" the whole sphere, it is manifest, is it not, that the 99 per cent. would be absolutely at the mercy of that 1 per cent.—trespassers upon their property, and dependent upon their goodwill and charity for permission to live and work. They could not live in empty space; they could not draw upon the sun, or upon the earth and the other planets for their raw material. The moon would be their only standing ground, their only possible sphere of operations; it would represent to them, in fact, the whole material universe. And, the moon being "owned" by 1 per cent. of its population, the 99 per cent. would inevitably be compelled to hand over to that 1 per cent. the whole of the product of their labour above and beyond a bare subsistence. As long as that monopoly was allowed to continue, no improvement in the arts and sciences, no improvement in industrial methods, no increase in the annual wealth product, however great, could benefit the workers. The whole of the advantage would go to the lords of the moon in increased rents, and the workers would have to be content, as before, with the merest necessities of life. In fact, as we see around us to-day, the advent of machinery would throw hundreds of them out of work, and their only alternative would be pauperism or the grave.

What is so obvious in the case imagined above is equally true, if not so obvious, in England to-day. The land is in the hands of the few—one two-hundredth part of the population "own" ten-elevenths of the total area¹—and, until that monopoly is broken down, no reform, however good in itself, can remedy the depression from which we are now suffering. If the suggestions of "the representatives of the agricultural interest" were carried out; if by bimetallism or by protection we could raise the price of farm products; if by a system of light railways, paid for by the general taxpayer, we were to bring the farmer nearer to his markets; if we were to give the land tax to the counties in reduction of local rates, the whole of the benefit would go, not to the "agricultural interest" rightly so-called, not to the workers in the agricultural hive, but to the "landed interest," to the drones. If we were to establish a school of agriculture, as suggested by Mr. Jesse Collings; if farmers generally were to adopt improved methods and improved machinery; if it were possible to get twice as much work out of the labourers; even if by merely saying the word the productiveness of the soil could be

¹ Mulhall's *Dictionary of Statistics*, p. 266.

doubled, trebled, quadrupled, or multiplied a hundredfold, the result would still be the same. The land "owners," controlling the only raw material of the industry, could still force the workers to hand over to them everything above and beyond a bare subsistence wage or profit.

"Labour," says Henry George, in chapter XXV. of *Protection or Free Trade*, "may be likened to a man who, as he carries home his earnings, is waylaid by a series of robbers. One demands this much, and another that much, but last of all stands one who demands all that is left, save just enough to enable the victim to maintain life and come forth the next day to work. So long as this last robber remains, what will it benefit such a man to drive off any or all of the other robbers? Such is the situation of labour to-day throughout the civilised world. And the robber that takes all that is left, is private property in land. Improvement, no matter how great, reform, no matter how beneficial in itself, cannot help that class who, deprived of all right to the use of the natural elements, have only the power to labour—a power as useless in itself as a sail without wind, a pump without water, or a saddle without a horse."

Land reform is, therefore, the first thing needful. And it was to the taxation of land values that those of us who understand this question looked to drive off this "robber that takes all that is left."

I have dealt above with the taxation of land values as a solution of the unemployed difficulty, and it is unnecessary to go over the ground again, but the merely fiscal aspect of the single tax, as it is called, may be briefly summarised as follows:

PRESENT BURDENS OF LABOUR AND CAPITAL.

Tribute paid to idle landlords in the shape of rent	
for the bare land	£160,000,000
Rates and taxes on labour and labour products	£128,000,000
Total	£288,000,000

UNDER SINGLE TAX.

Tribute paid to idle landlords	Nil
Rent paid to the State in the form of a tax on land values	£160,000,000
Rates and taxes on labour and labour products	Nil
Total	£160,000,000

A clear gain of £128,000,000 a year, to say nothing of the reduction in rent that would follow the forcing into the market of the millions of acres now held idle.

Let us also draw up a special balance sheet for agriculture. It would run roughly as follows:

PRESENT BURDENS OF AGRICULTURE.

Rent paid to idle landlords for right of access to the bare land	£57,000,000
Rates and taxes paid by the farmer and the labourer, say	£10,000,000
Total	£97,000,000

UNDER SINGLE TAX.

Rent paid to idle landlords	Nil.
Rent paid to the State in the form of a tax on land values	£57,000,000
Rates and taxes on labour and capital	Nil.
Total	£57,000,000

A clear gain to the workers in the agricultural hive of £10,000,000 a year, without taking into account the great reduction in rent that would follow the elimination of the monopolistic and speculative element.

To excuse the introduction of so humdrum and featureless a Budget as that of 1895 Sir William Harcourt said: "I have not aimed at an eventful Budget. The financial situation neither required nor would have justified such an undertaking. The slight adjustment I have proposed will establish the equilibrium of the national account. It is, no doubt, to me a great disappointment—as it must be to the country—that what would have been a surplus of £2,000,000, available for the relief of taxation, has been swallowed up by the insatiable demands of increased expenditure, and that, with a largely augmented revenue, we are only just able to make both ends meet. But, in that position of things, it appears to me to be sound finance to disturb as little as possible for the present the existing fiscal system. After the large and far-reaching changes which were made in the Budget of last year a period of rest is required to develop and establish its results." Yet in the debate that followed the Budget statement he said: "I am bound to say with reference to the financial condition of the country, that in my belief in the growth of the expenditure of the country you have very nearly reached the limits of tolerable taxation." How can two such statements be reconciled either with each other or with common-sense? "You have very nearly reached the limits of tolerable taxation," says the Chancellor of the Exchequer; therefore, forsooth, "I have not aimed at an eventful Budget. The financial situation neither required nor would have justified such a thing. . . . And it appears to me to be sound finance to disturb as little as possible the existing fiscal system"—a system under which the burdens upon trade and industry are so great that the limits of

tolerable taxation have very nearly been reached, and the labour and capital of the country are all but breaking down under the strain! Those who believe in honesty in politics will, I fancy, consider that, whatever the financial situation may or may not have required or justified, the election pledges of the Liberal Government required a thorough-going democratic Budget, and that nothing could justify their repeated refusal to redeem their Budget pledges. What "the large and far-reaching changes which were made in the Budget of last year" amounted to we have already seen. And nothing could well be more disingenuous than the assumption that the swallowing-up of the surplus of £2,000,000 put an end to all chance of relieving the taxpayer. During the early months of the present year Sir William Harcourt was bombarded with post-cards showing that by imposing the land-tax of 4s. in the pound upon the present value of all land he would net from £32,000,000 to £40,000,000 with which to relieve taxation and carry out his other Budget pledges; but, beyond a sneer at "amateur financiers" in his Derby speech, he took no notice of those who were so inconsiderate as to remind him of pledges which he no doubt wishes were buried in oblivion. The limits of tolerable taxation have certainly been very nearly reached, if not very considerably overstepped, on the old lines; but on the lines above indicated that is far from being the case. As a matter of fact, a tax of 20s. in the pound might at once be levied on land values in addition to all the present rates and taxes, without increasing by one iota the burdens on labour and capital. On the contrary, such a tax, by forcing into the market the millions of acres of land now held idle, would lower rents very considerably, so that the burdens on labour and capital would actually be diminished. Happily, the financial condition of the country necessitates no such extreme course; but, as I have pointed out above, the taxation of land values affords a source of revenue from which we may not only meet all reasonable demands for increased expenditure, but raise sufficient funds to gradually abolish all the rates and taxes now levied on labour and the products of labour.

It is, I feel sure, the failure of the Liberal Government to redeem their pledges in this direction that has resulted in such an overwhelming victory for the forces of reaction, privilege, and monopoly. Not that one tithe of the electorate understands the far-reaching and beneficial effects of such a reform as the taxation of land values, but because it affords the only source of revenue from which the funds can be derived to relieve taxation and to institute the other reforms I have mentioned, and because it is the one means by which our pressing social and industrial problems can be solved. The people looked to the Government to solve these difficulties, the Government utterly failed to do so, and hence these tears.

It is no use, however, crying over spilt milk. We Radicals must be up and doing. During the seven long years of Tory misrule that, barring accidents, lie before us, the stern logic of events will do much to awaken the workers from their apathy with regard to economics, but we also must do our part. We must have a definite programme to lay before them, and every man amongst us must be ready, when occasion demands, with a reason for the faith that is in him. This means much patient, persistent, educational work, and it is with the object of bringing things to a focus that I have suggested as the Radical rallying cry the thorough-going democratic Budget I have outlined above. A Budget must be passed each year, so it need not interfere with the other items on the Radical programme; and whatever order may be assigned to the other reforms, adult suffrage—one man one vote, one woman one vote—should certainly occupy the foremost place. I say adult suffrage advisedly, because the many vested wrongs we have to fight are strongly entrenched, our votes are our only weapons, and giving the women the vote means doubling the voting strength of the workers, the interests of whose mothers, wives, and daughters are identical with their own.

Whether these things shall be or no depends wholly upon the workers. The ballot gives them the power to make or unmake governments, and if they and their leaders would only awake from their lethargy and carefully study these questions, they could at the next General Election return a staunch democratic majority determined to carry in the very first session of Parliament a Budget taxing present land values at 1s. in the pound, and securing the payment of members, the payment of election expenses, the abolition of the breakfast-table duties, and old-age pensions—a majority such as could force the hands of the Whig clique now at the head of the party, and compel them either to carry out their Newcastle pledges, or, like Mr. Chamberlain, desert to the Tory party—the true party for all who sympathise with the landed interest and uphold monopoly and privilege.

ARTHUR WITBY.

CANADA AND HER RELATIONS TO THE EMPIRE.

THE British Empire has grown with great rapidity, and the relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies have been constantly changing. Canada is one of the oldest colonies, and yet her history can only be said to fairly commence with the migration of the United Empire Loyalists at the close of the American Revolution in 1783. A little over one hundred years have elapsed and how many changes have occurred. In 1784, the loyal exiles, who had lost everything by standing true to the Motherland, were practically wards of the State. Tools and other necessities had to be provided by the Imperial Government, and for a time the population was necessarily fed, or partly fed, by rations distributed by Imperial officers. The Provision Lists of this date are a most pathetic feature of our records, containing as they do the names of the very best and wealthiest classes of the old colonies—educated, refined, and law-abiding citizens, who had lost the savings of generations through their loyalty to the Empire.

After this period came the establishment of Upper Canada as a Province under the Act of 1791. This Act gave the people certain self-governing powers, but provided for an irresponsible executive. With the growth of population and means came the desire for responsible government, and for the fuller control of local affairs. This came in 1840 with the Union of Upper and Lower Canada. In 1867, the Confederation of the Dominion was accomplished, and almost imperceptibly with the increased territory, population and strength, Canada has acquired far greater powers. In a little over one hundred years she has developed from the condition of a wilderness, containing in its recesses a few thousand settlers governed by Crown officers, into a vast Dominion with an immense area, with 5,000,000 of people, with the fifth largest mercantile marine in the world, with 15,320 miles of railway, with excellent postal and telegraphic communications, and with all the other requirements of modern civilisation. Her voice is now heard sometimes in international questions where her interests are affected.

Canada is independently governed as far as relates to all local affairs; but in international matters, and sea defence, the Mother

Country has retained the control in her own hands. As she gives us no representation, she has not asked us to contribute to diplomatic, consular, or naval expenses generally. This being the case, Canada is at present, in international affairs, entirely under the control of the Home Government. Her interests and future prospects might be seriously and permanently injured, or greatly benefited, by the action of the Foreign Office, in proportion as the officials in charge of affairs either misunderstood or thoroughly appreciated her position.

It is a matter, therefore, of most serious import to Canada, that the public mind in England should understand somewhat of Canadian feeling and Canadian interests. The great Empire built up by our fathers can only be held together by mutual confidence, by kindly feeling, by national pride, and by common interest. Misunderstandings must be avoided. Canada in the past has suffered great and irreparable injury by the want of knowledge among English statesmen and people of the condition of affairs on this continent.

Misunderstandings, negligence, ignorance, what Lord Charles Beresford describes as the "savage stupidity of the British Government of 1774-1776," led to the loss by the Empire of the thirteen colonies. But it meant more to the loyal adherents to the Crown in those colonies. It meant to about 100,000 of them exile and the loss of their possessions. It meant hardships, sufferings, privation, and want—

"Dear were their homes where they were born ;
Where slept their honoured dead,
And rich and wide
On every side
The fruitful acres spread ;
But dearer to their faithful hearts
Than home, or gold, or lands,
Were Britain's laws, and Britain's Crown,
And Britain's flag of long renown,
And grip of British hands."

So they went penniless to Canada, while Lord Shelburne and Benjamin Franklin, between them, arranged the treaty of peace. Then, at the outset, Canada suffered, and has suffered ever since, from the first misunderstanding. Franklin at once began to play upon the weakness of Lord Shelburne. He sent agents to London, and professed the greatest of friendliness. The United States were to be friendly for ever to England, but, as a mark of good feeling, England was to give way in everything to the Americans. Canada then extended down the Ohio and up the Mississippi to the Lake of the Woods. There was no doubt on this point, and English troops held the most important posts. Franklin was anxious to get this immense territory, and played upon Lord Shelburne's desire for "reconciliation" and free trade with great astuteness.

Unfortunately our forefathers, the Loyalists of the Revolution, were then fugitives, without money or influence. Their interests were entirely ignored by Lord Shelburne, who believed that the bonus with which he was endowing the New Republic would create a lasting peace, and preserve not only the friendship of the United States, but freedom in their markets for English manufactures for ever. In this belief the Empire lost a territory of most fertile land much larger than Germany.

The same misunderstanding of Lord Shelburne led him to sacrifice our interests by giving the United States certain rights over our fisheries. Franklin's remark, "You know that we shall bring the greatest part of the fish to Great Britain to pay for your manufactures," was too much for Lord Shelburne, and the Canadians from that day to this have suffered from his credulity.

The Loyalists were also sacrificed in this treaty, the provision that Congress would urge the States Legislatures to grant to them amnesty and redress being an empty pretence which led to nothing. Another result of the mistaken belief of English statesmen in the "friendliness" and good faith of the United States.

Thus, at the close of the war, with about 270,000 square miles of the best part of Canada given away to their enemies, with their fisheries opened to those who had wronged them, deprived of all their worldly effects, and driven from their homes, these true friends of England entered upon the almost hopeless task of re-establishing British power on this continent. They plunged into the wilderness, and were lost to sight. They had no roads, no towns, no villages, no shops, no newspapers, no printing presses, no means of recording their wrongs, save by tradition. Their history has been written by their enemies, and for a hundred years English writers have generally made it the fashion to ignore these brethren of their race, while their energies in writing on Transatlantic topics have been devoted to belauding the American Republic.

After many years of hardship to these Loyalists, the great struggle between England and Napoleon came on. England was fighting for her life against almost the whole of Europe, and then the first opportunity arrived for the United States to show their "friendliness." At once the feeling of hostility became manifest. The pretended cause of quarrel was one the Canadians had nothing to do with. The Orders in Council were passed by the English Government in the English interest alone, and on this pretext the United States declared war.

In Upper Canada a scant population of 70,000, with only 1500 regular troops at the outset, faced the attacks of a country with a population of about 8,000,000, which, during the war, placed under arms no less than 86,000 regular troops, and 471,622 militia and volunteers, or a total of over 556,000. Once more in an English

war the Loyalists and their sons had to fight for three years to uphold the British flag on this continent. Practically almost every able-bodied man in Canada was under arms. Our fields were laid waste, and many of our villages burned; but at Detroit, Queenston Heights, Stoney Creek, Lundy's Lane, Chrysler's Farm, Chateauguay, and other fields the Canadian Militia and their British comrades faced as heavy odds and won as brilliant victories as are inscribed in the annals of our race. At the close of the war we were victorious. The enemy did not hold one inch of our territory, while their capital city had been captured by an English army, and the public buildings destroyed, in retaliation for the destruction of the public buildings of the capital of Upper Canada.

Mismanagement and the want of knowledge of Canadian affairs on the part of the Colonial Office, brought on the dissatisfaction which culminated in the so-called Rebellion of 1837, a paltry affair put down in a few days by the loyal Militia in Upper Canada, without the aid of a single British soldier, and with little or no loss. Then for nearly two years the whole of our Southern border was subjected to inroads of filibusters from the United States, and many of our people were killed in defending the Frontier. The Select Committee of the Legislature of Upper Canada reported to the House of Assembly in 1838 :

"The occupation and conquest of Texas in the South, and the assembling of an armed force on its eastern frontier, openly recruited in its principal cities and towns, commanded by its citizens, and by them also supplied with arms, ammunition, clothing, money and provisions, and transported in the presence of (if not encouraged by) its magistrates and public officers, in steamboats and other vessels into this province, and landed in it for the avowed purpose of overthrowing the Government, and wresting the Colony from the Crown of Great Britain, sufficiently proves that if the countries bordering on the United States desire to protect themselves from the inroads of freebooters, pirates, fugitive traitors and outlaws, they must look for security to their own fleets and armies, and not to the honourable forbearance of the American people, or the efficiency or moral influence of their Government."

In 1842 the Maine boundary question became so strained that Lord Ashburton was sent out by the British Government to arrange a treaty. He was a weak, well-meaning man, who had been intimately associated with the United States by commercial and family relations. He knew little or nothing of Canada, and yet our interests were in his hands. Through his want of knowledge and weakness, the State of Maine cuts up into our territory like a dog's tooth, and stands a lasting monument of the sacrifice of Canadian rights. Daniel Webster, the American Commissioner, suppressed the evidence which was in his possession, showing our undoubted

right to the disputed territory, and deliberately, in writing, expressed to Lord Ashburton his confidence in the validity of the American claim. This seems to have been enough for Lord Ashburton. After the treaty was agreed upon, the United States Senate demurred to ratifying it, and Mr. Webster allowed Senator Rives to lay before the Senate, in secret session, the proofs that an unfair treaty had been secured, and the Senate then ratified it, knowing it was obtained by dishonest methods.*

In 1854 Lord Elgin effected a reciprocity treaty with the United States, by which in return for the right of fishing in our waters, reciprocal free trade was permitted in certain articles between Canada and the States. This lasted twelve years, and as soon as our business relations had become closely interlaced, the treaty was summarily brought to an end. It was not that the treaty was disadvantageous to the United States, for the exports to Canada were greater than the imports from the Provinces. It was openly declared that it was abrogated in the hope that commercial disaster and financial ruin would drive us into annexation. This attempt failed. The loyalty of the race that had always stood by the Crown—a loyalty baptized in blood on many a hard-fought field—was not to be affected by sordid motives. The scattered provinces came together under the stress of foreign hostility, and Confederation was the outcome.

The next incident in American aggression was the Fenian movement of 1866. For years preparations had been going on in the States—a public organisation was effected, a President and Senate appointed, and an Irish Republic without a territory, was formally proclaimed. The public offices of State of this so-called Republic were filled up, a large mansion in New York rented, and the Irish flag hoisted over it. The Secretary of the Treasury of the New Republic issued a large amount of bonds which were readily sold, and Fenian troops were organised, uniformed, armed and openly drilled in the towns and cities of the United States. In May, 1866,

* A very full account of this transaction will be found in *The Last Forty Years, or Canada since the Union in 1841*. By John Charles Dent, F.R.C.S. Published by George Virtue, Toronto. 1881. 2 vols. The details will be found in pages 203 to 213 of the first volume. They show that Daniel Webster had in his possession a *facsimile* of a map showing the true boundary as settled in 1783, marked in red ink by Benjamin Franklin, the United States Commissioner. He suppressed this map and produced another map which gave to the United States a large portion of British territory. When the Senate afterwards in secret session demurred to ratifying it, Webster authorised Mr. Rives, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, to produce the map which proved that he had secured a large area which did not belong to the United States, and then the Senate ratified it. This was on the 17th August, 1842, only eight days after the signing of the Ashburton Treaty. The Senate subsequently dissolved the injunction of secrecy and authorised the publication of Mr. Rives' speech. See Dent, vol. i., pp. 209, 210, 211.

Dr. Kingsford, in his *History of Canada*, vol. vii., p. 159, speaking of this, says, "We came out of the negotiations serious losers; but no national reproach of meanness and wrong rises unbidden to wrong our consciences. It is a question if a high-minded citizen of the United States can, with complacency, contemplate the proceedings of his Government on this occasion."

these organised bodies moved openly upon Canada. The railways furnished special facilities for their transport to the border—about 30,000 men were altogether thrown upon our frontier, and large numbers crossed at several points. They were promptly driven out, and not until the movement had failed did the United States Government take any action to preserve their neutrality.

Le Caron describes an interview he and General O'Neill, the Fenian leader, had with President Johnson at the White House, when Johnson said to O'Neill :

"Now I want you to understand that my sympathies are entirely with you, and anything which lies in my power I am willing to do to assist you ; but you must remember that I gave you five full days, before issuing any proclamation stopping you. What in God's name more did you want ? If you could not get there in five days, by God, you could never get there ; and then, as President, I was compelled to enforce the neutrality laws, or be denounced on every side."

These Fenian raids cost many valuable Canadian lives. Three honour men of our University, in the same volunteer company, were killed in action, fighting in the ranks as private soldiers. They cost us also millions of money, and a large loss in the disturbance of business. During the American Civil War, the *Alabama* escaped by accident, unarmed, from a British port, and being afterwards fitted out as a war vessel, fought on behalf of the Confederate States, and did considerable damage to the United States mercantile marine. A claim was at once made by the United States Government upon the British Government for redress, and damages were demanded. After much negotiation, a High Joint Commission, to consider this and other questions, was appointed, and our Premier, Sir John Macdonald, was named as one of the five British Commissioners.

In his letters from Washington, Sir John Macdonald throws much light upon the inner history of the negotiations. In one of his earliest letters to his colleagues, he says :

"Having nearly made up my mind that the Americans want everything, and will give us nothing in exchange, one of my chief aims now is, to convince the British Commissioners of the unreasonableness of the Yankees. This they are beginning to find out, and are a good deal disappointed." On April 1, 1871, he writes, "I must say I am greatly disappointed at the course taken by the British Commissioners. They seem to have only one thing on their minds, that is, to go home to England with a treaty in their pockets, settling everything, no matter at what cost to Canada.

The treaty was bad enough. The United States succeeded in making the Arbitrators, appointed to fix the amount of the *Alabama* claims, believe that their citizens had suffered losses to the extent of \$15,000,000. This was promptly paid by England. The United

States then paid all the losses, which amounted to about \$6,000,000, leaving about \$9,000,000 which they had secured for losses that were never sustained. This money is still in their Treasury.

Canada did not get her Fenian claims, which were founded upon the most flagrant breach of international law on the part of the United States. At the end of the term provided by the treaty the United States gave the necessary notice for the abrogation of the fishery clauses. Other attempts soon followed to embarrass us, and to coerce or coax us into closer relations with the United States. Efforts to annex the West Indian Islands, or to make treaties with them discriminating against Canada and the Mother Country, failed.

Although the Washington Government had themselves abrogated the fishery clauses, and deprived us of the right we had under them of free entry for our fish in the American market, they still claimed the right to fish in our waters, which had been granted to them upon that condition. Our Canadian Government was firm, and prohibited the fishing. After much warlike talk, a temporary *modus vivendi* was granted to the Americans, and the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain and Sir Charles Tupper were sent to negotiate a settlement. A treaty was agreed upon, but the United States Senate promptly repudiated the action of their Government, and refused to ratify it. President Cleveland, in his anger at the Senate, determined to punish somebody. Once more Canada was to be the scapegoat. He issued his famous Retaliation message of 1888, threatening all kinds of dire vengeance upon the Canadian people. The absolute injustice of this is proved by the President's own statement :

"I fully believe the treaty just rejected by the Senate was well suited to the exigency, and that its provisions were adequate for our security in the future from vexatious incidents, and for the promotion of friendly neighbourhood and intimacy, without sacrificing in the least our national pride and dignity."

The McKinley Bill was the next manifestation of American "friendliness." It was aimed, of course, at all foreign countries, but as against Canada it was especially severe, in fact almost prohibitive. The import statistics were carefully studied, and on all that Canada sold exceptionally heavy increases were made in the tariff. Barley, eggs, horses and cattle were taxed, so as to almost totally destroy Canadian trade in those products; the belief in the States was that a prolonged dose of McKinleyism would bring Canada into the Union. The Canadians, who had seen their interests constantly sacrificed to propitiate American friendship, now saw nearly one-half of their export trade practically cut off, because they would not agree to discriminate against England. They did not falter, however, or waver in their allegiance. They turned their attention to other markets and their efforts to other

lines of production. What would you in England think if a coalition of enemies were suddenly to attempt to cut off half your export trade?

For a number of years Canadians from our Western coast have been engaged in seal hunting in the Pacific Ocean and in the Behring Sea. This gave another opportunity for American aggression upon Canadian rights. Our vessels flying the flag of our Empire were captured on the high seas, far from land, and their property forcibly taken from them by war vessels of the United States. Diplomatic remonstrances on the part of the British Government against these insults to her flag caused the United States to treat with our representatives for some friendly solution of the difficulty. An understanding was arrived at. This time it was not the Senate that broke off the negotiations, but the President. Mr. Harrison, who repudiated the action of his Secretary of State, and announced that he was sending war vessels to the Behring Seas, to renew the seizure of British vessels. Fortunately the then British Premier was a capable man, of Imperial instincts, and on June 14, 1890, the ultimatum of the British Government was presented:

"The undersigned is in consequence instructed formally to protest against such interference, and to declare that Her Britannic Majesty's Government must hold the Government of the United States responsible for the consequences that may ensue from acts which are contrary to the established principles of international law."

This firm tone and the emphatic verbal statements which, it is said, were conveyed to the United States Government by the British Ambassador, followed, as they were, by large increases to the fleets on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, as well as by other preparations in Bermuda and the West Indies, had the same effect as Lord Palmerston's firmness in the Trent affair. No more vessels were seized, and arrangements were soon made for the arbitration which was held not long since in Paris.

Thanks to the kind feeling and liberality of the British Government, we were represented on the Board of Arbitration by our late Premier, Sir John Thompson.

A striking instance of the method of American negotiation has been given in the action of Daniel Webster on the Maine boundary, in concealing conclusive evidence and urging fraudulent claims, knowing them to be so. The Behring Sea negotiation is even still more unfortunate. The most important point in the United States contention was based upon the Russian dispatches and papers of the year 1820. These papers were translated by order of the United States Government, and published in their formal statement of their case. In these translations were a large number of interpolations and errors so glaring, that, as the British counter case states,

"some person had deliberately falsified the translations in a sense favourable to the contentions of the United States."¹ A large number of affidavits were also published. Upon investigation, the strangest and most unaccountable mistakes were found. One United States agent appeared as having signed affidavits on the same day at Victoria and San Francisco, 1000 miles apart. Another received attestations on the same day at Kodiak and San Francisco, 1680 miles apart.² Some persons alleged to have made affidavits, swore positively they did not do so.³ The United States were obliged to withdraw all that part of their case, although they did not withdraw their claims based upon it.⁴ The large sum awarded to our sealers for damages, and agreed to by the Washington Government, has not yet been paid by Congress, although it has been requested by the President to do so.

The want of knowledge of American and Canadian affairs in England is easily explained. The English people know absolutely nothing about the masses of the American people. Those Americans only who are possessed of considerable means travel in Europe. Those who have means are either the descendants of wealthy families who have inherited fortunes, or are energetic, industrious, and capable men who have been successful in business. The great masses of the people do not cross the Atlantic. Of those who do cross, those who are friendly to England go there, while the greater portion practically avoid it, and travel upon the Continent. Of those visiting England, only the best, as a rule, get an introduction into English society; and from these the choicest of the American better classes, the English form their opinion of the people of the United States. They do not know that this class is out of sympathy with the masses of their fellow-countrymen, and are despised and disliked at home for their friendliness to England. In fact, the distinctive term "*Anglomaniac*" has been given to the type. The ordinary American dislikes and despises an *Anglomaniac* about as much as a Russian official would dislike a *Nihilist*, or a French shopkeeper an *Anarchist*. Those *Anglomaniacs*, who are really the best people in the United States, no doubt feel friendly to England, and they find it much more pleasant and polite to tell their English friends of the kindly feeling they bear to England, than to dilate upon the hostility of the masses of their fellow-countrymen. The British people should understand, however, that this class has about as much influence upon American politics as the foreign lodgers in

¹ *Behring Sea Arbitration*: Counter Case, presented by British Government to the Tribunal of Arbitration. Presented to Parliament, March, 1893, pp. 4, 5.

² *Behring Sea Arbitration*. Argument of British Government to Tribunal. Presented to Parliament, March, 1893, pp. 148, 149, and references.

³ *British Counter Case*, above referred to, p. 198. See also Appendix, vol. ii. pp. 140, 165.

⁴ *British Counter Case*, p. 5.

the neighbourhood of Leicester Square have upon the politics or public opinion of England.

This erroneous idea of American "friendliness," and the indifference of the English people to the interests of their own Empire on this Continent, have sent an immense amount of capital, and an enormous emigration, to develop and strengthen a foreign country, while Canada, in comparison, has been neglected, and has always been obliged to fight an uphill fight alongside of her powerful rival. When a distinguished English author wishes to establish a colony for young Englishmen, he does not choose a spot in Canada, Australia, or South Africa, where these young men could live under their own flag, and retain their allegiance, but he chooses a place among the hills of Tennessee, under an alien flag and alien institutions.

The English press is often used for attacks upon Canada. A remarkable instance of this appeared in the *Contemporary Review* of last January, from the pen of Mr. Goldwin Smith, in an article on the Ottawa Conference. He says very little about the Conference, but devotes the greater part of the article to harsh criticism of Canada and Canadian interests in general. There are many inaccuracies and unfair conclusions, and the whole tone of the article is so hostile to Canada as to have an injurious effect upon the minds of those Englishmen whose knowledge of Canada is derived from reading instead of from personal observation.

It is hardly necessary to refer to the sneering tone in which the Conference is dealt with, or to the extraordinary objection that the delegates "were accredited, not by the Legislatures, or by the people of the Colonies at large, but only by the Government." This is on a par with the second objection, viz., that the Conference dealt with the questions they had been called together to discuss, and omitted to discuss other subjects that Mr. Smith thought they should have dealt with. Because they did not consider the question of defence, he concludes, "Morally speaking, we may take it as pretty well settled, that the Colonies will not contribute to the defence of the Empire," and yet in a postscript to the same article he refers to a subsequent offer of assistance to England in case of war, from the Canadian Government, of their permanent force, and only does so, to sneer at the fact that the force is not a large one.

He says, "A body of French Militia was despatched with the military of British Canada to put down the French half-breed rebellion; but it was not sent to the front, and both the colonels being politicians, retired from the theatre of war." This statement is not true. Two regiments of French Canadians went to the North-West. One colonel at the very outset was obliged to return to Ottawa for several reasons, the most important being severe illness. He left with the approval of General Strange, commanding. On reaching Ottawa, finding that his absence occasioned

comment, although very ill, suffering from internal hemorrhage, he returned and served through the campaign. The other colonel served through the whole affair. As to the statement that they were not sent to the front, Mr. Smith should have known that a French Canadian Militia regiment was engaged and suffered losses in the fight at Frenchman's Butte, the furthest point where there was fighting. Canadians of English origin, remembering the gallant services of the French in 1775, and in 1812-13-14, when they fought beside our fathers on the same fields, and under the same flag, deeply resent these unfounded sneers at our fellow-countrymen. General Strange, who commanded the column, says :

"The 65th. who had borne the brunt of the marching for 500 miles, having been in the first advance, had tramped the soles off their boots, some were literally barefoot, others with muddy, blood-stained rags tied round their feet." And yet Goldwin Smith says "No French regiment went to the front."

Again Mr. Smith says, "Great Britain then has fair notice that the burden of Imperial defence, especially the naval part of it, is to be borne by her alone." Who gave her this notice? Are Mr. Smith's statements about the French to be construed as an intimation to Great Britain? Great Britain has had no such notice, for the fact of the Conference dealing with the special subjects they were called to discuss is no proof of what they might have done on other questions.

Great Britain knows that in 1776, in 1812, in the Fenian troubles, all of which were Imperial quarrels, the "burden of Imperial defence" was not "borne by her alone." In the Trent affair, certainly an Imperial, not a Canadian quarrel, what happened? Every man in Canada willing to fight—people drilling in every town and village, business seriously affected, but no man complaining that it was an English quarrel. The flag of our fathers had been insulted, and our British blood was roused as yours was, and no one thought of the cost.

We are contributing towards the construction and guarding of the Naval Station at Esquimalt, and yet Mr. Goldwin Smith says Great Britain has fair notice that we will do nothing

The fact of the Canadian Pacific Railway being of any service to the Empire is a very sore subject with Mr. Smith, and his attacks upon it tend very much to mislead the English mind upon the subject. We will hardly take him as the highest authority upon what is the best line of Military and Naval Communication, but he says: "It is assumed that the Canadian Pacific Railway, which forms the means of transit, is entirely within British territory and therefore perfectly secure," and then he proceeds as follows: "The Canadian Pacific Railway is not entirely within territory even nominally British. It passes through the State of Maine, &c."

In speaking of the transit across the Continent, as an alternative

route to the East, the main line of the Canadian Pacific is always referred to, and of the main line, which runs from Quebec to Vancouver, every mile is on Canadian territory. The road has a connection, by the Montreal and Atlantic, with the New England railways, and the "short line" branch runs through the State of Maine. It also controls two railways in the Western States as feeders to its system, but is it fair to place such a misleading statement before the British public? In summer, Quebec would always be used to tranship, in winter Halifax would be used, and the International which meets the Canadian Pacific Railway at Quebec. We have complete transcontinental railway communication, both in winter and summer, within our own territory, from our seaports on the Atlantic to our seaports on the Pacific, and Mr. Goldwin Smith knows this as well as does any Canadian.

He talks of snow-blocks, avalanches and floods. There was an exceptional flood, greater than ever before known, last spring, and traffic was suspended for a short time. A similar flood is not likely to occur again; even if it did, the alterations in the line, and other precautions which have since been taken, would guard against a recurrence of the difficulty. Several of the transcontinental lines suffered far more seriously. The road is also comparatively free from snow-blocks. Even in Great Britain railways are often blocked by snowstorms, as they have been this winter, yet it would be absurd to say that because snow-blocks had sometimes occurred, the English and Scotch railways would not be of use for moving troops from one part of the country to the other, in case of threatened invasion.

Another remarkable statement is that, "left to themselves, the Americans have not the slightest inclination either to attack England or to aggress upon Canadian independence." This denial of American hostility to England and the Empire is curious, coming as it does from the writer of the article on "The Hatred of England" in the *North American Review* of May, 1890. In this article Mr. Smith, speaking of the Anglophobia among the Americans, says:

"It stands seriously in the way of any attempt to effect a reunion of the English-speaking race upon this Continent. British Canadians love a Mother Country which has never wilfully given them any cause for complaint, and they take hostility to her as hostility to them. . . ." Again he says: "It is too certain that there is a genuine as well as a factitious Anglophobia. . . . The mass of the people are not well informed: they read the old story and imbibe the old hatred." Again: "The wound still bleeds in the popular histories which form the sentiments of the people. . . . A generation at least will probably pass before the popular version will conform itself to the scientific version, and before Americans, who read no annals but their own, will cease, historically at least, to identify patriotism with hostility to Great Britain. . . ." Again:

"I could mention American authors whose writings would be charming to me if the taste of Anglophobia were not always coming, like the taste of garlic in Italian cookery, to offend the palate of the English reader. . . . Nor in the English press is there anything corresponding to the anti-British tone—I use a very mild expression—of American journalism." Again he says: "The Indian Empire is the regular theme of Anglophobists. They never mention it without giving utterance to burning words about the oppression of the Hindoo." And he concludes: "I have said that there is no pervading antipathy to America in British literature or in the British press. . . . Therefore, whatever warrant or dignity hatred may derive from reciprocation is certainly wanting in this case."

There are proofs without limit of this hostile feeling. The action of both political parties in 1888 showed that both felt the great importance of pandering to this feeling against England.

The *New York Sun's* review of the year 1894 is a striking illustration of the anti-British tone of American journalism referred to by Mr. Smith. The article shows a very unfriendly feeling towards England. The statement is made that in America "the hatred of Great Britain is deep-rooted and unslakable," and expression is given to the following sentiments: "The auspicious and ideal coalition, from the point of view of the American Republic, would be one between Russia, Germany and France, for the partition of the British Empire; nothing could withstand such a coalition, and there would be spoils enough for all; nor is there any doubt that Canada, and probably the British West Indies, would fall to us, in recognition of the undisguised delight with which we should survey the ruin of our hereditary foe."

The extract is very significant, from the fact that the *New York Sun* is the foremost advocate of annexation, and is practically the organ of the Continental Union Association on both sides of the boundary. Mr. C. A. Dana, who is said to be the treasurer of the funds of the American wing of the organisation, is the editor of the *Sun*, while Mr. Goldwin Smith, who is the honorary president of the Canadian wing of the organisation, is a frequent contributor to its columns.

Mr. Goldwin Smith's suggestions as to how the United States could destroy our railways with dynamite, pointing out as he does what he considers the weak points, are quite unnecessary. He is not known as an authority on the art of war. He asks, "Will the Canadians who have remained at home arm against their kinsmen on the other side of the line? . . . Will the Irish of Montreal and Toronto arm, in a British quarrel, against the Irish of New York and Chicago?"

Our only recent experience on these points was during the Fenian raids of 1866, when not only did Canadians come home from every

part of the Union to help in the defence of their native land, but Irish Roman Catholics also in numbers served with their fellow-Canadians in the same cause. There are in the United States about 1,200,000 people who were born in Great Britain. Will it be said that the men of England and Scotland would not arm in defence of Great Britain, in case of war with the United States, because a million of their kinsmen had thrown in their lot with the foreigner? The idea is absurd; and yet Mr. Goldwin Smith makes that insinuation against Canadians, whose whole past history is a protest against any such statement.

Admitting that there were only a quarter of a million of people in the North-West in 1894, it is wonderful progress when we remember that the Canadian Pacific Railway, giving convenient access to it, was only opened in the fall of 1885, less than ten years ago. The statement that, as a wheat-growing speculation, the region had failed, is most unfair. Manitoba wheat has no superior, and the crop last year was 17,000,000 bushels. Wheat-growing pays as well in the North-West as in other countries, for the price at present is everywhere depressed.

Mr. Smith also says: "The prediction that the Canadian Pacific Railway would never pay for the grease on its wheels has in fact proved too true. The *New York World Almanack* for 1895 contains the report of the Canadian Pacific for 1893; it is as follows:

Total earnings	\$20,962,317
Operating expenses	13,220,901
Net earnings	7,741,416
Add interest	209,863
Total income	\$7,951,279
Fixed charges	5,338,597
Surplus	\$2,612,682

This last year there has been a very large falling off in the receipts of the Canadian Pacific Railway owing to the world-wide commercial depression; but this is likely to be only temporary in its effects.

From the same Almanac we find that in the ten years from 1884 to 1893 inclusive, no less than 309 railroads in the United States, with total stock and bond debts of \$3,875,581,000, had been fore-closed, or placed in the hands of receivers. These roads have a mileage of 74,312 miles, out of the total for the United States of 175,441 miles.

Mr. Goldwin Smith does not put forward his own opinion on the strength of the annexation party in Canada, but quotes from Max O'Rell, a stranger, who spent a few days or perhaps weeks in the country. Mr. Goldwin Smith, being honorary president of the

Continental Union Club and the principal contributor to its funds on this side of the boundary line, knows that the party, with the single exception of himself, consists of only a few score of dissatisfied impecunious men, without either reputation or influence.

Canadians are not likely to favour annexation. Their whole traditions, their national spirit, their respect for the dead that have gone before, everything that would appeal to honour or sentiment, forbid such an idea. On material grounds, everything is against it. Our people are a moral, law-abiding people. Compare the criminal statistics, according to the *Chicago Tribune's* returns (the best available), we find that there were 3567 murders in the United States in 1889, 6615 in 1893, and 9800 in 1894. The number lynched in 1894 was 190, of whom four were women; the number legally executed in that year up to October, 112.

The murders per 10,000,000 of population per annum in 1893 were, England 126, Austria 150, France 175, Spain 700, Italy 825, and the United States 1500 in 1894. As the United States statistics are more comprehensive than the European, probably for a comparison, 1200 would be a fairer estimate. In Canada, in the year ending September 30, 1893, twenty-two persons were charged with murder, and thirty-four with manslaughter, or a total of fifty-six for 5,000,000 people, or 112 per 10,000,000 per annum, the best record of them all. Lynching is unknown in Canada. The amount of money stolen by embezzlers and defaulters in the United States in 1894 amounted to \$25,234,112. The widespread distress and depression in the United States, the fact that our share in paying the pension fund of \$140,000,000, would be \$10,000,000 per annum, or more than the interest of our gross debt of \$300,000,000, all tend to show that annexation cannot appeal to the Canadian people on any ground, either moral or material. No wonder Mr. Smith quotes a French traveller as his authority for the extent of the annexation party. And yet his articles are read in England as conveying information on Canadian questions.

Mr. Smith says: "A Canadian politician in England spouts loyalty like a geyser. The same man in Canada is the chief author of a tariff, which has for its main object the capture of protectionist votes by the exclusion of British "goods." A more incorrect and wilfully unfair statement than this, in reference to the Canadian tariff, which resulted from the success of the National Policy in 1878, could hardly be imagined. Mr. Goldwin Smith himself took an active part in that election, in support of Sir John Macdonald and the National Policy. He then for the first time appeared upon the political platform in an election campaign in Canada. After Sir John Macdonald's success and after the tariff legislation had been passed, Mr. Smith endorsed and defended it. In the *Bystander* for January 1880, speaking of the tariff, he says:

"After all. what produced the deficit which these new duties of ours were required to fill? What but Imperial aggrandizement? England chooses to have a railroad to carry her troops from Halifax to Quebec, and she chooses that another line should be run across the Continent, to take in British Columbia, a province severed from Canada by the most adamant barriers of Nature. The outlay on these objects causes our expenditure to exceed our income, and the taxes thus rendered necessary are imposed by English ambition on itself."

In the *Bystander* for July, 1880, referring again to the National Policy tariff, he says :

"To allow Canada to be made a slaughter market was in any case impolitic and wrong, nor shall we fare the worse in any future negotiation with the United States, because justice has been done by our Government to our own industries in the meantime."

Again in the *Bystander* for January, 1881, he once more defends the tariff :

"But the tariff as a whole has fulfilled the proper purpose of all tariffs. It has raised the requisite amount of revenue. The opposition can assail it successfully only by showing that a revenue sufficient to fill the deficit, could have been raised in a better way—and this not one of their speakers or organs, so far as we have seen, has as yet attempted to do."

The above extracts show clearly that Mr. Smith supported the Canadian tariff, defended it for years after it was passed, and understood thoroughly the causes which forced the Canadian people into that line of action. He knows that it was to raise a revenue, and to prevent the United States making Canada a slaughter market for their goods.

To show how friendly to England is this writer, who sneers at our tariff as intended for the exclusion of English goods, it is only necessary to recall the fact that he was one of the original little knot of agitators, who commenced the Commercial Union movement in 1887, by which English goods would have been taxed about double the present tariff, to get into Canada, while the United States goods would have come in free. This was a scheme for the exclusion of British goods for the benefit of the foreigner. It discriminated against England, and the Canadian people would have none of it.

Mr. Smith also says that no one dreams that American invasion could be resisted if it came, and "any force which Great Britain might have in Canada would probably be at once withdrawn. To leave it in face of overpowering odds would be to court loss and dishonour." There is a precedent for this suggestion. A Russian woman once, to save herself, flung her children to the wolves, but her indignant fellow villagers put her to death. The odds in 1812 were thirty to one against us, and we were successful. To-day they

are about twelve to one, not counting Imperial assistance, or practically the same odds that Japan has lately faced against China. This suggestion of Mr. Smith's, that the Englishmen of to-day would abandon their fellow-subjects from craven fear of the odds, gives a vivid indication of his idea of honour; but it is contrary to all British traditions, and is an insult to the race. The same writer, in concluding his article, says:

"The British public, if it wishes to form a safe judgment on this case, must bring itself to believe that an Englishman, heartily loyal to his country, prizing above all things her interest and her honour, as proud as any of her sons can be of her glories in war as well as in peace, and, above all, of her glories in the field of colonisation, may, with all the facts daily before his eyes, be sincerely convinced that it will be a happy day for her when she bestows her blessing upon the reunion of her race in America, renews the bond of affection with the whole of it, and, in emancipating a dependency, shows herself indeed to be the mother of free nations."

These are Mr. Smith's views of loyalty to England. The St. George's Society of Toronto, composed of Englishmen, many of them most prominent citizens, "loyal to their country, prizing above all things her interest and her honour," "with all the facts daily before their eyes," expressed their views, in the largest meeting of the Society ever held, in the following resolution which was unanimously carried on the 3rd of March, 1893:

"Whereas, it has been brought to the attention of this Society that Mr. Goldwin Smith, one of its life members, has openly proclaimed himself in favour of severing Canada from the rest of the British Empire, and has also accepted the office of honorary president of an association having for its object the active promotion of an agitation for the union of Canada with the United States: Therefore, this Society desires emphatically to place on record its strong disapprobation of any such movement, and hereby expresses its extreme regret that the Society should contain in its ranks a member who is striving for an object which would cause an irreparable injury to this Dominion, would entail a loss to the Motherland of a most important part of her Empire, and would deprive Canadians of their birthright as British subjects."

This was followed by Mr. Smith's resignation of membership. If the British public wish "to form a safe judgment on this case," let them be guided by the above opinion of a large meeting of some hundreds of their loyal fellow-countrymen.

Mr. Smith wishes to deprive England of an immense territory, to cast off 5,000,000 of her loyal fellow-subjects, who have stood by the Empire under every difficulty and every trial, on the same ground that Lord Shelburne made such sacrifice in 1782—viz., "reconciliation." If Mr. Smith himself believed this would be effective there

might be some excuse for him, but his own article on "The Hatred of England" shows that he thoroughly understands American hostility, and yet he is willing to deprive England of great moral and material strength, of coaling stations of inestimable value, of fisheries unparalleled, of mineral and agricultural resources almost without limit, in order to build up and strengthen a nation that, as the *New York Sun*, the organ of his cause, says, "would view with undisguised delight the ruin of her hereditary foe."

In conclusion, permit me, as one of that great mass of the Canadian people whose ancestors fought for a United Empire in 1776, and in the British interests on this Continent in every generation since, to appeal to the British public to stand fast by the Empire built up by our fathers—to strive to weld it closer and closer together—and to look towards the Colonies in the spirit that was voiced on their behalf by our late Premier at the opening of the Ottawa Conference: "We meet, not to consider the prospects of separation from the Mother Country, but to plight our faith anew to each other, and to plight anew to the Motherland that faith that has never yet been broken or tarnished."

GEORGE T. DENISON.

THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY IN HIS RELATION TO SCIENCE, EDUCATION, AND SUNDAY OBSERVANCE.

TWO numbers of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW have been issued since there passed, on June 29 last, into the "silent land," the "land of the great departed," the foremost biologist of his day. An unique personality, loving truth above all things, this devout student of Nature, "who never did betray the heart that loved her," was born at Ealing, near London, on May 4, 1825, his father, George Huxley, having been at that time one of the masters of Ealing School, where his son Thomas, as a boy, went for two and a half years. To his mother, however, Huxley attributed the qualities that secured him renown, he not only having inherited her physique, but the gift of divining the solution of problems, and confirming his solutions by investigation afterwards. It is said that Huxley was wont to call himself his "mother's boy," and that his first inclinations were for the Church, though had circumstances not been against it he would have become a mechanical engineer. Be that as it may, we find Huxley, in 1846, after attending Mr. Wharton Jones's lectures at Charing Cross, applying, at the instance of Sir Joseph Fayrer, for an appointment in the medical service of the navy. At the end of two months he was entered on the books of Nelson's old ship, the *Victory*, for duty at Haslar Hospital, his official chief being the famous Arctic explorer, Sir John Richardson, through whose recommendation he was appointed, seven months later, assistant-surgeon of the *Rattlesnake*. That ship, commanded by Captain Owen Stanley, was commissioned to survey the intricate passage within the Barrier Reef, skirting the eastern shores of Australia, and to explore the sea lying between the northern end of that reef and New Guinea. It was the best apprenticeship to what was eventually the work of Huxley's life—the solution of biological problems and the indication of their far-reaching significance. Darwin and Hooker had passed through a like marine curriculum. The former served as naturalist on board the *Beagle* when she sailed on her voyage round the world in 1831; the latter as assistant-surgeon on board the *Erebus* on her Antarctic expedition in 1839. Fortune was to bring the three shoulder to shoulder when the battle against the immutability of species was

fought. The *Rattlesnake* sailed in 1846 and returned in 1850, and in the interval her assistant-surgeon had made his mark among the learned societies. He sent to the Royal Society minute accounts of the fauna of the sea, and he was elected a Fellow on his return. The great work, *Oceanic Hydrozoa*, founded on his submarine researches, did not appear till 1859, probably owing to the author's want of means. After vainly endeavouring to induce the Government to take it up in part, he left the Naval Service in 1853. But he had not long to wait for an appointment. Professor Forbes left the chair of Natural History at Jermyn Street to go to Edinburgh, and Huxley took his place. His speculations had the good fortune to interest the common people as well as the scientific world, a workman having once told me that the workers as a body respected Huxley because he did not talk down to them, but gave them solid pabulum to feed upon, such as he presented to an audience at the Royal Institution. "Man's Place in Nature" was the subject of Huxley's lectures to the workmen, and it led to a controversy which really never died. It was taken up at the British Association year after year; it formed the subject of one of his finest books. It was the same with a subsequent series, delivered in 1862 to an audience of the same sort, on our knowledge of the causes of the "Phenomena of Organic Nature." From 1863 to 1869 Huxley held the post of Hunterian Professor.

It was about this time that the attention of my husband, a mechanical engineer, and myself (the daughter of a printer, who was brought up to regard labour of all kinds as a dignified thing) was first directed to Professor Huxley, and I, then a devoted student of the poems of William Wordsworth and the essays of Ralph Waldo Emerson, read with avidity whatever of Huxley's I could lay my hands on. As a pioneer in food reform, and a mother intent on the problem of how to make healthy citizens of my children and fit them to be of service in the world on a workman's income, it was a satisfaction to me to find the learned Professor asserting the existence of a protoplasm, or "*physical basis of life*," common to all forms of life, and so identical throughout in faculty, form, and composition, that, in the substance and foundation of their structure, the lichen on the rock and the botanist who examines it were one and the same.

This physical basis of life Huxley showed was made up of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen; he maintained that "under whatever disguise, whether fungus or oak, worm or man, the living protoplasm always dies, and could not live unless it died." What is it, then, that makes the "protoplasm" for the huge consumption and reciprocal barter of the worlds of organisation? Melt smelling-salts in water and you have the four ingredients of "life stuff;" yet no animal can get protoplasm from such a solution. But the

plant can—out of that it will build the matter of life. Even the plant, however, cannot manufacture this matter from the simple elements; it must have the nitrogen and hydrogen mixed as ammonia. This being furnished, the vegetable world raises the compounds to protoplasm and supplies the animal world, directly or indirectly, with its primary stock of “life stuff.” As animals must have the protoplasm created by plants, so plants must have the elements combined into carbonic acid, which is carbon and oxygen; water, which is hydrogen and oxygen; and ammonia, which is hydrogen and nitrogen, before they can make the nucleated atoms of protoplasmic matter, which lives and is the reason, the form and the faculty of life. To my mind Professor Huxley solved thus the vexed *Temperance question* by showing how much in our own power was the making of our bodies. In addition to the advantages I myself derived from Professor Huxley’s labours, three of my sons greatly benefited by attending the lectures for working men which were given at the Jermyn Street School of Mines. So expanded became their intelligence that I had less trouble with them than I had been wont to have. I also attended one of Huxley’s lectures to ladies on physiology at South Kensington, and I certainly felt that I had never spent half-a-crown to better purpose. His *Elementary Physiology* is a book worth its weight in gold to women, and might well lead to a memorial from women in the shape of an institution where physiology would be taught as a necessary part of the education of responsible beings.

The work of Huxley’s, however, which stirred the public most was what he himself called “Belling the Cat” on the Sunday Question; this he did by delivering a lecture in 1866 at the old St. Martin’s Hall, Long Acre, on a Sunday evening. It was the first of a series given by men eminent in science, and was “On the Desirableness of Improving Natural Knowledge.” This was one of the first blows struck at the superstition of making *an idol of a day*, and was so effective that the Sabbatarians rose in arms. “The Sunday Evenings for the People,” for so were the lectures called, were for a time suppressed by them; proceedings were taken by Robert Baxer, the chairman of the Lord’s Day Observance Society, under cover of an Act of George III., the lessee of St. Martin’s Hall, a lady, being indicted for keeping a “disorderly house,” inasmuch as she permitted Professor Huxley and other men of science to lecture on the Lord’s Day. I was present at a meeting which was held in St James’s Hall on the 7th of March, 1867, Sir John Bowring in the chair, for the purpose of laying before the public the means used in the suppression of the “Sunday Evenings for the People,” to petition Parliament in support of Lord Amberley’s Bill to repeal the obnoxious parts of the 21st of George III., and to memorialise the Middlesex bench of magistrates against the undue influence threatened in the

withholding of the music licence of St. Martin's Hall on account of its use on Sunday evenings. A letter from John Stuart Mill supported the object of the meeting, and the following resolution was proposed at it, viz.—“That religious freedom is impossible under any system which enables one body of religionists to suppress the religious assemblies of other persons.” This was moved by the Rev. W. Kirkman, seconded by Mr. John Westlake, barrister-at-law, and was supported by the late John Baxter Langley and the late William Shaen, of Bedford Row, and was carried unanimously. Other resolutions were agreed to, and Sir John Bowring said that

“his name had been exposed to obloquy for his connection with the Sunday Evenings, the proceedings against which exhibited a state of things which at this time was intolerable. They had a blind, a blustering bigotry opposed to them, which went groping into the dust of the past for instruments to arrest the free thought of this age. The preachers at the Sunday Evenings were not paid, and had no object but truth and liberty and the promotion of that science which was as abhorrent to some men as the light of the sun was to bats—of that science which taught us that millions of years had been required to create man, and that we were not to confine our inquiries within the narrow limits of sixty centuries.”

As will be known to readers of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW, the case was brought into the Court of Common Pleas. The verdict obtained in that Court induced the men of science to take action, and the Sunday Lecture Society, which has been of great educational value, was formed at a meeting held on the 25th of November, 1869, at the Freemasons' Tavern, Professor Huxley presiding. Respecting the work done by this Society, it will be sufficient to refer to the twenty-fifth Annual General Meeting, held at 39 Queen Anne Street, Cavendish Square, on Friday, the 28th of September, 1891, on which occasion the hon. treasurer, Mr. W. Henry Domville, spoke of the changes which the intervening years had wrought, and said :

“The first point I may notice is that what was then a great difficulty with our nascent Society has long since entirely disappeared. You can scarcely believe the trouble we at first met with in getting up and arranging our lectures, and in finding men bold enough to lecture on a Sunday. Next came a difficulty in complying with the first rule of our Society, that it should be headed by a President and Vice-Presidents. If your Committee had a difficulty in obtaining lecturers, you may not be surprised to hear that it was more difficult still to get four or five eminent men to accept the more prominent offices I now allude to. So difficult was it that your Committee had for a time to abandon the attempt, and to get on as well as they could without a ‘head.’ The body, however, was there, the public supported us. We thrived, we succeeded beyond our expectation, and by the time we were a few years old we had Dr. Carpenter for our most worthy President, and ten gentlemen, all eminent in science or philosophy, as Vice-Presidents, of whom no less than seven are still living and honouring us with their names and countenance—namely, Professor Alexander Bain of Aberdeen, Dr. Edward Frankland, Mr. James Heywood, Dr. Huxley (our President at this day), Lord Hobhouse, Mr. Herbert

Spencer, and Dr. Tyndall. And now Sunday lectures are no longer cavilled at, except by the very bigoted. The clergy even imitate us in this way, and our example has not only spread in the Metropolis to such an extent as, with musical entertainments, to interfere in some degree with the number of our audience, but also, to our great contentment, to the provinces. Nothing can be more gratifying to your Committee than to have year by year to report the formation of new Sunday Lecture Societies. So completely has the movement taken root that were our Society blotted out of existence to-morrow, we venture to think that its work would still survive in the kindred institutions which have sprung up, and which, with the growing intelligence of the public, will rise in all centres of the country."

In 1869 Professor Huxley delivered, at South Place Chapel, Finsbury, a remarkable lecture on "Political Ethnology," and in 1870, as President of the British Association, an address as noteworthy in the annals of science as that delivered by his colleague, Professor Tyndall, at Belfast.

In 1871 Huxley rendered a service to his country in the work he did on the London School Board; and to show how liberal he was it may be mentioned here, that when, some years later, he was waited upon at his laboratory at South Kensington, and asked to interest himself about the workmen's candidate for the School Board in his division, he expressed his satisfaction that the workmen were putting forward one of their own class to represent them.

On May 12, 1877, when the late Dean Stanley delivered at the Freemasons' Hall his presidential address to the members of the Sunday Society, he was supported by distinguished representatives both of literature and science, and in the speech Professor Huxley made on that occasion, as one of the first vice-presidents of the Society, he fully vindicated the Sunday reform movement from the aspersions of its opponents, saying:

"MR. DEAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I will commence the few remarks which I have to offer to you by congratulating the persons who are interested in this and allied movements upon the great advance, manifested by this large meeting, which has taken place during the last ten or dozen years. There may be some people who were occupied in endeavouring to make something more of the Sunday a dozen years ago, and nearly run the risk of being prosecuted as disorderly persons. That battle was won, and in that respect an advance was made which I think we may take as an earnest of what will happen by-and-by in regard to this branch of the question. You will not expect, seeing that I follow such a list of speakers as those who have preceded me, that I should have very much to say upon the general merits of the question. Indeed, as has been remarked by one speaker, the great difficulty which we have to contend with is, not refuting the arguments of our opponents, but to find them. It is true there is a large unanimity of opinion against us, but I cannot use that word unanimity without thinking of something that was said in the House of Commons the other day. I hope that all of you, in this great and important crisis in the history of England, have read the most remarkable speech which the debate in the House of Commons has yet produced. I mean that by Mr. Courtney. In that speech he said he had heard of the unanimity of the Liberal party;

but he understood that unanimity meant being of one mind, and that if people were of one mind, they must have a mind to be of, and that he could not find. So I think the people who are unanimous against us have a mind to obstruct us; but they should be able to give some plain and clear answer to the three or four issues which have been put before you with such great force by the preceding speakers. Up to this time, although I have paid great attention to this question for many years, I have never been able to find out when or where or by whom the obligations of the Jewish Sabbath were transferred to the Christian Sunday. I have never been able to discover in what way the due and zealous exercise of the offices of religion could be interfered with, or otherwise than promoted, by the cheerfulness and intellectual clearness that is given by the contemplation of the beauties of Nature or the grandeur of human art. I have never yet received any answer to the question why these two great institutions,¹ the maintenance of which is ensured by the contributions of the whole of the population, should be practically and by legislative restriction shut out from the use of nine-tenths of the population. I have, finally, been wholly unable to understand why, if the opening of certain public institutions like the parks, and more especially like Kew Gardens, to which the Dean has referred—if the doing of that is right and justifiable, the opening of other institutions should not also be right and justifiable. I say that when I have some rational answer to these four questions, I shall be prepared to believe, what I do not believe at present, that the greater part of the opposition raised to this movement is based upon reason. There is, indeed, one consideration which requires respectful attention. I go entirely upon what the Dean has told you about the usefulness—I would say, in the pressure of modern civilisation, the necessity—of a day of rest. I should be wholly unworthy of being supposed to have any acquaintance with the laws of life, to put the matter simply on that ground, if I did not enforce that opinion. But it does not follow that arrangements may not be made by which the work thrown upon the officials of public institutions may not be minimised, and, indeed, reduced to so small a proportion as to be hardly worth speaking of, if measures that we seek for are carried out. To hear people talking about the opening of public institutions like the British Museum or the National Gallery, one would think that the masses of the population were a ferocious horde, who wanted an army of soldiers to keep them in order. My friend Dr. Hooker, who has had now a whole generation's experience at Kew, tells me that damage is never done there by visitors on Sunday. It may be that now and then a gardener, overcome by what we will call a scientific love of a new variety, appropriates it; but the masses of the people, who are not so eager about these matters, absolutely never do any damage at all. The presence of a few intelligent servants would be quite sufficient to check any mischievous or wanton people who might be present. *I believe that the outcry that the opening of these institutions would tend to secularise Sunday, and thus throw work on a large number of people, is one of the greatest of shams ever brought before the public.* If it be the object of the persons who oppose us to keep or restore the observance of the Judaic Sabbath, they are losing their pains, for the Judaic and Puritanical Sabbaths are banished and gone, never to return. Let any of you to-morrow (Sunday) take a 'bus to the outskirts, and, if it is a fine day, you know perfectly well what you will see—from noon onwards—thousands upon thousands of people pouring out at every exit by the suburbs to those places where they may find a little fresh air or a little amusement; and it is pretended that when 150,000 people go out every fine Sunday in this way, the opening of half a

¹ The British Museum and the National Gallery.

dozen public institutions will make any serious difference to the so-called secularisation of the Sunday. You all know what you will see if you go to the suburbs to-morrow. Shall I tell you what you will see if you stop there until nine or ten o'clock at night? The return of those who went forth in quest of enjoyment, happily in large proportions not worse than they went. You will also see a large proportion manifesting too clearly the nature of the entertainment which has been provided for them, and which alone they can reach. Some of you know cases of families whose ruin is dated from these Sunday excursions. Will you let me ask you further, who is it who compels those people to have recourse for refreshment of body and mind and amusement to the facilities provided for them by the great publican interest?—the law and the Government. And therefore it is, that, although I have no great love for asking the Government to do the things that the public can do for themselves, what I would suggest is that we should require the Government to take away the impediment, so far as it exists, to the higher and better life of the masses of the people."

I have quoted the whole of this noble utterance, because it is so welded together that it could only be given in its entirety, and because I hold it to be of historical importance, no less than a protest against the charge that the late Professor Huxley was a Materialist. When writing on Berkeley he said, "What we know is not any outward object, but a sensation of which we are conscious, and which we refer to an external object. Thus we are limited to mental phenomena." An Idealist Huxley was, and one whose ideas are vital to the people's welfare. They are full of significance now, and I re-echo what Charlotte Sainsbury wrote in 1869 "To our Philosophers and Men of Science"—

"Hail, to the mighty spirits,
The foremost of our day,
Crown them with deathless laurel,
And with immortal bay!

"Let them in truest glory
Be heralded along
By a rejoicing people
And by the poet's song!"—

being satisfied that Huxley will, by common consent of them all, be given a very high place as a fearless thinker and indefatigable worker in the domain he made his own.

JANE ANN HEAVISIDES SIMPSON.

THE EBB AND FLOW OF THE TIDE.

FAR from the throbbing echoes of a ceaseless strife,
That mark with pathos the dull, deep roar of life ;
From no vast centre of the human race ;
No smoke-wrapt city, trod with restless pace ;
Where weary wanderers, toiling in the fray,
Pitch their frail tents and wait the coming day.
Where Nature's simple rule and honest plan
Recedes before the capricious will of man.
Not in such haunts can calm reflection find
A pasture congruous to the thoughtful mind ;
But here, in this secluded nook, where rustic eyes
Can gaze on summer sun and azure skies ;
In this old hamlet, with its moss-grown rills,
That sleeps 'midst rolling downs and lonely hills ;
Where browsing cattle undisturbed may roam
'Till evening twilight bids them turn to home ;
No startling scream from iron-horse to scare,
No lightning wire to flash sad secrets there ;
Only the hum of insects floating on unseen,
Or the sweet chant of lark, in cloudless height serene ;
Here bands of children, free from daily lore,
Pluck the wild flowers from Nature's teeming store ;
Or waggons laden from the fruitful soil,
And steered by plodding, hardy sons of toil ;
Few are the signs that point Life's ebb and flow,
Where 'Time's revolving wheel moves silently and slow,
With measured tread ; with steps that seem to trace
The distant footprints of a vanished race.
These drowsy yokels, contented with their lot,
Dream out existence in this peaceful spot.

Yet in this far-off hamlet change and decay
Speak through the centuries of a bygone day.
Its quaint old houses, rudely scored with dates ;
Its antique windows, with their latticed plates ;
Those moth-eaten doors, these gabled roofs, all cast
Historic shadows from a buried past ;

Too dimly distant, too remote to show
Its scenes of revelry or its tragic woe ;
Obscurely clad in language long since gone,
The Past and Present seem to roll in one.
This old-fashioned church, 'neath whose majestic frown
The mist of ages watch benignly down ;
Whose mouldering walls reflect with shadowy gleam
The phantom forms that fade as in a dream ;
Memorial records, carved on marble page,
Of lives well spent that toiled upon this stage.
Within the altar rails, in sculptured lines
On gilded slab, a priestly form reclines ;
In cope and stole and sacerdotal vest,
This priest of old here takes his final rest,
Where once he stood in hush of mystic light,
And fed his flock with Rome's most sacred rite.
What hallowed memories crowd around that stone,
What thrilling mysteries known to him alone ;
How many lives of varied worth and mien,
What greetings and farewells this priest has seen
E'er the last summons came, when oft before
He blessed lone pilgrims to that tideless shore.
The ghostly hands once cultured as our own,
The voices hushed that haunt us with their tone,
All come before us and with mute appeal
Recall a past we seem to see and feel.

The furrowed wilds of vast Columbian plains,
Where scarce a remnant of antiquity remains,
Or nations crushed by proud despotic sway,
Retain no " Past " as centuries roll away ;
Those priceless treasures, massed by endless toil,
That conquering wars so ruthlessly despoil ;
The old-world trophies, the costly smoke and flame,
That floated onward with Napoleon's name—
Historic landmarks of an Empire's pride—
All swept away on Revolution's tide ;
Britain alone, untouched by foreign foe,
Enshrines traditions of the " LONG AGO."
Here as I stroll in summer twilight hour
I seem to hear from yonder grey church tower
The ominous sound, the angry clashing knell,
That notes the pealing of the alarm bell ;
I seem to see, as fancy's muse distills,
The beacons glowing on the distant hills,

Heralding danger from the invading host
Of Philip's Armada, descending on our coast ;
Across the downs, as in mirage-like mists,
Glide groups of sportsmen, falcons on their wrists ;
Down yonder straggling street, in proud array,
The Roundheads marched with streaming banners gay,
Moving on Newbury, where the Royalists stand—
Prince Rupert's horsemen wait the rebel band ;
The noise of combat, borne from noon till night,
Attests the fierceness of that deadly fight.
The dialled cross that crowns the village green
Some startling epochs in the past has seen :
Yet on this spot young folk now dance and play,
As did their forefathers of a former day.
The summer winds still sweep at early morn
Across the billowy fields of golden corn ;
The red-tiled roofs reflect the setting sun,
As once they did when Blenheim's field was won.
The village wakes in simple, listless mood
To store its garners for its daily food,
As years before, on that sad morning grey,
A mournful cloud hung o'er dark Fotheringay,
When ill-fated Mary, Scotland's gifted Queen,
Was led in silence to a tragic scene :
Standing alone amidst the deepening gloom,
Unmoved of all, she nobly met her doom.

Everywhere the flowing tide, that Time alone destroys,
Retains in one unsevered link our sorrows and our joys ;
Fleeting tho' constant is the stream that in its depths disclose
The spectre of decay that strikes the cypress with the rose.
Meetings and partings ever blending, nothing seems to rest—
The dawn that hails the coming friend now speeds the parting guest ;
The passing sound that greets the ear of merry marriage bell,
Mingles in sad and measured tone with the solemn requiem knell.
The mother's face, once wreathed with smiles, now pales with bitter
tears,
As she thinks of the coming toil and trouble that looms in future
years.
To most of us "entrancing pleasures" more swiftly seem to glide,
While "moist-eyed" grief alone appears to linger at our side.
Those points of time that some delight to cherish and revere,
Are but the calends in our hearts that symbolise each year ;
We base our dreams of coming dates by what has been of yore,
Yet how unlike the new change is with what has passed before ;

Perhaps again we visit scenes, some well-remembered place,
 And after long farewells we meet an old familiar face,
 Once young and eager for the fray, with sanguine hopes forecast,
 Now greet us with a weird look, a phantom of the past.
 The home of childhood's vanished days, where sheltering love
 caressed,
 Has thrown aside its fretted garb and in new art is dressed.
 The sunny rooms once shelved with books, now panelled walls
 reflect,
 And comfort's easy ways give place to Fashion's cold effect.
 While as we wander on unknown, a haunting sadness steals,
 As spots engraved on memory's scroll some modern change reveals.
 The flowery meads of far-off days, where distant echoes sound,
 The well-known glen, the daisied path, is "new," unhallowed
 ground ;
 Pathetic visions wait us here, as through the gathering haze
 The towers of Alma Mater rise to fascinate our gaze ;
 Its stately walls still touch us with the old scholastic pride
 That once inspired ambition's glance to scan Life's surging tide ;
 The classic rooms where oft we revelled, the time-honoured corridor,
 Where many a fray has shed its stain, like Rizzio's historic gore ;
 The grassy links where clubs were plied, where wickets once were
 ranged,
 Is peopled with a joyous crowd, yet all to us is changed.
 Transforming hands have wrought their will, old scenes have passed
 away—
 We mourn the comrades of our youth, the friends of a bygone day.

The tidal wave that bears us on its ceaseless ebb and flow,
 Still wails its dirge with sad refrain through years that come and go.
 In every retrospect that meets our quickly fading view
 We seem to trace unerring signs that we are changing too ;
 Emotion's chord vibrates no more with youth's responsive thrill,
 While Passion's fire, so strong to sway, is calm, subdued, and still ;
 The poem that, decades ago, has filled our eyes with tears,
 Sounds dull and hollow as it strikes unsympathetic ears ;
 Even love with all its subtle wiles, the "millennium of an hour,"
 Now fails to captivate us with its old delusive power.
 Those charms, once potent to beguile, beneath whose shafts we fell,
 No longer rouse ecstatic dreams or wield their magic spell ;
 Unswerving creeds that held us fast, consistent in their train,
 Are clouded o'er with sceptic fears that shake our trust as vain.
 We do not like this constant "flux," this onward march of life,
 Instinctively we wage with Time a fierce, unequal strife ;
 We cling to customs, old conceits, we treasure gifts attained,
 We shrink from evolution's touch on laurels proudly gained ;

But yet we feel existence here would miss its destined aim,
If in the race that all must run the prizes were the same ;
Across the waste of waters wide, each enterprise we find,
Uncertainty and chance pervades to discipline the mind.
Unending change is Nature's law throughout Creation's scheme,
Since constellations sprang to life, as from a frenzied dream ;
Harmoniously they glide along, through boundless realms of light,
While countless æons yet unborn still tend their silent flight.
Impervious the veil that hides the dark mysterious goal,
To which the spheres are sweeping on with grave majestic roll.
In vain we strive to pierce the gloom that shrouds the mundane
state,
And soar aloft midst worlds unseen to solve our mystic fate.
But never on this side of Time can mortal eye reveal
The awe-inspiring secrets held beneath Eternal seal ;
The curse once uttered on our race must deal its icy blow,
E'er we shall comprehend the source from whence all come and go.
The dews of death will damp the brow, the darkening shadow fall,
As face to face we realise the last dread change of all.
The ebbing life we fain would stem, bequeaths no guiding ray
As it sinks beneath the silent wave that softly steals away ;
The faltering voice, the lingering tone, unfold no gruesome tale,
As it hovers round the portals grim that guard the shadowy vale ;
Dismayed, bewildered with despair, we contemplate the close,
The ending of life's mystery here, the tide that ebbs and flows.

J. PARR.

A COMMON-SENSE VIEW OF AGNOSTICISM.

THE analogy it is possible to institute between the natural world and the spiritual world is one which, if pushed too far, will assuredly accomplish its own destruction.

It is sometimes implied by the evidence set forward in favour of rational belief in religious dogma, that, as the material universe is mirrored upon the consciousness by the evidence of the senses—our knowledge of it being limited by our perceptions of it—so a similar process takes place in our apprehension of the facts pertaining to the realm of religion, which afford us similar evidence of their reality—*i.e.*, our intuitions, our *spiritual* perceptions of them, and of their reasonableness.

Our knowledge of the laws of the spiritual world is acquired, so it is suggested, in the same way as knowledge of the laws of the natural world, partly by personal experience of them and partly on the authority of others.¹ Our consciousness is not extended to the actual things themselves, but limited to the impressions the mind is capable of receiving of them.

If we allow this, it follows that we have as much ground for believing in the existence of a Deity when such a personality seems to be revealed to our inner consciousness, as we have for believing in the existence of any natural object or event which reveals itself to us.

But is not such an acknowledgment tantamount to admitting that, in order to prove the existence of anything beyond the range of "sense-perception," we have only to sincerely believe in its reality; and are we justified in drawing no distinction between the involuntary consciousness we have of the material universe, and share

¹ An instance, not of the method whereby knowledge of the natural and spiritual worlds is said to be acquired, but of the identity said to be discovered between the laws of natural life and of spiritual life, is afforded by Professor Drummond's application to the latter of the "doctrine of Biogenesis." But it has been pointed out that "no negative experiment can lead us to reject the hypothesis of spontaneous generation," since "we cannot imitate (by experiment) the climato-physical state which, possibly only in long course of millions of years, produced a type of life totally different from anything known to us, and which type, if reproduced, would not necessarily fall within the limits of our organs of sense." In this instance, therefore, the doctrine of analogy proves a dangerous one. Professor Drummond's book, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, has been described as "a work wherein by the light of analogy dogma is seen draped in the mantle of science."

with all creatures endowed with the same organs of perception (a perception which is independent of knowledge of the *causes* of phenomena), and the voluntary and acquired consciousness we have of the principles of religion?

Consciousness of natural objects springs from natural perceptions, but consciousness of the facts of religion is the result of intellectual conception, and implies the formation, rather than the reception, of an idea.

If belief in a just and loving Creator who can be understood and approached in the only way possible to finite beings—viz., in some personal sense—proves that there is foundation for that belief, why may not the same be argued of any reasonable belief in kindred subjects sincerely held by men? Or why is not such proof equally trustworthy if applied to a position the exact opposite to that of the believer, in which case it would follow that the non-apprehension of the ideal of personality in connection with creative force proves there is no foundation for such a conception of it?

Professor Karl Pearson writes:

"The order of the universe may arise from my having to perceive it . . . under the forms of space and time. My perceptive faculty may put the order into my sensations. . . . To proceed from the human mind to the order in sensations, and then assert that the order we find in the universe (or the sum of our sensations) requires an inverse orderer on an infinite scale is obvious fallacy. . . . It is to reflect the human mind into phenomena, and then out of them into the unreachable or unknowable God; to argue like savages, because we see ourselves in a mirror, that there is an unknown being on the other side! From our sensations we can only deduce something of the same order as our sensations, or of the perceptive faculty which co-ordinates them; from finite perceptions and conceptions we can only pass to finite perceptions and conceptions; . . . we cannot logically formulate a creator of matter, a single world organiser, an infinite mind, nor a moral basis of the universe, such as the theologian, the reconciler, or even Kant himself, really require. . . . To obtain the divine being of the theologians (we) must finally appeal to revelation."¹

Were it to be granted that natural perception and spiritual perception are identical in character we should find ourselves, owing to the want of uniformity in spiritual perceptions, farther off than ever from reaching any solid ground of fact concerning the spiritual world.

Knowledge of the natural world is gained by the use of sound physical and mental organs, and is tested by common experience. To a man of defective vision, objects assume appearances other than those they present to one whose eyesight is normal. It is, of course, true that where a "Peter Bell" sees only "a yellow primrose," the lover of nature, or the botanist, sees much more; but this power

¹ *The Prostitution of Science.*

possessed by the artist or the scientist of *seeing more* is one he shares with all those whose intellectual gifts and cultivation resemble his own.

None the less is it true that all knowledge of external forces is limited to the impressions the mind is capable of receiving.

When, however, any such impression is common to all, and becomes so either from universal experience of its truth, so far, that is, as the truth implied concerns the *relation of the force to the individual*, or because of the testimony of those whose experience has verified it (which may be said to constitute for the world at large experience by proxy),¹ it passes into the sphere of practical knowledge; knowledge, if not of the "thing-in-itself," at least of the thing as it presents itself to the human understanding.

What similar empirical method can we apply to our knowledge of the facts set forth by religion? Here we find little similarity of perception; and on what else can the experience which leads to knowledge be founded? The varying forms of religious beliefs cannot be said to convey any one definite impression of the nature of God, but are mainly a record of human thought and conjecture about God.

The fact that though we have no means of ascertaining the essential nature of the forces which constitute animate and inanimate matter, we yet do possess every facility for learning the relations which these forces bear to us, is one which is constantly overlooked in theological literature, but it is probably here where the real quarrel between science and theology begins. Science can and does tell us of our relations towards the material universe, because these relations are shared by all alike. Theology cannot and does not tell us of our relations towards the spiritual world, because scarcely two persons are conscious of standing in exactly the same relation towards it. The theist, the atheist, and the agnostic are alike subject to the law of gravitation, and are equally prepared to admit that it holds good of their relations to this planet. But there is no law of the spiritual world towards which they are conscious of standing in any common relation; on the contrary, their relations towards it are utterly contradictory and irreconcilable.

Theology must be content to establish itself upon its only sure foundation, *i.e.*, Faith. Any attempt to secure for it a scientific basis must eventually show that this is a natural impossibility. It may be urged that different faculties are needed for the reception of different kinds of truth; that the test of universal experience (acquired individually or in the authority of others) cannot be applied

¹ Considered in this light, Mr. Balfour's definition of authority as "the non-rational action of mind on mind" has no application. Acceptance of the evidence of competent and trustworthy witnesses is an eminently rational proceeding, and cannot, as Mr. Balfour seems to imply, be said to point to acquiescence "in the guidance of non-rational impulse." (See *The Foundations of Belief*.)

to the means whereby religious knowledge is gained; and that we are no more able to account for the various emotions which our fellow-creatures excite in us, by the evidences of our senses or of our intellect, than we can account for our faith in the goodness of an omnipotent Creator by these means.¹ But if both these feelings are traced to their origin, it will probably be found that our attitude towards our fellow-man, be it pleasant or the reverse, depends upon our perception and observation of his character, whilst our attitude towards the Deity rests on our aspirations and our desires; not upon individual aspiration only, but upon much that is our natural heritage from the past.

Summed up briefly, the foregoing argument would amount to this. The claim we assert to knowledge of the laws of the natural world is founded on the uniformity of our perceptions of them. As regards the laws of the spiritual world, this uniformity is only remarkable by its absence. Hence, no such claim can be asserted to the knowledge we are said to possess of it; the dissimilarity always found when any comparison is attempted between the spiritual perceptions of either individuals or races deprives such evidence as we have of them of its *authority*.²

We find ourselves, therefore, led to recognise the importance of the part played by anthropomorphism in shaping those religious systems which are based upon belief in the existence of a personal God.

In the Hebrew version of monotheism it is said that "God created man in his own image, in the image of God created He him." It is not difficult to discover the anthropomorphic tendency in this statement—reverent as was its original meaning—or to oppose to it the hypothesis that it is man who has, in his dim reaching after the unknown and the eternal, formulated God in his—*i.e.*, man's—own image, founding his idea of Deity on a personality combining in itself those qualities which most command his fear and admiration. The different conceptions of the Divinity formed by men of different races and times all tend to attest the truth of this, and to discredit the theory of Divine revelation. Countless generations have passed away whose beliefs have reflected mainly their superstition or moral

¹ The origin of our moral sentiments, and of the emotions excited in us by moral attributes, is claimed: on the one hand, to lie within the province of utilitarianism, and on the other, within that of intuitive morality. In these "rival claims of intuition and utility, to be regarded as the supreme regulator of moral distinctions," we find again the divergence of opinion characteristic of the domains of ethics and theology.

² First, Mr. Kidd provides us with an "ultra-rational sanction" for progress in the form of "religion," and now Mr. Balfour follows suit with a "non-rational" sanction for religion in the form of "authority." It is therefore possible that Mr. Kidd's "visitor from another planet" and Mr. Balfour's "investigator" from the same locality, might put their heads together and add one observation to those already credited to their intelligence, to the effect that the inhabitants of this planet are rapidly preparing the way for the *apotheosis of Irrationality*. (See *Social Evolution and Foundations of Belief*.)

degradation, who have "made their own traditions God," and "worshipped their own darkness as the highest," just as the religion of the present day reflects our moral progress and mental enlightenment.

In the development of a single religion the varying aspects of men's conceptions of Divine character are easily traced. We find the widest distinction between the avenging national God, as depicted in Old Testament Scriptures, and the God of modern Broad Church or Unitarian Christianity, which is the latest development of the religion of the Jews. There is no place for the God of a bygone age in the Churches of to-day.

If the times and the men had not been ripe for a gospel of a God of Love, whose service consisted in right conduct rather than ritual, Christianity could not have gained its footing before its Founder was led to the Cross. The Jewish world, or, at least, the most vital portion of it, was ready for the worship of a Father God, whose nature comprehended the highest and tenderest of human characteristics as exhibited in the person of the Son; and hence Christ gave voice to the spirit stirring in His time.

It is true that in earlier times, also, the same beautiful ideal of God was firmly grasped and powerfully foreshadowed by the poet prophets; and it is equally true that in later times, and even within the Christian Churches, there have been many reversions to earlier and baser ideas of Divine Personality than that given us by the Hebrew prophets, or by the Founder of Christianity.

Throughout history we find that, as men's estimates of human character and moral attributes have varied, their ideas as to the nature and attributes of God have undergone similar modifications. In other words, the evolution of an ideal God has kept pace with the evolution of the ideal man.¹

In the religious conceptions of individuals something of the same anthropomorphic process is often evident. Many men's ideas of a Supreme Being—in those cases where they are not content to accept their ideas ready-made—reflect something of their personal characteristics or ideals of character.

The difficulty that is often felt in reconciling our knowledge of the world as it is with our idea of a world as it apparently should be, were our modern ideal of Divinity responsible for its direction, is probably the cause which has led many men to relinquish belief in assumed

¹ The theist would probably infer from this that in and through the evolution of human character may be traced the revelation of God to man. But who can decide at what period in history such revelation may be said to have commenced, or whether, as regards some races of low mental and moral development, it ever commenced at all, or ever could commence? If we admit this theory of revelation, we seem forced to the conclusion that not only individuals, but whole races of mankind, have been hopelessly led astray by their spiritual intuitions, and this brings us perilously near to the doctrine of "Predestination and Election," which few theologians would wish to defend nowadays.

knowledge of its Creator, and to seek spiritual refuge in reverent agnosticism, agnosticism which declines either to construct or accept an anthropomorphic Deity, but owns, with deepest recognition of the limits set to human penetration, its ignorance of the nature of that creative force of which the universe, with its conscious and unconscious life, is the outward and visible manifestation.

E. M. S.

THE SMALLEST REPUBLIC IN THE WORLD.

A VISIT TO SAN MARINO.

THE traveller by the Peninsular and Oriental express, as he flashes through Rimini on his way to Brindisi and the East, is generally quite unconscious that he is within sight of the oldest and smallest republic in the world. The mountain-commonwealth of San Marino, with its triple crown of forts, has as little significance for him as the tiny stream of the Rubicon, which he has just crossed in his comfortable Pullman car.

It was soon after daybreak that we drove from beneath the gateway of the quaint old "Golden Eagle and Three Kings" at Rimini on a visit to the miniature republic of the Umbrian Hills. A lumbering diligence, subsidised by the Republican Government, and painted blue and white, the national colours, was standing in the great square of Rimini ready for the journey. But it looked so rickety that we doubted whether it would ever arrive at all, so we chartered one of those beautifully light carriages which one sees nowhere except in the Romagna. Perched on the circular seat of one of these *voitures Romagnoles*, with our feet suspended in a network of ropes, which served as a foot-board, we flew along the highway as on the wings of the wind.

Past the ancient palace of the Malatesti, dread lords of Rimini in days gone by, and sworn foes of our tiny Republic, which they tried in vain to conquer, we entered that curious volcanic region which separates the azure-blue waters of Hadria from the precipitous mountain on which the city of San Marino stands. With remarkable appropriateness the ancients gave the name of Monte Titano to this abrupt mass of rock, which rises upwards of 2000 feet above the level of the plain. For the whole countryside looks as if it had been the scene of one of those subterranean convulsions which a primitive faith believed to be the handiwork of Titans and giants. The vintage of Titano, like that of Ischia and Vesuvius, proclaims the volcanic nature of the soil, and it was not without reason that Dante drew the scenery of his "Purgatorio" from the hills and castles round San Marino.

In the middle of a bridge over a diminutive stream our driver

exclaimed, "Now we are Republicans." We had crossed the frontier without knowing it, and were soon rattling through Serravallo, the first of the three hamlets which the Republic possesses, and memorable in Sammarinese history as its only conquest in the only war that it has ever waged in all the fifteen centuries of its existence. Captured from the Malatesti in 1462, the quaint old gateway and crumbling walls of Serravallo have ever since borne the arms of the Republic—the three castellated peaks, surmounted by three feathers with the magic word *Libertas* on a scroll below, which are so familiar to stamp-collectors. But the mart of this small community is a little farther on, beneath the precipitous rocks of Monte Titano. The "burgh"—*il Borgo*, as they call it in distinction from the "city" above—is a thriving place. It boasts of a bank and a telephone, possesses a theatre with a gorgeous drop-scene representing an allegorical figure of Liberty, in the irreducible minimum of clothing, and contains a spacious cellar in the caverns of the cliff, where the rosy vintage of Titano is stored.

More than fifteen centuries have passed away since the holy Marinus founded upon the rocks of Mount Titanus the small community which still bears his name. All sorts of fables and legends have accumulated round the person of the pious founder. But there is no reason to doubt that the patron saint and eponymous hero of the Republic was a working stonemason from the Island of Arbe in Dalmatia, who settled at Rimini with his comrade Leo about the year 330 A.D. When the hand of Diocletian fell heavily upon the Christians of that city, Marinus and his colleague fled to the mountain, where they could practise both their profession and their creed without interference. The fame of the Christian hermits soon spread abroad. Leo was made a bishop, and gave his name to the adjoining fortress of San Leo, which Dante in a well-known line has compared with the entrance to Purgatory.¹ Marinus and his hermitage on Mount Titanus became the centre of a small band of faithful settlers, for whose use a rich Roman widow, named Felicissima, had given up the mountain of which she was the owner. Such, in a few words, is the legendary origin of the last surviving Italian Republic—an origin which, as Addison said, compares favourably with the legendary birth of Rome.

Entering the lofty gateway, over which Garibaldi lodged when he sought refuge with his ragged regiment from the Austrian hosts, we climbed the steep and narrow street which leads to the principal square—the so-called *Pianello*, where stands the new Government House which was opened with such pomp and ceremony on the last day of last September. For San Marino, having no need to maintain a large standing army like its great neighbours—twenty-eight soldiers are sufficient for its protection—is able to show a

¹ "Vassi in San Leo descendesi in Nola."—*Purg.* iv. 25.

balance in its business-like budget every year, and this surplus it has devoted for some years past to the building of a larger senate-house than that which has sufficed for its legislative needs so long. The eloquent *discorso*, which Italy's first living poet, Giosuè Carducci, delivered on that occasion, was fully justified by San Marino's long and venerable past. As we passed down into the old council-hall, surely the smallest legislative chamber in the world, the whole of the Republic's history was recalled to us by the pictures on the walls of that humble and quaint apartment. There, behind the two chairs where the captains of the Republic—the *capitani reggenti*, as they are styled—sat, with the statutes of this tiny State on the table before them, was the picture of the pious founder, chisel and mallet in hand. The portrait of Cardinal Alberoni hard by reminds us of the most terrible day in this rough mountain's annals, when three patriot Sammarinese showed an example of Republican fortitude, worthy of Rome itself, by refusing to swear allegiance to the foreign usurper before the high altar of their patron saint. And, most remarkable of all, there are the pictures of Napoleon I. and the most famous of San Marino's statesmen, Antonio Onofri, whose names are linked together in the memories of this simple folk. They tell the story still at San Marino every first of April and every first of October, when the new captains enter upon their six months' term of office, how the "great conqueror bade sparo" this miniature State on his triumphal march through Italy, in order that it might remain "the pattern of a Republic" to all time. He even went further and offered to enlarge San Marino's narrow boundaries. But Onofri, foreseeing the great man's fall, declined the tempting suggestion. And when Napoleon fell, the allied Powers remembered the moderation of the little Republic, and so staunch a Legitimist as Charles X. of France vowed that no one should touch a stone of San Marino's mountain-fortresses. So the last dying words of her founder have been preserved as the heritage of his faithful people: *Relinquo vos liberos ab utroque homine* ("I leave you free from all men").

The two Captains are elected by the Council twice a year, on March 15 and September 15, and come into office on April 1 and October 1. One of them must be of noble birth, while the other may be either an inhabitant of the capital or a dweller in one of the outlying hamlets. Both must be natives of San Marino and at least twenty-five years old. Their authority ceases at the end of six months and they are not eligible for re-election until after the lapse of three years. Their duties are to preside at the weekly meetings of the Council, to visit the three principal villages at least once during their term of office, and to keep the keys and seals of State in their custody. On high days and holidays they represent the Majesty of the Republic. Clad in their tight-fitting black silk vests

and black velvet cloaks, lined with blue silk and fastened with gold cords, black silk stockings and knee-breeches of the same colour, with long white scarves round their necks, they look most imposing. The grand cordon of the Equestrian Order of San Marino—for the Republicans believe greatly in titles—is suspended on their breasts by a ribbon of blue and white, and their costume is completed by a cap of black velvet and ermine, which is usually carried by the *donzelli* or beadles, who wait upon them at all public functions. The emoluments of office at San Marino are not excessive. The two Captains are paid an indemnity of 300 lire, or £12, another sum of 300 lire is placed at their disposal for various expenses, and, in addition to a small amount allowed for petty cash, an item of sixty-two lire, or £2 10s., appears in the annual budget of the Republic on account of the ceremonies connected with their installation. The days upon which they enter office are marked with a red letter in the Republican calendar. Sightseers come from far and near, the State photographer is summoned from Bologna to immortalise “the most excellent Regency,” the little corps of *guardia nobile*, twenty-eight in number, in full war-paint, escorts the new Captains to high Mass in the Church of San Marino, and after a long historical discourse, in which the past glories and dangers of the Republic are enumerated, the two Regents take the oaths and their seats upon the two chairs allotted to them in the Council Chamber.

It would naturally be supposed that the system of dual control would have inevitably led to dissensions and intrigues. The two Kings of Sparta were perpetually quarrelling, the two Consuls at Rome were not always at one. But no such instance of disunion is recorded by the historians of San Marino. We find these two officials under the various names of “consuls,” “captains,” “defenders,” or “governors,” from the middle of the thirteenth century; and with the single exception of the brief usurpation of Cardinal Alberoni, when they were superseded for a few months by a *Gonfaloniere* and two *Conservatori*, their office has existed ever since. No Captain has ever tried to make himself a despot, or to extend by illegal means the limits of his power. There has, however, been a tendency, as in all oligarchies of the Venetian type, to select members of the same families for these posts, and the noble houses of Belluzzi and Bonelli have furnished many generations of Captains to this small commonwealth.

Next to the Captains comes the Council of Sixty. In the early days of the Republic there was an *Arringo*, or assembly composed of the heads of families. Gradually this primitive Parliament lost all power, and to-day it only exists in name. It still meets twice a year, a few days after the installation of the new Captains, to present petitions, but has no legislative authority left. The Council of Sixty, which has superseded it, is the Senate of San Marino.

Composed at various periods of eighty, forty-five and even as few as twenty-three members, the Council has generally consisted of three score councillors. These sixty are divided into three classes, twenty nobles, twenty burghers, and twenty countrymen. All the Councillors are elected for life, and, whenever a vacancy occurs by death, the Council chooses some one to fill the vacant place. Since the year 1873, when the area of choice was extended, every inhabitant of the Republic has been eligible for the Council, provided that he is over twenty-five years of age; but a son cannot be elected during his father's lifetime, nor can more than one of a family of brothers serve on the Council at the same time. As a matter of practice, however, the hereditary principle is very strong in the Council-chamber, and whenever a Councillor dies, his son is usually chosen to succeed him. Although a Republic in name, San Marino is therefore an oligarchy in fact. There seems to be some desire, however, for the vote even among the homely mountaineers of Titano; for as we strolled through the streets, we noticed chalked up on the walls the democratic demand: *Vogliamo il suffragio universale!*

The foreign policy of the Republic has almost always been one of peace. Knowing their weakness, the Sammarinesi have endeavoured to steer clear of international disputes, and they have usually succeeded. Protected in its early days by the neighbouring Dukes of Urbino, who regarded it as a "buffer State" between their hated rivals, the Malatesti of Rimini, and themselves, San Marino has secured the full recognition of its privileges and independence by the King of Italy. Alone of foreign Powers, Italy has a consul at San Marino, while the Republic has representatives in various Italian cities. A recent statute regulating the consular service was adopted in January 1892. In Paris the Sammarinesi have an able *chargé d'affaires* in Baron Boissard de Bellet, and they treat the sister Republic of France on equal terms. Of this there is a very recent instance. When, on August 25, 1894, Commendatore Pietro Tonnini,¹ one of the two reigning "captains," died in office, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs at once sent a formal message of condolence to the bereaved Republicans. In olden days this tiny State once sent an embassy to "our very dear sister of Venice," which not a little surprised the proud "Queen of the Adriatic." And when the Adriatic railway was opened, the two Chief Magistrates of San Marino had seats next to the King of Italy at the inaugural banquet.

In order to avoid awkward questions of copyright, the printing

¹ Tonnini was a very remarkable man for so small a State to produce. He attained considerable renown as a painter; most of the pictures in the old Council-chamber were his work, and he designed a genealogical tree of the late Marshal MacMahon, which was exhibited in the Paris Exhibition of 1879. It was at his suggestion that the new *Palazzo Governativo* at San Marino was built.

press is only used for official publications, and the Republic has no newspapers. Hence, perhaps, its freedom from wars. The only difficulties which have arisen between the Republic and its powerful neighbour have been due to the occasional flight of Italian criminals who have sought refuge in the Republican territory. The most serious of these incidents occurred in 1874, when for more than three months the frontier was surrounded by a cordon of Italian soldiers. It was in consequence of this misunderstanding that an Italian consulate was established on the rock. Treaties of commerce had already been made between the two countries, and two years ago an additional article was agreed upon, making certain laws valid in both States. On all these occasions, as on the memorable day when Garibaldi placed them in such a terrible predicament by marching with a ragged regiment of fugitives into their gates and threatening to hold their castle against the Austrians, these peasant-statesmen have shown themselves skilful diplomatists, and worthy successors of their hero Onofri.

But the Republic does not trust to diplomacy alone. Every citizen, from the age of eighteen to that of sixty, is compelled to bear arms in case of need. The standing army, however, consists of only two corps. The former of these, the *guardia nobile*, composed of twenty-eight men, serves as an escort for the Captains at public functions, and is always in attendance on the Council of Sixty during their weekly meetings. The members of this corps are distinguished by their blue and yellow uniforms from the soldiers of the second, the *militi di rocca*, who wear uniforms of blue and red, and who keep watch over the citadel of San Marino on the rocks above the town. In addition to these two corps there is a body of police, while the military band plays an important part in the numerous festivals of the State. The Republic boasts of a prison of its own, but an arrangement has been made by which those who are convicted of the more serious class of offences are confined within the dungeons of the kingdom of Italy, upon payment of a sum of £50 a year by the Republican Government. Sammarinesi of unsound mind are similarly taken care of in the Italian lunatic asylum at Pesaro. For other than mental patients there is an excellent hospital on the slope of the mountain.

Many a great nation might take a much-needed lesson in finance from this shrewd yet simple mountain-folk. For San Marino, unlike Italy and most Continental countries, can boast of a balance at its bankers, and has no national debt. The finances of the little Republic, though necessarily on a very small scale, are admirably managed, and the Budget, of which I was presented with a copy, is a most business-like document. A Finance Committee of nine persons is chosen from the Council of Sixty, and, when the Captains enter office, they appoint two Secretaries of State, one for the Home

Department and one for Foreign Affairs and Finance, at salaries of £80 apiece. In the Budget for last year, which I have before me, the total revenue for the year ending March 31, 1895—for the financial year begins and ends in San Marino on the same day as with us—is estimated at 268,165 lire, or £10,726, while the expenditure is put down at 268,003 lire, or £10,720, leaving a balance of a few pounds to the good. Some of the items of expenditure are very curious. For example, the medical attendants of the people are all paid by the State. Thus we find a chief-surgeon at a salary of £130 a year, and three doctors under him, one for each of the three principal places in the Republic, at salaries of £112 each. They all kill or cure free of charge. The State, too, provides, free, gratis, and for nothing, the services of a veterinary surgeon and three midwives. By an arrangement not uncommon in the mediæval republics of Italy,¹ the doctors of San Marino, as well as the schoolmasters and the three judges, are always foreigners, who are elected by the Council of Sixty. Education, which is compulsory, is one of the largest items in the Budget, and so highly is it esteemed by the people, that, in addition to paying a number of Professors, scholarships are given to the most promising students. The three judges are chosen for three years—one for civil cases, one for criminal cases, and one for appeals from the other two. A further appeal lies in the last resort to a body called the Council of Twelve, elected from the larger Council of Sixty, whose duty it is to revise the decisions of the judges, and superintend all contracts made by women or minors. Two-thirds of this body retire by rotation every year.

The revenues of the Republic are derived from a variety of sources. There is a considerable rent from the State-lands, although the whole country is only nineteen miles in circumference, and there is a large item under the head of Customs dues. San Marino, it is true, has no Custom-house of its own, as the traveller joyfully discovers when he enters the Republican territory without let or hindrance from any of that meddlesome fraternity of officials who have made the very name of an Italian *dogana* an abhorrence to the foreigner. But, by a convention concluded between the Republic and the kingdom of Italy, in 1872, the former of the two "high contracting parties" is entitled to receive an annual sum from her powerful neighbour on account of Customs, estimated at so much per head of the population. Last year the total of these dues remitted by the Italian Government amounted to £2400, and in consideration of this the Republic has relinquished the right to have a Custom-house of her own. When staying in the little independent Principality of Liechtenstein, four years ago, I noticed a very

¹ The *Podestà* of Milan is the best-known instance, and a similar practice prevailed at Florence.

similar arrangement with regard to Customs there. But there is this difference, that, while San Marino has no Custom-house officials, the Prince of Liechtenstein has entrusted the collection of his Customs to the Austrian authorities. San Marino, however, levies a tax upon salt and tobacco, both of which articles are sold in considerable quantities to the Republican Administration every year by the Italian Government at cost price. There is also a duty on butchers' meat, besides some small imposts on bread and other provisions. The post-office and telegraph also yield a substantial profit to the State. For San Marino, like some of the Central American republics, has cleverly contrived to make the prevalent mania for stamp-collecting subserve the purposes of the national revenue.¹ Most small countries are regarded with affection by philatelists, and so great is the demand for these labels at San Marino that an enterprising German dealer has taken up his abode on the mountain for the express purpose of purchasing them for his customers, and even publishes a paper—the only one in the whole Republic—in four languages, the *San Marino Philatelist*, for the purpose of advertising his wares. The Government certainly derives a larger profit from the sale of stamps and post cards to collectors than from the genuine correspondence of its citizens, and it is no doubt with a view to their value as curiosities, rather than for the practical purposes of the postal service, that the present issue has been so beautifully designed. The post cards, in particular, are quite works of art, and the head of Liberty, with her "triple diadem of towers," which is engraved upon them, is admirably executed. It is no wonder, then, that the Budget estimate for last year puts down the receipts from the sale of stamps and post cards at the comparatively large sum of 11,000 lire, or £440. Scarcely less curious than the stamps is the money of the Republic. Copper coins of the value of 5 and 10 centesimi, with the arms and name of the Republic on one side and the date and amount on the other, are in constant circulation, and, by the treaty with Italy in 1862, the San Marino currency is considered valid in that country, while Italian coin and paper is regarded as legal tender in the Republic. Silver is, of course, as rare in San Marino as in Italy, and the only two pieces of 5 lire which were ever struck are now in the Museum. But a large quantity of copper was coined by the Government last year, while nearly £3000 worth of it was previously in circulation. It is curious to notice the official standard of weights and measures on the wall of the humble post-office.

Another source of revenue, which has helped to swell the

¹ To commemorate the celebration of last September, the Republicans issued three large new stamps, with portraits of the two "Captains" and a view of the new Palace on them, as well as note-paper and envelopes similarly embellished. The stamps now fetch a high price; originally, they cost 25 c., 50 c., and one lira a-piece.

Exchequer of the Republic in time of need, is the grant of titles and other marks of distinction—for an equivalent consideration. For San Marino has quite a large assortment of titles and orders in its gift. The Equestrian Order, founded in 1859, to commemorate the fifteen hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the State, consists of no fewer than five grades, while gold, silver and copper medals are also awarded for distinguished military or civil services. The present King of Italy and Prince Bismarck are among those who have been singled out for distinction by the peasant Senators of San Marino. Upon the widow of their former minister in Paris, a lady whose name was Ottilie Heyroth Wagener, they conferred the dignity of a patrician, and the high-sounding title of Duchess of Acquaviva—a little hamlet situated just outside the town. But the Duchess certainly deserved the honours so liberally bestowed upon her. For, in addition to her husband's diplomatic labours, she presented the Republic with a beautiful marble statue of Liberty, which is the chief ornament of the *Praetello*, or public square of the tiny capital. Two members of the Anglo-Saxon race have been publicly recognised as benefactors of this Umbrian commonwealth. Mr. Theodore Bent, the celebrated traveller, who some years ago published the best account which exists in English of this interesting community, is numbered among their patricians; while the generosity of a fellow-republican, Mr. William Warren Tucker, of Boston, U.S.A., who enriched the admirable little library at San Marino with a short history of the Republic, and an endowment of 250 lire a year, is commemorated by a marble tablet, with an appropriate inscription, in the entrance hall of that building. But the most famous of all the literary men upon whom the rights of a citizen have been conferred was Borghesi, the numismatist, who came to live at San Marino in order to prosecute his studies in peace and quiet. So highly was he esteemed by the inhabitants of his adopted country that he was not only elected a member of the Council of Sixty, but for many years performed the duties of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

One other means of raising a revenue San Marino has prudently refused. Yet it must be admitted that the offer was a tempting one, and it is greatly to the credit of Republican virtue that it was declined. Fired by the example of Monte Carlo, a company of foreign speculators sought permission to open a gaming-table in the territory of the Republic. In the words of Fattori, the local historian, they offered *ricchezza presente, speranze futuri*. In return for the grant of a site, the promoters were ready to build a railway, to found several charitable institutions, and to send two of the studious youth of San Marino every year to one of the Italian Universities at their own expense. Nor did they neglect arguments of a more substantial kind. When the question came before the

Council of Sixty, bribes which must have seemed enormous to the simple mountaineers were freely offered, but in every case rejected. By a large majority the Council threw out the proposal, and one of their laws makes gaming a penal offence to this day. When I was in Liechtenstein, I was told that a similar attempt had been made there, with a like result.

The Sammarinesi are good Catholics¹ and, though in former times the Popes coveted their territory, they are now on the best of terms with the Holy See. In spiritual matters they are under the joint jurisdiction of the Italian Bishops of Rimini and Montefeltro. So great is their respect for the memory of their patron saint, that not only are many of them called after him, but their statute law makes it an offence to swear by his name, while two officials, called *Massari*, are told off to keep his sacred relics, and expose them to the gaze of his faithful people every fourth of September—the most solemn of the four festivals held in his honour.

It may seem a farce to talk of local government in a country of only nineteen miles in circumference. Yet the Republic has a complete system of communal administration. Besides the capital on the rock, and the busy little town of Borgo—the “burgh”—which nestles at its foot, there are three hamlets, Serravalle, Montegiardino and Faetano, each of which has a “parish council” of its own, whose proceedings are regulated by the Grand Council of the whole Republic. In fact, nothing is wanting to make San Marino an exact replica of a mediæval commonwealth.

As we stood on the ramparts of the castle of La Rocca and looked down upon the volcanic plain at our feet, while far away in the morning light the dim outlines of that Dalmatian coast, from which San Marino's founder came, were visible across the blue waters of the Adriatic, we could not help hoping that this miniature State would be spared to show posterity what the mediæval commonwealths of Italy were like, and that its present senators and captains—one of whom bears the time-honoured name of Belluzzi—would bear in mind the Latin inscription in the new Council-chamber: *Animus in consulendo liber, in dirimendis rotis æquanimis*.

W. MILLER.

¹ This combination of religion and liberty was the keynote of Carducci's oration at the festival of last year, and the picture which he drew of San Marino as a Christian commonwealth earned him the thanks of the Italian Premier.

CAXTON'S VISION.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY, 1480.

I.

FAIR breaks the spring-tide morn—
Its suffus'd rays adorn
The solemn precincts of the Abbey shrine,
Streaming through windows bright,
A glory of rich light,
They the still aisles enfold
In violet and gold ;
And then with mystic glow,
As by one stately arch their splendours flow,
An aged form o'ershine :
His who comes there each day
What time to muse and pray
That Divine Love inspiringly control
The vision of his soul.

Awe-thrill'd he stands
With firm-clasp'd hands,
A figure radiant in the dawn-tide fair.
His forehead, ridg'd with thought,
A halo deep has caught
From that effulgence spreading everywhere :
His features bright though pale,
Transfigur'd by the glow
Which as a shining veil
O'er their rapt grandeur flow,
Reflect the hopes his flashing eyes declare,
And his soul's proud desire
That all mankind shall share
The vision'd splendours that his brain now fire.

III.

The ancient fane
Wherein these lofty musings reign,
Prophetic wings
Lends to his bold imaginings,
Which in the tender gloom
That the morn's rays illume
A more than mortal loveliness attain.
Refulgent glows the future Time—
The dim, far centuries sublime—
When his exalted dreams,
Bright as these dawning gleams,
Shall break through Fancy's golden thrall,
And, shining everywhere for all,
Upon the earth arise
As grand Realities.

IV.

Yes, in that stately shrine
His soul may well divine
The future of the glorious Art that here,
In England, first unveil'd its mysteries rare ;
And morning's deepening glow
Fit emblem prove of that far-spreading light
Which from grey Wisdom's fount
Shall now sublimely flow,
And, circling earth with waves supremely bright,
The darkness of the years surmount.
Ah ! well those mellow'd rays
Which fill the stillness of that solemn place
Should flush the yearnings of his thoughtful face
And rapt inspir'd gaze.

V.

This is he whose honoured name
Has been long enwreath'd with fame ;
This is he whose dreams sublime
Have long flushed the aisles of Time.
Mightiest of earth's craftsmen ! he
Would the marvels deep unfold,
Hid within the dream-like past,
Hid and held in thralldom fast—
Marvels now at last set free
By strange symbols newly cast,

Forms of runic mystery ;
 Hieroglyphics of strange mould,
 Now first graven movably ;
 By whose aid men shall behold
 All the earth's transcendent lore,
 All mind-treasures priz'd of yore :
 Whatsoe'er in memory deep,
 Or on vellum scroll may sleep—
 Now unto the world unroll'd.
 And the Future, broadening, shines
 In the same resplendent glow,
 All its marvels flashing bright
 By his Art's triumphant might :
 Whatsoe'er man's brain designs,
 Wheresoe'er Time's treasures flow,
 There spring blessings infinite,
 Spread illimitably wide
 Upon the waves of an all-conquering tide.

VI.

Caxton, when thy vision'd store
 Over all the world shall pour ;
 When upon mankind shall gleam
 All the splendours of thy dream ;
 When, with clear majestic ray,
 Thought shall hold its sceptred sway,
 Flashing with supreme control
 Through the quicken'd realm of soul ;
 Higher and more glorious still,
 When, with deep world-stirring thrill,
 Inspiration's wondrous store
 Of sublime and hallow'd lore,
 Thron'd in the Book of Holiness,
 Nations far and wide shall bless—
 Then it may be men will see
 What the world has gained by thee ;
 What this England, lusty, bold,
 Owes unto thy brain of gold ;
 Then it shall be men will sing
 In no halting tones thy name,
 And in reverent love shall bring
 Tributes worthy of thy fame—
 Worthy thy illustrious part
 At the dawntide of a world-inspiring Art.

This then, in truth, thy glory—
The greatness and the crown of thy life-story !
 Thou didst foresee,
 Through ages yet to be,
The promise of a newly risen Power—
 Thou, wielder of a mystery wrought !
 Thou, herald of man's deathless thought !
 And, as in that far hour,
Still through thine Art immortal splendours flower.

THOMAS BRADFELD.

THE ETHICAL SOLUTION OF OUR SOCIAL PROBLEM.

THERE is no truth more distinctly and generally admitted in these days than that the one means of securing physical well-being consists, not in any religious belief or worship—however obligatory these may be on other grounds—but in faithful obedience to physical laws. Yet men have taken many ages to reach this truth—even to discover the principle, to say nothing of fulfilling its requirements. So long as mankind remained ignorant of science, they naturally attempted to escape physical ills and to secure physical benefits by observing religious rites, hoping in this way to appease the unseen powers whom they imagined controlled these issues. But as such means proved unreliable and knowledge grew, it became evident that the results desired were entirely independent of religion and wholly dependent on compliance with physical laws. This fact threw no reflection on religion. It simply showed that men had mistaken its sphere, and sought that through religious channels which can be secured only through physical ones.

It is precisely the same with social as with physical well-being. The one is as dependent on moral, as the other on physical laws, and is equally unaffected by any religious observance. Christianity, it is true, presents the highest standard and the strongest inspiration of personal morality; but it formulates no system of social morality applicable to all times, and affords no guarantee for its establishment. As society is physically based on laws of health, so it is socially based on moral laws; and nothing helps it, in either case, except by promoting obedience to their requirements.

Politics, one need hardly point out, is equally powerless with religion to ensure social well-being, except as an embodiment of ethical forces. Apart from this, it has often injured instead of benefiting society. This, no more than in the case of religion, casts any reflection on it. It simply shows that neither politics nor religion contributes the pivot on which social welfare turns; that the one is only an instrument, and the other an inspiring motive towards it; that their specific purpose differs from that of morality, with which they are not necessarily identified; and that it is on moral or ethical forces, thus specifically distinct from both politics and religion, that social progress actually depends.

If this be so—if society is socially as dependent on the fulfilment of moral laws as it is physically dependent on the fulfilment of physical laws—it is evident that nothing but a complete realisation of practical morality—come whence it may—can suffice as the one and only condition on which true social stability and progress can be assured. Ethics, in fact, by demanding and securing obedience to moral laws, constitutes the *one* solvent of our social problem, just as *aqua regia* is the one solvent of gold, and hydrofluoric acid of glass. If the *mass* of men—for this is the point—are ever to be substantially and permanently elevated, it can only be through a universal and exact compliance with ethical laws. But then it would be done easily. What now looks so impossible would be natural and simple, because it would be done in the one only natural way, just as gold, so impervious to any other liquid, disappears at once in nitro-hydrochloric acid, and glass, so absolutely insoluble otherwise, melts instantly in hydrofluoric. What is now a *problem*, and must always remain so, so long as the one means of solving it is neglected, or only imperfectly applied, ceases to be such when this means becomes adequately operative.

But in order that ethics may become thus practically effective for social ends, it must be loosened from its academical grave-clothes, and set free to take its true place amongst other sciences. Morality must no longer be confined to personal obligation, but be recognised equally as the rule of social well-being—as completely as gravitation is felt to be the law of safety, or sanitation of health. “I claim for ethics,” says Professor Muirhead, “that it is a science in the same sense as any one of the physical or mental sciences.” “What is characteristic of our time in this regard is not the rise of a new study, but the new significance that has come to be attached to an old one. The practical importance of the science of ethics, as offering valuable aid towards the solution of problems that vex our daily life, has come to be more fully recognised.”¹

Our social problem, stated in brief, consists in harmonising the needs of subsistence with the demands of culture. So long as the populace make no demand for their due share in social benefits, the pressure of this problem is not felt. But this demand is sure to arise at a certain stage in human progress, and this stage has certainly been reached in England, America, and many parts of Europe. The question therefore is a pressing practical one—how can the entire mass of men, those especially who have to labour for subsistence, duly share the social and intellectual, as well as material benefits, to which as men they are justly entitled? How can they be so raised and qualified as to be able to share them? Our position is that this, with all that it involves—the end of war, slavery, crime, and industrial conflict—will only be accomplished through an *ethical*

¹ *Elements of Ethics*, pp. 11, 25.

system of human life, as different from the present one as can well be imagined; and we shall endeavour to show this in detail, comprising our remarks under the three following heads: (1) The Impossible Political Solution; (2) The Impossible Religious Solution; (3) The Possible Ethical Solution.

I.—THE IMPOSSIBLE POLITICAL SOLUTION.

Politics, simply as a device or bargain, has always been the first resource of mankind for remedying social mischief and adjusting social rights, just as religion, as a creed or rite, has been their first resource for defence against physical ills. Into neither has the moral or scientific element entered, except by slow degrees; and so long as it has been absent, both have been completely powerless. Politics, as a piece of social machinery, unguided and uncontrolled by moral law, can only be a temporary palliative, if it be not a positive evil. As an instrument, it is obvious that it may be used equally for or against men's true interests, according to the hand that directs it and the spirit that pervades it. And the traditional force and sacredness of law only augment its mischief when it is on the wrong side. Law alone may stifle, it cannot settle strife; it may silence, but cannot remove discontent. Everything in politics depends on the kind and measure of ethical truth it embodies; otherwise, instead of alleviating social difficulties, it becomes a fruitful source of them.

In order that politics may truly serve social ends, both its principles and methods must be truly ethical. This is why, of the two chief political schools, the aristocratic, the principle of which, government by the few, is unethical, has never afforded any permanent relief in social crises. In these, recourse has always been had to the democratic principle, government by the people, which is truly ethical, and which can alone be relied on for promoting the real interests of the entire community. But if politics is to serve society, its methods must be ethical as well as its principles. Even the democratic principle becomes open to grave abuse when its methods are not morally safeguarded. When democracy, instead of being the faithful expression of the popular will, is simply a stalking-horse for the promotion of the visionary ideas of unscrupulous politicians, it becomes entirely demoralised, and may work as much mischief as the rigid theories of aristocracy itself.

The three chief hindrances to the application of ethics to politics are: aristocratic pretensions, philanthropic organisation, and socialistic schemes. The first—embodied prominently to-day in the prerogative of the House of Lords—is a very ancient obstacle to ethical progress, and the social injury it has worked is, as Dominie Sampson would have said, "prodigious." The plea that aristocratic opposition to the popular will operates as a necessary restraint rests

entirely on the lack of education and culture which that opposition has encouraged. This duly supplied, as it is now getting to be, the plea altogether vanishes. Men's eyes are also gradually opening to the fact that philanthropic organisation is not entirely the blessing it seems; that it removes the consequences rather than the *causes* of social misery, which it may even tend to perpetuate, and thus diverts men's minds from the real cure—moral and social reform of individuals and institutions. A new hindrance to political progress has of late arisen, in what claims to be society's sole hope and refuge—State socialism. This is inconsistent with ethical teaching, because it shunts the responsibility of government from the people, through its elected representatives, to an irresponsible, fictitious entity, called "the State;" relying exclusively on political machinery, apart from the characters of men and institutions. Our Social Problem will certainly never be solved by any such cut and dried methods; by mere political screw-driving, just another turn of the socialist winch, and the thing is done. Not very long since, Mr. Tom Mann told a public meeting that "it was within the power of the people of Great Britain *in a few short hours* to make so great a change that poverty as they knew it to-day should be banished from the land for ever." To this, Mr. E. O. Greening justly replied, that "it would be a calamity if our people were deluded by State socialistic ideas of curing poverty instantaneously by mere legislation. The poverty was not simply of condition, it was mental. If all the wealth of Lombard Street were distributed amongst the most wretched poor of Whitechapel that (Saturday) night, a large proportion of it would have found its way ere Monday into the big brewer's banking account.¹ The true cure for poverty was to make it possible for the poor to work out their own redemption."

The great mistake of ultra-socialism is that, instead of adjusting, it proposes to obliterate the two chief social factors, individuality and inequality. That these may be, at times, sources of injustice and hindrances to progressive legislation, is no ground whatever for attempting to expunge them. As elements in the constitution of society, they are as capable of advancing as of retarding its interests—of benefiting as of injuring wage earners, of reforming as of maintaining individual abuses, according to their ethical or non-ethical treatment. These prime factors of society are indeed so bound up with the social fabric that, in proposing to discard them, socialism is attempting the impossible. Do away with individual responsibility—shift obligation on to an irresponsible body, called "the State"—and all sense of duty and all incentive to effort would alike be gone. Wipe out inequality in station, and the great impulse to

¹ Here is an actual illustration. An Illinois banker marked the money he paid out to wage earners on Saturday night, and on the Monday night, of the 700 dollars thus paid, 300 dollars had come back from the saloons of the town.

improvement, and the chief deterrent to evil, would be both taken away. In a word, ethical relation and condition, summed up in *character*, fundamentally governs and qualifies all political elements and methods. It is not the laws of political economy that constitute the real difficulty in solving our social problem, but the violation, on the part of individuals or communities, of moral laws. As Mr. Delves, president of the last Trades' Union Congress, truly said, "We have more to fear from drinking and gambling than from all the capitalists of the country." Happily, as the *Daily News* remarked, "The high character and lofty moral standard so conspicuous among the leaders of the working classes are favourable and encouraging symptoms of which the nation has good reason to be proud." True as this may be, in the main, there is another side that must not be lost sight of. All capitalists and labour leaders do not deserve this eulogium; and that the working classes are deeply infected with a belief in socialistic theories, in total ignorance of their moral and political inconsistencies, was made but too evident by their endorsement at the late Congress by a large majority. The absolute impracticability of such ideas, however, practically reduces such a vote to an ignorant and blind protest against injustice. This injustice it is the business of ethics and ethical politicians to remove; and when the working classes once see that society is in earnest in dealing with social problems, they will no longer rely on visionary schemes to abate the evils and wrongs under which they suffer.

II.—THE IMPOSSIBLE RELIGIOUS SOLUTION.

Politics having virtually failed to solve our social problem, it has become customary with religious writers to assert that Christianity is the true solvent of it. Such is undoubtedly the claim of the Christian Church—one specially put forth by the Church of England. But this is certainly a misconception, arising in part from overlooking the nature of the problem, and from confusing the power to inspire a movement with the provision for carrying it out. This will become clear by inquiring, What has Christianity done? and how has it done it? Christianity has conferred on society inestimable blessings which it would be inexcusable to overlook. But are they not sometimes misconceived and exaggerated? Do we not expect from it what it cannot do, and was never intended to do? So far as the past is concerned, Christianity, as represented by churches, has unquestionably often winked at social wrongs, upheld slavery, supported the liquor traffic, and favoured class distinctions and political injustice. The sacred authority of the Bible and the pulpit have actually been suborned to justify the grossest social tyranny. What Christianity has really done for society has been to secure a constituency of the best and wealthiest persons, together

with a large middle trading class, and having obtained for this constituency the blessings of peace, liberty, and justice, it has placed it as a buffer between the aristocracy and the proletariat. Further, by encouraging benevolence and hopes of amelioration, Christianity has checked revolutionary sentiments. But it has not actually lifted the populace socially by securing the necessary reforms. If it be replied this is a question of character, what, we ask, ought to touch that like Christianity? But the fact that Christianity does not usually raise character, apart from favourable conditions, shows that moral deformities call for other than religious remedies, for such as affect heredity and environment. Underneath our Christian respectability there are curses it hides but cannot destroy. Our social wrecks drop into dishonoured graves, while the sleek tradesman, who pays his five guineas a year to religious charities, as his quota of social obligation, passes by on the other side.

That Christianity simply cannot solve our social problem may be also inferred from the manner in which it has conferred social blessings. When we come to inquire how this has been done, we find that it has not been through its specific religious teaching, but through its ethical principles. It has been because the moral level of Christianity is so much higher than that of other religions that it has wrought these beneficial changes. This is evident from the fact that these reforms have mostly taken place during the present century. As a religious system, Christianity has been before the world eighteen centuries, but, for the greater part of that time, it did comparatively little for man's social advancement, often, indeed, retarded it—oppressing instead of blessing men. It may be quite true that, as Dr. Washington Gladden says, "the Christian law, rightly interpreted, contains the solution of the social problem," but it does not follow that it is Christianity's province to work out this solution. If so, it is curious that it has taken eighteen centuries almost to discover this Christian law, and that, during the last century, when religious tenets were discussed and expounded *ad nauseum*, nothing whatever was done to effect the social emancipation of mankind; while war, slavery, drink, and lust held their mad carnival unchecked. What shall we say to-day of the moral effect of traditional and Church Christianity, when, even in the highest places of culture, unmentionable iniquities are being practised? This late discovery of the ethical quality of Christianity, instead of showing that it is the source of the ethical movement of our time, and the destined solvent of social problems, rather goes to show that it is the independent advance of society in ethical, as in other science, that has drawn men's attention to the ethical principles of Christianity, and to the power which, in connection with religious beliefs and practice, they may indirectly exert in securing the highest ends of social life.

There are many other considerations which show that Christianity as a system—Christianity *per se*—cannot solve our social problem; as, for instance, its failure to secure the highest individual type of character; its identification of morality with a special creed; its “other-worldliness,” and its sectarianism.

A large part of our social difficulties is at once removed when individuals of influence attain a high degree of moral character. But Christianity cannot be said to have been conspicuously successful in this respect. “Public and private morality in England to-day” may be, as Mr. Benjamin Kidd says, “higher than at any time in the past,” without being of a very exalted type. Proofs of this, indeed, are to be found on every hand. The following extract from the life of an earnest American evangelical worker, though written some years ago, is not without point to-day. Referring to the prisons and hospitals he visited, he says: “But, after all, the inefficiency of religion doesn’t strike me so much in such places as in what I see every day, and what I realise constantly of our New England religion. It is affecting so sadly little any of our practical business relations, so seldom making a merchant exactly honest, so seldom inspiring men with genial kindness and charity towards one another [what examples one could furnish of this]; no, never hardly entering the least in a politician’s duties, or influencing his operations. There is so much of the dogma—Calvin piety—and so little which makes men better men, I am almost hopeless sometimes, and I fully believe that New England piety, if it doesn’t change very considerably soon, will, in the course of two or three generations, run out.”¹ This want of a distinctively higher type of character, as the necessary product of Christian belief, has sadly impaired Christianity as a social force.

Identification of morality with a particular religious creed is another hindrance in this direction. Some of the older evangelical writers have actually held that morality was impossible apart from their “views of truth.” One such writer gravely assures us that a man may be “personally chaste and sober, amiable, humble, veracious, faithful, and withal humane and generous,” and yet, if lacking what this writer terms “godliness”—*i.e.*, a particular creed—these qualities “are destitute of the very first principles of true morality.” Is not this tendency to refuse to recognise the value of morality apart from its association with our own cherished beliefs still extant, and often a great practical hindrance to the close union, for moral ends, of those holding and those rejecting the Christian creeds—a hindrance which cannot fail to operate disastrously on the ethical progress of society? To acknowledge moral worth and the power of moral

¹ *Life of Charles Loring Brace, founder of the New York Children’s Aid Society.* He was a fearless truth-seeker. “I have no more fear,” he said, “of free-thinking than I have of charity.” Many similar statements to the above, of later date, might be added.

forces detracts nothing from the truth or authority of Christianity in its distinctive sphere. One might almost as well claim for Christianity the right to teach astronomy or physics, as expect it to solve the *social* problem of to-day, declaring, with the above-quoted writer, that there is no such thing as "a science of ethics," no morality independent of theology—*i.e.*, *his* theology.

"Other-worldliness"—especially when, as it often is, excessive—further hampers Christianity in its attempt to deal with social questions. As a religious system, Christianity must be primarily concerned with a future, rather than with the present life, and with individual preparation for it. No student of Scripture can fail to see that this is its main burden. As a consequence, our duty to God naturally takes precedence of our duty to man. Ethically considered, however, nothing can be more false or pernicious than any rivalry or severance between the two. These duties may lie in different levels, that to God loftier and more sacred, yet not more obligatory or essential to true character, than our duty to man. Practically, the two stand, where, indeed, Christ places them, side by side—having distinction, but not inequality. To put this point in a concrete form, what could it signify to one "fit for heaven" whether efforts in the direction of sanitation, or proper housing of the poor, were being made? If he spoke in the way Christians have often argued, or acted, he would say, "No; such efforts are nowhere 'taught in Scripture.' What Christianity teaches is that you should make everybody 'fit for heaven,' like I am, and then the sooner they get there the better." Yet, from another point of view, these ethical and scientific methods might be the very thing needed to so elevate and purify the homes and lives of men as to make it possible for them to listen to and receive the Christian message.

The sectarianism which seems inseparable from religious systems and is certainly full blown in Christian lands, is also a manifest barrier to any concerted endeavour arising in the Churches towards solving our Social Problem. This, of all things, requires comprehension and unanimity, a universal and combined effort to impeach greed, to brand injustice, and to appeal with one voice to the legislature to bring the power of law to bear on the common good. Instead of which, each Church is organising its own "Social Union" or "movement," while what is termed a "Labour Church" has been formed, outside all other Churches, to specially represent the religious or ethical side of social questions. The establishment of separate social organisations outside the Churches is not only itself a confession that Christianity, in its own proper character, cannot meet the social demands of the time, but tends to defeat that end by its want of unity of aim and the exclusion of those who cannot accept Church standards. Most of these "social movements" are,

in fact, forms of benevolence, on a wide scale, carried on chiefly for the benefit of members of the particular Church or sect maintaining them, and do not pretend seriously to attack, through political action, the curses of the times. These can never be destroyed by anything short of a national policy. The check to labour reform, due to the division between the Radicals led by John Burns, and the Socialists under Keir Hardie and the Independent Labour Party, is a striking illustration of the mischief of sectarianism, from which the Churches might take a lesson. The only social ideal Christianity can consistently promise to work out alone is that millennium of converted humanity, faintly adumbrated in some parts of Scripture, and which our Christian forefathers actually believed in. Were it indeed possible to conceive of a world in which *everyone* actually lived and acted always in accordance with the spirit and principles of Jesus Christ, Christianity might indeed claim to have solved our Social Problem; but this is a consummation which, however devoutly to be wished, can hardly be said to be within the range of practical possibility.

III. THE POSSIBLE ETHICAL SOLUTION.

If the foregoing positions be sound, it follows naturally that an ethical solution of our Social Problem is alone possible. This only can ensure that obedience to moral laws on which social well-being depends. But to effect this, ethics must be lifted from its present academical limitations, take its rightful place as a necessary factor in education, and be applied practically to the everyday affairs of life. In short, it must have an equal place assigned to it with other sciences, as one of the greatest safeguards and preservatives of society. Three progressive changes necessary to solve our social problem, may be justly anticipated as the result of such general ethical cultivation.

1. *A higher type of public character.* That Christianity does not, as already suggested, produce the highest type even of private character is only too apparent. One could easily give instances of this. And there can be no doubt that, even as regards personal virtue, healthy moral training and environment are far more potent than religious teaching, especially where moral obligation is not clearly defined and emphasised. But this is still more manifest as regards *public* character, on which social virtue so much depends. This is confessedly conventional. Christianity has done absolutely nothing to raise the tone of it, except in a few isolated instances. Many men who are excellent persons in private fail utterly in public life. And it is clear that Christianity will never of itself raise the type of public character, because this depends on knowledge and training, which ethics alone can give. Acceptance of Christianity, in fact,

never has lifted men generally to the true ethical standard of action, irrespective of contemporary thought and custom; but, on the contrary, mankind have frequently lowered the standard of Christian morality to the level of prevailing sentiment. Social evils—*e.g.*, war, slavery, and drink—have not only been tolerated but openly supported by Christians, and are in a measure still supported by them, at any rate, war and drink are. And it is only when an ethical view of such questions is reached—not through religious “conversion,” but through an educational process, due to the growth of public opinion—that the moral truth of the matter is perceived, and the real teaching of Christianity vindicated. All this goes to show that, just as in science and athletics, so in moral character, education and training in the principles in question are absolutely necessary to create a new type. Thinking about, or believing in, athletics will never make a man an athlete; and so is it with the type of character needed for social progress. That Christian teachers and Churches do not demand such a character as a condition of Christian profession is easily explained. How could they demand that which, for the mass of men, depends on conditions that do not exist—but which must exist before the “Kingdom of God” can come? The conventional type of character may do to get to heaven with, but it will never make a paradise of earth.

2. *Unity in Social Reform.* It is astonishing what an amount of force is now wasted through the want of any kind of unity or co-operation between philanthropic and reforming agencies. Established in complete independence of each other, they often, even when their objects are similar, appear to fight simply for their own hand, never venturing to act in concert. This tendency to focus effort on one point exclusively clearly puts an organisation at considerable disadvantage. In the case of temperance, for instance, one of our most practical social reforms, there are a hundred things that encourage drinking indirectly—great brewing and distilling companies and interests, vintage industries, and so forth—none of which are touched by a society aiming only at making converts to abstinence. Ethical teaching would unquestionably introduce a greater unity into social reform, and at the same time a greater comprehensiveness, so that efforts at present casually directed now to one point and now to another, might be simultaneously brought to bear on all forms and degrees of the evil aimed at. The need of this unity and concentration of organisation, so as to ensure the most comprehensive range, and yet the most effective attack at each point, is equally manifest in every kind of reforming agency. Ethical training would teach men how they need to meet the social enemies of mankind—drink, impurity, sweating, gambling, poverty, &c.—at *all* points, as they have never yet done, if they would bring off society victor in the dire struggle with its foes.

3. *Law ranged wholly on the moral side.** On nothing would ethical culture exert a more salutary influence than on legislation and legal decisions. This is confessedly a chaos of tradition and arbitrary rule, and a hotbed of professionalism, full of the direst temptations to men of ability to sacrifice morality to personal gain or fame. What will advance their own interests and standing or the fads of their constituents or clients far more influences members of Parliament, solicitors, and barristers, than the real needs of society and the true ends of justice. How much tradition and custom still sway the appropriation of a nation's revenues, and the dealings with the public purse! What pensions are still bestowed on the rich in spite of the needs and hardships of the poor! Ethical principles duly taught would assuredly change all this, by bringing law over, both in principle and practice, to the moral side. Nothing more completely enshrines the custom or drift of the time, whatever it be, than law; so that were society constitutionally ethical instead of conventional, this could not fail to be prominently marked in legislation and legal action. One can hardly put a limit to the extent in which law courts, as well as Acts of Parliament, might redeem society—create a higher moral tone and practice—were their objects and methods invariably dictated, not by self-interest or policy, but by a truly ethical instinct. As Mr. William Black justly says in one of his novels, “You *can* make men moral by the action of Parliament. For what is morality but the perfect adjustment of the human organism to the actual conditions of life, the observance by the human being of those unchangeable, inexorable laws of the universe, to break which is death, physical or spiritual, as the case may be? . . . There is not an Education Bill, or a University Tests Bill, or an Industrial Dwellings Bill, you pass which has not its effect, for good or ill, on the relations between the people of a country and those eternal laws of right which are ever demanding fulfilment.”

Of the vast social changes consequent on general ethical cultivation—raising the type of character, unifying social reform, and securing law exclusively on the side of morality—we can at present form no idea. We may look at these changes both on the side of sentiment and economy, and in either case we are struck with the amazing revolution which a faithful application of ethical principles could not fail to induce. At present, life and money, as well as character, are staked and wrecked, with appalling results in sickness, suffering, death, and ruin, two-thirds of which, at least, could be absolutely obliterated, if men obeyed the moral conditions of social welfare. We never can be too strongly impressed with the fact that all preventible suffering, disease, crime, and loss is so much social dead-weight, dragging humanity downwards, and keeping it down; and that no benevolent efforts can ever effectually decrease this

incubus, which falls especially on those least able to sustain it. We can never efface the moral and social degradation arising from injustice and ignorance by charities or mercantile devices. There has been no greater curse to society than the halo thrown around benevolence by a mistaken piety. Half the money spent in indolent *largesses*, industriously applied to practical reforms, would have made the world another place. A merchant does not atone for the crime of imperilling ships and men by sagacious insurances; does not recover the courage, strength, and hope which *society* loses. It may be thought a great thing for the Government to have got back Jabez Balfour at a cost of £7000; but had ethical principles prevailed—which there is some talk now of applying to commercial companies—the “*Liberator*” would never have existed, and the misery, loss, and ruin it has caused—over £657,502 lost, 62 deaths, and 7 maniacs—would never have been known. The economic side of morality is far too slightly apprehended. An eminent literary man, in a private letter, remarks that ethical teaching will not be listened to when it touches the purse. Men resent it because it closes the gambling den, drink-shop, and immoral resort, forgetting the millions which—from this point of view alone—it would save by securing society against wasteful and pernicious outlay—culpable misuse of money, which simply *sinks* men, and renders healthy and elevated life morally and socially impossible.

One specially valuable feature of ethics is that it demands and creates that excellence in *secular* things on which the well-being of society practically depends. It is on the moral tone of our books, pictures, amusements, commerce, and habits, not on the number or grandeur of our religious observances, that human welfare turns. If all books were pure, all conversation healthy, all amusements elevating, all commerce honest, all law just, and all friendships sincere, the world would be different indeed. Is this impossible? No; but only ethical cultivation can secure it. Christianity has virtually failed to purify and elevate secular things. It has either stood aloof from them, or selfishly used them; has encouraged the heresy that the whole life cannot be lifted, and that nothing can be done for morality until individuals are all formally Christians and through their becoming so.¹ There is no sort of ground for this idea that a high level of social morality cannot be reached until individuals are approximately perfect. The two things are related, but not in the close and arbitrary way Christian teaching has represented. *Social* morality is not nearly so unattainable an ideal as the personal excellence taught by Christ and the New Testament, for this reason, among others, that it lies more in the sphere of the

¹ There is much improvement in this respect of late, especially amongst Non-conformists; but the tardy recognition of the true place of secular things shows how terribly Christianity has been misconceived by its followers.

concrete, and is far more a question of machinery and combined action than the latter, and may be aided and maintained by those far from morally perfect in the ideal Christian sense. To argue that everything will come right socially, when *individuals* are all they should be, and that we must wait for this, is the very "midsummer madness" of Utopianism.

The question then remains: What practical steps can be taken for the cultivation and application of ethics necessary to solve our Social Problem? We must confine ourselves to two points: (1) More friendly co-operation between religious and ethical ideas and teachers; (2) The formation of an association for applying ethics to practical life.

(1) That ethical cultivation may become general, and exercise its due force on human life, in the same way that physical science has affected it, there must be a deeper sympathy between religious and moral principles and their respective advocates, than has ever yet existed. There is no sort of ground for the suspicion and distrust with which ethical ideas and teachers are now commonly treated by the clergy and religious people, simply because they are isolated from the Churches and creeds. That the advocates of ethics do not accept orthodox theology is no sound reason for looking askance upon them, and giving them the clerical "cold shoulder"—and *how* cold that is we will not venture to say. This attitude of suspicion and jealousy on the part of the Christian Church arises undoubtedly from the belief that ethical reform is its own work, that the moral changes which the Church sees are coming ought to be its exclusive fruit. A leading Bishop has plainly stated that ethics is not "likely to do what it is the business of the Christian Church to do." And the Archbishop of Canterbury is evidently of the same opinion. But whether we look at facts or arguments, we easily see that this clerical plea is without foundation, that the Church of England, at any rate, in girding at ethical ideas and teachers, is acting in the truly "dog-in-the-manger" spirit, complaining of others for doing what it cannot and does not do itself. Where, for instance, is the logic of the following assertion, quoted from the Primate's Visitation Charge for 1890, entitled *Christ and His Times?* "All these social difficulties . . . are secular and economic questions . . . and therefore Church questions of deepest moment." . . . "It is only when working for the sake of mankind, and not for her own sake, that the Church fulfils her appointed function." After hazarding these dangerous statements, the Archbishop practically acknowledges the Church's inability to perform this task single-handed, when he says, "Social problems are not to be solved by rule, nor committed to well-meaningness excited by religion; but . . . religion required them to be dealt with scientifically and constructively." What could more truly express the need of ethics,

as a distinct force and agent, in settling social difficulties, than these italicised words? Clearly Christian and ethical teachers are doing the same work in different spheres, and for society's sake, they ought to act in concert, and not charge each other—a fault the latter are certainly free from—with poaching in each other's preserves.

(2) But that ethics may be duly applied to our Social Problem, some kind of public association, different from any that exists, is undoubtedly called for. In all cases of radical social change, organisation is imperative. This is needed both to encourage ethical education and to initiate practical action. There is no sort of comparison between the attention paid to ethics in education and their acknowledged practical importance. Mr. J. D. McClure, M.A., LL.M., head master of Mill Hill school, says (in a letter from which the writer is kindly permitted to quote), "Ethics are not compulsory for any degree. There is a 'Moral Science Tripos' at Cambridge; very few men graduate in that subject." This neglect of ethics contrasts strikingly with Mr. McClure's opinion of its value expressed in another part of the same letter, "It is not easy," he says, "to over-estimate the importance of ethical teaching. I have already stated my opinion—for what it may be worth—that ethics and politics should form part of the education of the citizen, and that 'a moral revival is the necessary precursor of any religious revival worth the name.'" Besides stimulating education, a public association would bring ethics to bear directly on the everyday questions of practical life. The existing ethical societies are either too academic or too purely social—ethical Churches in fact—to apply ethical principles practically to social problems. There are a thousand ways, local as well as general, which we have no space to describe, in which an ethical association would be able to purify the moral atmosphere and engender a new type and status of life, that would form a basis for greater changes.¹ If, as Dr. Washington Gladden says, "The State is to be Christianised, Government is to be Christianised, . . . our notion of what government ought to be is to be Christianised;" . . . if "the sentiments, theories, customs, institutions, laws, and governments of the people are to be penetrated with the Christian spirit, founded on Christian principles, and ruled by Christian law," it will need far more than any exclusively *religious* forces, far more than even those of Christianity, to accomplish this. It will demand the co-operation of every force and every truth that God has ever made known, or ever will make known, to mankind,

¹ The objects of such an association, to the details of which the writer has given some thought, would include: (1) Binding together persons specially pledged to advocate all moral objects; (2) Diffusing information on, and emphasising the importance of, all moral questions; (3) Promoting co-operation among reforming agencies, and removing obstacles to the union, for moral ends, of persons of different creeds and opinions; (4) Influencing legislation in favour of morals, and directing it to moral objects.

and certainly not least that of ethics. The "ethical revival," which evangelical writers themselves admit, is "the need of the hour" (*Evangelical Magazine*, May, 1894), will certainly never be brought about unless ethical teaching obtains a far larger share in education than at present, and exercises its legitimate influence on the course and conduct of public life.

Of the many incidental ways in which the spread of ethical culture would help to solve our Social Problem, we have neither space nor call to speak. It is enough if we have shown that this solution must be primarily and essentially *ethical*. It is for each one, as well as for the community, to so cultivate the ethical spirit and temper, as to contribute their respective quota of moral influence to the life within their reach, and thus help onwards the great reconstruction of the future. Happily, this is a work in which everyone, even the least, may share. The tiniest hand may sometimes liberate the mightiest forces; and if we do our part, we may do more, by the moral training of ourselves and families, to solve the "problems that vex our daily life," in the wider sphere of commerce and the State, than we think. Why—we cannot help asking as we look back and around—has human development demanded such awful sacrifices of life and happiness; such protracted delay; such bitter disappointments? Because ethical principles alone, that could be reached only, whether by nations or individuals, through prolonged moral discipline, can furnish the true basis of society. All other bases than that of *ethicism*, if one may coin a word, bases that violate ethics—despotism, feudalism, monasticism, bastard industrialism, and ultra-socialism—are delusions, and have proved such by the holocaust of death and suffering with which they have desolated society. But in no other way but through these "valleys of the shadow of death," could men learn that the true social foundation is an ethical one; that it is on morality alone—individual and national—that society can be permanently built.

CHARLES FORD.

DEMOCRATIC IDEALS.

THERE appeared in the July number of your valuable Magazine an article entitled "Democracy at Home," which seemed to me and others to present such a one-sided and distorted view of the democracy and their views, and particularly of those ideals and aspirations which are so rapidly displanting the old and effete ideals of Liberalism, and which your writer calls the "new Radicalism," but which I prefer to call "Collectivism," that I deemed it not improbable that an impartial Review would wish to place before its readers another view of the question.

As the son of a worker, and associated with working men every day of my life, I come forward, not to defend my class, for they need no defence—being, as we all in a great measure are, but the product of a system—but to give my view of them, and to state as clearly as my limited capacity will allow, the views which are denounced in your article, as they appear to one who views them from a worker's standpoint.

At the outset I may say that the article to which I reply bristles with economic fallacies, and the writer, while writing in a grandiose style of the ignorant worker, commits to paper errors of which even the despised worker would be ashamed.

The article all through upholds the fallacy that great riches can exist without injustice to the worker, and says that "great and appalling poverty does exist, but it does not exist because of great wealth." The truth is, as I will demonstrate, that riches can only be useful to their owner in so far as they enable him to command the labour of others, for if a man owned fifty miles of land and had for his habitation a gorgeous palace raised by the labour of others, that land only would be of use to him that he was able to cultivate, and that part of the palace that he had time to use, to clean, and to repair. There is nothing of the nature of real wealth which of itself increases in value; it only becomes valuable when labour is applied to it; it is, therefore, ridiculous to think that its symbol, money, can by some mysterious process increase in value of its own accord. If a man lives on interest, he is taxing the labour of others for his support, and they have not only to provide for his sustenance, but to supply the ravages which the great destroyer Time makes in the real wealth; therefore I assert that wealth is

the product of labour, and that no man can gather a great store of it without exploiting others, which I define as robbing from the labourer a portion of his only marketable commodity—labour.

Even Mr. Breslin thinks that slaves ought to be freed, but what other than a slave is he who is forced by the pressure of circumstances to labour for others, and to accept for his labour less than its true value. Freedom of contract, it is contended, is assured to the worker by law; he may make a contract with whom he pleases and at any wage he pleases, or he may refrain from making a contract at all. But this freedom is only apparent, not real, for all the land of England is taken up; there remains now not one spot which has not its claimant, and as all the means of subsistence comes from the land, if the landless do not make a compact with the landowner, he will assuredly starve, and as in the compact each must sell some thing, and the worker has nothing to sell but his labour, he sells himself as a slave for a certain number of hours per day, in exchange for food, shelter, and raiment for himself, his wife, and his family.

It is worthy of note here that chattel-slavery would not pay now-a-days, as the slave, being property, had to be well looked after or he would decline in value. The loss of a wage-slave now means nothing but the hire of another; the loss of a chattel-slave, however, meant the loss of a valuable property.

Mr. Breslin says: "That every man is born free and equal is a great doctrine; but it does not by any means follow that every man is equal." But is every man born free and equal? Be that doctrine great or small, it is decidedly untrue: it is contrary to the law of heredity, for the child born of parents who have passed their lives in the slums, and the child born of diseased parents, either physically, mentally, or morally, cannot possibly be equal to the child born under better conditions and of healthier and more intelligent parents. Nor are children born equal socially; and the child of the labourer has not the same opportunities as the child of the well-to-do. That it by no means follows that all are equal, follows from what I have said; but I claim that, in the sight of the law, which is, or ought to be, made for all sections of the community, in the interests of all, all men ought to be free and equal.

In the mind of the worker his wants are clear enough; he sees that the most glaring inequalities exist, and he demands, in justice to his children and himself, "equal opportunity for all." He says that as the land is the storehouse from which all wealth is extracted and the depot for all our food supply, that the land ought to belong to the nation and not to a section of it; that society is founded upon labour, therefore that every one who is physically and mentally fit ought, before being allowed to partake of the labour of all, to do something in return for the good of all. He says that much waste exists, and much useless toil, owing to the disorganised method of pro-

duction and distribution ; that his father and brothers are unable to find employment and lack bread ; that his sisters, driven by the force of circumstances, walk the streets and offer their bodies to the highest bidder ; and that his children often die an early death from insufficient nourishment. And he says further that all this is preventible ; that industry ought to be organised in the interests of all ; and that land and capital ought to belong to the whole community.

He claims that his children's education ought to be an improvement upon his own ; and by education he does not mean the cramming of the dates when one set of ruffians murdered another, nor of the rise and fall of titled nonentities—that is wholly the idea of the superior persons who formulate our educational code ; but by education he means the drawing out of the faculties and the careful training of the senses and the mind.

He thinks, too, that having laboured for the nation until old age has overtaken him, he has a right to a decent living for the remainder of his days without the brand of pauperism.

He sees that much misery and wretchedness and want are due to economic causes, and he calls upon the State to heal its own diseases.

Mr. Breslin asserts that "the working man is not religious, and his morals, if theoretically impeccable, are in practice easy and peculiar." To this I reply that, taken as a whole, working-class morality will compare favourably with the morality of the upper classes as revealed in the divorce courts ; and also that idleness is immoral, and from this sin they as a class are free. I would point out, moreover, that a large proportion of sexual immorality is due to the horrid slums in which poverty forces the poor to herd together, where in many cases ten, twelve, or even more people, of all ages and sexes, have been found herded together into a single room. Can you wonder that people living under these conditions contract immoral habits ? And do you blame them or the cruel system which allows such to be ?

That the working-man is not religious in the orthodox sense is true ; that, as a whole, he has a deep sense of the importance of morality is also true. He is not religious, because he sees the sham and fraud of orthodox religion, sees those who preach "blessed are ye poor" rolling in the lap of luxury, and wasting in frivolities that which has been earned by the sweat and toil of himself and his class. But the worker has a practical religion, if not a creed ; he has given up listening to those who tell him to "take no thought for the morrow," and that "it will be all right hereafter" ; and he has commenced to work for the realisation of his heaven below.

To say, however, that all this is the view of the great mass of the workers would be untrue, although it is of a large number of them, and has been accepted by the workers' Trades Unions and Institutions ; the type of the mass of the workers, however, is

not what Mr. Breslin pictures him, a childish but brutal creature, envious of the upper classes, actuated by mean jealousies and the covetous clamourings of envy to voice his discontent not so much against what he has not, as against what others have, the main obstacle to whose progress is the scepticism of ignorance, mean jealousies, and latent brutality. Not this at all! As a whole, he is merely a contented wage-slave, the main obstacle to whose progress is his own apathy and indifference.

It is the few and the more intelligent workers who voice the claims and aspirations which called forth the tirade from Mr. Breslin; but those few are increasing in number, day by day the forces of discontent are being augmented, and day by day the workers throughout the length and breadth of the land are being impregnated with new hopes, new thoughts, and new ideals; they are coming to see that privilege means the usurpation of the rights of the many by the few, that property means the conserving of the whole heritage of man in the hands of a few, and they are uniting, man with man, throughout the world to sweep away the gospel of Mammon, and in its place to put the higher doctrines of love, of brotherhood, and of righteousness. "By their fruits ye shall know them," said Jesus Christ; and the fruits of capitalism are the unemployed, the social evil, and moral stagnation. How could other be expected? Is it not an axiom that no society whose economic basis is unsound can of itself be righteous, and the society that, in the face of starving millions, flaunts an unemployed problem when land is lying idle calling upon them to cultivate it, can be none other than unsound and immoral?

The worker does not hope alone to effect this great change; already the sympathies of tens of thousands have been aroused; but, enervated by the present system, the worker does not respond to the call of duty so easily as those upon whom the economic conditions do not press so heavily; and I confidently expect that in the near future there will range themselves alongside those who are working for the cause of righteousness and brotherhood on earth, thousands whose economic conditions might seem rather to point to an opposite course.

Man must necessarily follow his ideals, and the ideals of society are undoubtedly changing, signs are not wanting to show that great economic changes are at hand, and that not a section, but the whole of humanity, will unite in striving towards that reign of love and brotherhood to which the hopes of all men go out as the highest ideal presented by modern thought, and the day predicted by Burns,

"When man to man o'er a' the earth
Shall brithers be for a that,"

will be at hand.

J. W. KENNEDY.

GEORGE AND SPENCER:

A LIBERTY SEARCH-LIGHT ON THE LAND QUESTION.

MANY people of late are concerning themselves greatly about Mr. Herbert Spencer on the Land Question; and, indeed, seeing the position he holds in the philosophic world, it is no wonder they should do so. No doubt land-reformers find it very annoying that they cannot force Mr. Spencer to throw the great weight of his opinions into the scale of expropriation. It is all the more tantalising to them, perhaps, inasmuch as his position in regard to the relations of man to the soil, taken together with some of his sociological teachings, is, to say the least, somewhat involved, and very easily twisted into the service of land-nationalisers and land-taxers. Take Mr. Spencer's utterances on the land question, and compare them with some fundamentals of his philosophy, and he will be found to be very consistent indeed; compare them with some other fundamentals of his philosophy, and he will be found to be very inconsistent. Further, where Spencer's philosophy is faulty, there it best supports the arguments of the land-nationalisers, and where it is sound it thoroughly supports his present position; although, as I shall show, it invites him to face the matter more squarely from a point of view which, although indicated by him, is yet neglected in its application.

We will turn to one or two of his philosophic principles. The most fundamental of these is his formula of liberty—viz., that every one has a right to do as he wills, provided he infringes not the equal right of another. There is no need for me to insist upon the truth of this formula, for Spencer has amply shown how impossible is organised society without at least some regard to it, and has also shown that society will reach its completeness, as far as a just basis is concerned, when it, in all respects, conforms to the law of equal freedom.

It was from this law that Mr. Spencer, in 1850, deduced the "right to the use of the earth." He commenced Chapter IX. of *Social Statics*, as follows:

"Sect. 1.—Given a race of beings having like claims to pursue the object of their desires—given a world adapted to the gratification of

those desires—a world into which such beings are similarly born, and it unavoidably follows that they have equal rights to the use of this world. For if each of them has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other, then each of them is free to use the earth for the satisfaction of his wants, provided he allows all others the same liberty. And conversely, it is manifest that no one or part of them may use the earth in such a way as to prevent the rest from similarly using it; seeing that to do this is to assume greater freedom than the rest, and consequently to break the law."

So far the reasoning is accurate, and the position follows clearly from the first principle. But when he goes on to say, "Equity therefore does not permit property in land," the "therefore" does not seem so clearly to follow, and we all at once begin to ask what is meant by private property, and what are the true conditions of land usage and of land possession? Are there none, other than those we see around us, and if there are any, what are those conditions?—for equity is clearly opposed to our present form of land ownership, as Mr. Spencer held, and still holds.

For the present we must waive these points, and return to the law of equal freedom, from which has been so clearly and accurately deduced the right of every one to the use of the earth. If we look at this law closely, we find that, almost as by a law of the mind, there is an implication in it, which, though it does not follow logically from it, is nevertheless tacitly assumed by nearly all philosophers. It was assumed by Mr. Spencer in his *Social Statics*, and although tacitly denied in his later works, where he shows a more complete philosophic grasp, it has not been openly denied; on the contrary, it has, inconsistently as I shall show, been both tacitly assumed and openly avowed, and consequently, largely as a result of this inconsistency, he has not been able to clearly explain his somewhat changed attitude as regards land ownership, and has incurred the charge from superficial thinkers of having changed his opinions to suit "Sir John and his Grace!"

For instance, no sooner does he, in 1850, deduce the right to the use of the earth from the fundamental principle under consideration, than he flies off at a tangent and demands its immediate application. He says:

"Yes, but there are exceptions, say you. We cannot always be strictly guided by abstract principles. Prudential considerations must have some weight. It is necessary to use a little policy.

"Very specious no doubt are your reasons for advocating this or the other exception. But if there be any truth in the foregoing argument, no infraction of the law can be made with impunity. . . .

"The reasons for thus specially insisting on implicit obedience will become apparent as the reader proceeds. Amongst the conclusions inevitably following from an admitted principle, he will most likely find several for which he is hardly prepared. Some of these will seem strange, others impracticable; and it may be, one or two wholly at variance with

his ideas of duty. Nevertheless, should he find them logically derived from a given fundamental truth, he will have no alternative but to adopt them as rules of conduct which ought to be followed without exception. If there be any weight in the considerations above set forth, then, no matter how seemingly inexpedient, dangerous, injurious even, may be the course which morality points out as 'abstractly right' the highest wisdom is in perfect and fearless submission."

And then, in the application of this general exhortation to the matter of land-reform, he says :

"In our tender regards for the vested interests of the few, let us not forget that the rights of the many are in abeyance, and must remain so as long as the earth is monopolised by individuals."

Here we have a clear and decided command that when we find the individuals of a society doing a grievous wrong, there is no alternative but for Government to go conscientiously about the setting of it right, in earnest and with a will. We are to let no exceptions nor expediences be put in the way, but must act with fearless submission to what is "abstractly right."

In *The Study of Sociology*, published in 1873, the same idea, then somewhat inconsistently, occurs :

"When," he says, "in any way, direct or indirect, the unworthy deprive the worthy of their dues, or impede them in the quiet pursuit of their ends, then may properly come the demand, 'interfere promptly, and be in fact the protectors you are in name.'"

And that is how the matter strikes the minds of most people. If everyone has the right to do as he likes, provided he infringe not the equal rights of another, then it seems to follow that those who do interfere with the rights of others may well and properly be the object of governmental interference and restraint. "Force to repel force," we have as a dictum. "No force except to restrain the aggressor," etc. Yet, should any one set out to use force to restrain all aggressors, no exploit of Don Quixote were so ridiculous as such an errand would be. Says the State Socialist to the Individualist, "Oh, yes, we believe in your law of equal freedom, of course, just as you do ; we believe that everyone should do as he likes, provided he do not interfere with the equal rights of others. But 'there's the rub.' We assert that the private ownership of the means of production is an institution which does, and, as long as it exists, always must, interfere with the rights of others ;" so he concludes, as a matter of course, that society, in the shape of a Government, is justified in stepping in as the "redresser of ills and the righter of wrongs." And there is no philosopher to come forward with clear logic and rebuke him for his clumsiness. None, indeed, that do not stumble by virtue of the same clumsiness. Mill, in his widely read and widely accepted *Essay on Liberty*, declares

that the object of his essay is "to assert one simple principle as entitled to govern absolutely the dealings of society with the individual, in the way of compulsion and control." And that simple principle is, that, when one individual aggresses upon another, society has a right to use force to restrain the aggressor.

I would point out, however (and in this connection I can do no more than point it out, leaving its thorough analysis for future publication), that this simple principle, useful as it is, cannot guide us absolutely in the matter of compulsion and control. It does not follow logically, nor in any other way, from the law of equal freedom, that wrongdoers should be forcibly restrained by society. Society has another and a better way of righting its wrongs, which may be illustrated by our present treatment of the land question; in which I shall call in the evidence of the best and most systematic part of Spencer's philosophy. Indeed, the granting of a principle to be abstractly right does not, as Mr. Spencer supposed in 1850, involve its immediate application without exception; but, on the contrary, before these abstract rules be applied to the righting of what is wrong, it behoves us to ascertain how far their application will clash with other fundamental rights. Further, so certain is it that, in an undeveloped society, these rights will, and do, clash, that Spencer has been forced to bring forth a relative ethic to guide us where absolute ethics will not apply; and one, more profound than Spencer, though less explicit, has in his philosophy systematically carried in his mind the theory that progress is a continual war between fact and right, between the relatively right and the absolutely just.

A thorough grasp of these considerations, in connection with an examination of the land question from an economic point of view, will explain Spencer's past and present position on the matter, without resorting to the somewhat vulgar attitude of Henry George, who calls out "traitor," because he looks through coloured spectacles at the philosophy of a man immeasurably above his reach in philosophic acumen.¹ At the same time, in giving the solution of the land question, as somewhat unconsciously indicated by Spencer, we shall have to accuse him of an omission that is only excusable when we remember the huge task which he has undertaken and accomplished, and the service which he has rendered to the all-important science of Sociology.

¹ "Try Herbert Spencer by the ideas that he once held—the idea of a living God, whose creatures we are, and the idea of a divine order to which we are bound to conform. Or try him by what he now professes—the idea that we are but the evolutionary results of the integrations of matter and motion. Try him by the principles of *Social Statics*, or try him by the principles of *Justice*. In this chapter he proves himself alike a traitor to all that he once held, and to all that he now holds—a conscious and deliberate traitor, who assumes the place of the philosopher, the office of the judge, only to darken truth and deny justice; to sell out the right of the wronged, and to prostitute his powers in the defence of the wronger." *A Perplexed Philosopher*, p. 225. WE SHALL SEE.

We have stated Mr. Spencer's land theories of 1850. How are they altered by later utterances, and are these utterances in accordance with a corresponding change in fundamental principles? Or are they made, as Henry George declares them to be, with flagrant intellectual dishonesty, to please "Sir John and his Grace"?

In 1850, Mr. Spencer deduced the abstract right to the use of the earth from the law of equal freedom. He also insisted upon the unequivocal application of this abstract right to present undeveloped conditions; and it was not until the publication of *Political Institutions* that we had the first avowed indication that any change of position had occurred, although the change had evidently been growing. In the *Study of Sociology* (1873), speaking of political institutions, he says:

"That we should have for our working-king one in whom a purely scientific conception of things had become dominant, and who was thus out of harmony with the present social state, would probably be detrimental, and might be disastrous. For it cannot be too emphatically asserted that the policy of compromise, alike in institutions, in actions, and beliefs, which especially characterises English life, is essential to a society going through the transition caused by continuous growth and development. . . . Always the old adjustment for a small size is made wrong by the larger size it has been instrumental in producing—always the transition structure is a compromise between the requirements of past and future, fulfilling in an imperfect way the requirements of the present."

The non-recognition of this truth, he goes on to say, characterises too much the reformers, political, religious, and social, of our time.

This in itself is sufficient to show why, although adhering to the abstract right to land of *Social Statics* and also to its deductions as to personal rights, he, nevertheless, no longer insists upon immediate and unequivocal application of these abstract rights and deductions to concrete conditions, although still asserting the necessity for, and use of, those abstract principles. The influence of these thoughts upon Spencer's land theories is seen where, in *Political Institutions*, he drops his tone of confidence, and speaks of land reform and land ownership in terms of "may be," "perhaps," "it seems possible," &c. And in his letter to the *St. James's Gazette* (October 27, 1882), speaking of that change of tone, he says:

"The fact is that I have here expressed myself in a way much more qualified than is usual with me, because I do not see how certain tendencies, which are apparently conflicting, will eventually work out. The purely ethical view of the matter does not obviously harmonise with the political and the politico-economical view."

It is clear that this change of attitude, from a position of absolute confidence to one of doubt and equivocation, can be wholly accounted for by the growth of Mr. Spencer's economic, political, and philo-

sophic grasp ; and that there is no room whatever for the charge of intellectual dishonesty. As to the smaller matters about which Mr. George quibbles, such would not have been construed into dishonesty ; had it not been for the larger charge which we see resulted from the failure of George to appreciate the synthetic philosophy at which he sneers, and from his utter inability to understand even the position as to relative and absolute ethics.

As evidence of the spirit in which George approaches the Spencerian philosophy : in *Justice*, Spencer says that in our undeveloped state government is a necessity, and that therefore taxation of property is in order. This George denies, and says, " that Spencer really knows better ; that he really sees that the taxation of products is a violation of the rights of property, which differs from slavery only in degree ; and that he is only advocating it in the interests of that privileged class, to gain whose tolerance now seems to be his supreme ambition, is clearly shown further on in this same book." Well, of course Spencer condemns taxation of property ; nor can it by any means be reconciled with absolute justice ; but Spencer very correctly distinguishes " between the living world we see and the world as it ought to be," as Ibsen puts it, and recognises that, in our undeveloped state, taxation is a matter of necessity, though something to be rid of as early as possible—becomes a temporary right, though not absolutely just. This position clearly follows from a thorough conception of what ought to be, and from an equally thorough grasp of what is practical at the present time. Mr. George's sneer at the " supreme ambition " could come only from one who looks through coloured spectacles of some sort. As further evidence in this direction : in *A Perplexed Philosopher* (p. 161) we have the following :

" If in all we are, and think, and feel, we are but phases of the interaction of matter and motion : if, behind the force manifested in matter and motion is nothing but the unknowable, and before us nothing but dissipation—personal dissipation when we die, and the matter and motion of which alone we are composed seeks other forms, and then a death of the race, followed by a dissipation of the globe—why should we not eat, drink, and be merry to the limits of our digestion ? . . . Why should I not lie whenever I may find it convenient and safe to lie ? "

Then, after more such like questions suggesting that the moral dishonesty with which he charges Spencer proceeds directly from his philosophy, George concludes by answering the whole chapter in a line or two of print. It is sufficient to see, he says, that Spencer's argument in *Justice* asserts the same principle from which in *Social Statics* he condemns private property in land. What ! a fundamental principle of right doing to follow from a philosophy that can give no reason for right and wrong, no reason for telling the truth,

and from which flows, as a matter of course, intellectual and moral dishonesty?

To return to the matter in hand. Spencer is not long in passing from the stage of doubt to a more positive position in regard to land ownership. His growing distrust of the State, and of the practicability, or even of the desirability, of its regulating the relations of one man to another, and of men to the soil, soon grew into a fixed belief that the resumption of the land by the State would be quite disastrous, although he still adheres to man's right to the use of the earth as a matter of what ought to be, and as what may come about in course of time and as a result of development.

This position seems to me to be philosophic as far as it goes; but as Mr. Spencer had put his hand to the plough, and as with such a show of reason he had deduced man's right to the free use of the natural media, and shown how fundamental is this right, it seems to follow that he should not have allowed this matter to rest until he had given us more light, and some indication of the direction in which man might look for his salvation. I do not say that he has given us no light. He has even given us the true conditions of land-usage; but he has not given us them as conditions at which we may hope to arrive, nor has he made any real effort to solve the perplexities and the incongruities between what ought to be and what is, nor to bridge over the difficulties that may be encountered in attaining to a consistent system.

I would not, of course, say that Mr. Spencer's social position may not have exercised some unconscious influence upon his land theories; indeed it is certain that all of us are given more or less to mix our own interests with our opinions—a weakness we all need to watch pretty closely; but it is certain that the accumulating evidence against the employment of State action, and the impracticability of land nationalising schemes, were what weighed above and before all other reasons or bias in thenceforth bringing Mr. Spencer to “pity the plumage while he forgets the dying bird,” and in closing his mouth against what he once called “the monstrous thing” of obliging nine out of ten to live in this world upon sufferance, and against “robbing them of their birthright.” What further influences Mr. Spencer in this direction is undoubtedly his great confusion on matters economic, as shown in the easy victory which Henry George secured over him on the subject of land values as distinct from improvement values. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Spencer has not seen how great is the importance of the science of economics in its bearing upon all sociological conclusions. If it be a fact that the purely ethical view of the land question does not obviously harmonise with the politico-economical view, as Mr. Spencer sees it, then it is also obvious that some error either of analysis or of generalisation must have taken place either on one side or on the

other. It is useless to demonstrate our right to the use of the earth if we are made to believe that this ethical right does not and never can have an economic realisation; and it is hardly less so if an economic difficulty is presented which serves to lull us into indifference as to our natural rights. Spencer does not exactly say that our rights cannot be realised, but rather he leaves us in the hands of chance to get out, as best we can, from the dilemma in which he has placed us, without giving us any very definite guidance. Like Dr. Syntax in search of the Picturesque, we find nothing to do but to stare blankly at sign-posts with nothing on them. Whether from Spencer we turn to our economists, or to our land-nationalists, or to single-taxers, we find still the same dilemma and irreconcilability between abstract justice and the practical proposals or theories they offer us. Just when we come to the point of life and death in Spencer's philosophy, just there he gives us nothing but difficulties.

Let us examine the theory of the single tax, or the taxation of land values, as it is from the greatest champion of this theory that there comes so ill-considered and so faulty a criticism of Spencer and his work.

One of the most fundamental principles of Henry George is that he utterly denies the right of the community to take the property of the individual without his consent, for any purposes whatsoever, except under circumstances of sudden stress and danger. In this he agrees with Spencer's dictum of absolute ethics respecting the duties of the State, and is with him when he says :

"It matters not whether his master is a single person or a society, if without option he has to labour for the society, and receives from the general stock such portion as the society awards him, he becomes a slave to the society; one's slavery being in proportion to the greater or smaller extent of the forced contribution."

We will see, then, how far the taxation of land values agrees with this fundamental principle. The abstract right of the people not to be taxed follows clearly from the law of equal freedom. For if every one may do as he likes, provided that he infringes not the equal rights of another, then to force a *non-aggressive* individual to yield up part of his labour in the form of taxation is a violation of that principle. It is nothing to the point to say that if the maximum amount of liberty is to be maintained, then taxation becomes a necessity; that is a matter of relative ethics, and we are considering how far the taxation of ground-rents will realise, or harmonise with, absolute justice. George's contention is that the single tax is strictly in accordance with justice, and he sneers at the complacent manner in which Spencer lays down the discrepancy between the fact as it stands and the theory of what ought to be man's relation

to the land. His thesis is that land values are wholly different from values given to land by virtue of labour expended upon improvements, and that the value of land may be much increased without any addition whatever to improvements, and merely as a result of increased population, the march of invention, education, and also as a result of speculation in land. This value, we are told, which is distinct from the value of improvements, is not wealth, and by implication we are led to believe that, with the exception of speculative value, the rent springing from such land values does not come from the due reward of either capital or labour, and that to tax it, therefore, does not violate the rights of property.

This is a very specious kind of argument that requires a deal of garnishing if it is to be acceptable to some kinds of palates. We might ask, if these values belong to no one, how can they belong to any two, or to any multiplication of two? We might ask, if to every individual belongs a share of the rental value, by what right a body of men, constituting themselves the Government, shall say in what form I shall receive my share? And many more similar questions might be asked; but I prefer to go to the heart of the matter, and to ask whether, after all, rent is such a divinely ordained institution as George supposes it to be, or whether, like some other divine rights of the past, it is not spiced with a large amount of human error and wrong? In *Progress and Poverty*, p. 116, the following paragraph appears:

"No matter what are its capabilities, land can yield no rent, and have no value, until some one is ready to give labour or the results of labour for the privilege of using it; and what any one will give depends, not upon the capacity of the land, but upon its capacity as compared with that of land which can be had for nothing. I may have rich land, but it will yield no rent, and have no value, so long as there is other land as good to be had without cost. But where this other land is appropriated, and the best land to be had for nothing is inferior either in fertility or situation, or other quality, my land will begin to have a value and yield rent. And though the productiveness of my land may decrease, yet if the productiveness of the land to be had without charge decreases in greater proportion, the rent I can get, and consequently the value of my land, will steadily increase. Rent, in short, is the price of monopoly arising from the reduction to individual ownership of natural elements which human exertion can neither produce nor increase."

We will accept, for the present at least, the Ricardian theory of rent which this statement contains, and examine what beyond this is being expounded, or confounded, as the case may be. It is worth while to do so, I think, for in the weakness of this paragraph lies the whole strength of George's thesis; and although in 1882 Spencer felt he could afford to read a few pages of *Progress and Poverty* and then throw it aside, at the present time many of his disciples feel that we cannot afford to ignore Mr. George or his teachings. If he

is right, we must face the matter and try to find the nearest out to justice; if he is wrong, then let us refute him. In the first place, it is truly stated that land can yield no rent and have no value until someone is willing to give labour or the products of labour for the privilege of using it; and that the willingness to give labour depends upon whether other land of equal quality has been left unappropriated.

What naturally strikes the logical mind is that Henry George is very loud in his proclamation of the bountifulness of Mother Earth, and yet, at the very first step that he takes in his theory, he assumes that the world is so fully peopled, and the people so very wise, that all the best seats at the banquet of Nature, available now and for ever, are taken. And further, that because of this the next best, and the next *ad infinitum*, must be gradually brought into use, and the differences in productiveness must be gathered by a Government wise enough to tell me what is the value of my improvement, and what is the value of the land.

However this may be, certain it is that rent does somehow arise, and that some lands, either as a result of fertility or of location, do fetch enormously greater rents than others. Certain also it is that this rent arises as a result of appropriation. Now land may be appropriated in two ways. Firstly, by the using of it for purposes of cultivation and production generally; and secondly, by its being legally held out of proper use, and so forcing everyone who wishes to use the land to ask the permission of those who have appropriated it; and also forcing them to pay a tribute for its use, a tribute that varies with the varying circumstances of the appropriation. Whatever rent, therefore, is the result of this second forcing process, as distinct from the process of legitimate use, is clearly unjust rent, wrung from the hard earnings of industry; and wherever we find land so held as to produce such results, that is land monopoly. Let any one imagine what would be the effect of building walls around our great cities as they stand at the present time, and of placing industrial disadvantages on all those who would live outside. Competition for land within the walls would increase, and rents would go up amazingly. Would George tax such results, or would he suggest that this rent was the result of human folly, and that the walls should be removed? Judging by his present attitude, he would take the walls to be as natural as the hills, and demonstrate that this extra rent was a divinely ordered piece of beneficence for supplying funds to such splendid institutions as Governments. Yet it can be seen that if land is legally appropriated the owners can charge a rent whether one man or twenty may wish to use it. The rent which is the result of this forcing process, although in some respects partaking of the character of economic rent, is nevertheless monopolistic rent, and differs from economic rent in many respects.

The fact has only to be stated to be at once evident, that rent of this kind will increase with every improvement either in transit, in education, in machinery, or indeed with any and every increase in the productiveness of industry, and that it would exist *were all lands equally fertile and equally well situated*. On the other hand, truly economic rent tends to be eliminated by every variety of industry that is added to us, and by all such things as facilities of transit, &c.

Monopolistic rent is by far the larger element in our rent-rolls, and it is due in a primary degree to legal appropriation, and is sustained in a secondary manner by a politico-economic monopoly. For the present, however, it is sufficient to know that it exists, and that George proposes to give it State recognition by taxing it. That is to say, by means of the State, and, contrary to his principles, he is going to take from the products of industry what, according to justice, belongs to those engaged in that industry, and without their consent; and he is going to allot the individual such a proportion as society in its collective wisdom sees fit. That, according to both George and Spencer, is the essential idea of slavery.

It may be said that George recognises the enhanced values accruing from speculation in land, and that his theory is that this would be got rid of by the single tax. This enhanced value, however, I leave out of consideration altogether, and my arguments apply to monopolistic values inside of these speculative values; monopolistic values, that is, resulting from the appropriation which George considers legitimate and inevitable, and from which springs what he calls economic rent.

That he had some vague conception of the existence of this monopolistic rent may be seen by a glance back at the paragraph just quoted. "When the best lands are appropriated," he says—that is, when they are held by some person or persons to the exclusion of others—then rent arises; and conversely, we may conclude that where the best lands are not appropriated there rent does not arise. Rent, in short, he says, is the price of monopoly; but when he adds, "arising from the reduction to individual ownership of natural elements which human exertion can neither produce nor increase," we must ask leave to take breath. *Reduction* to individual ownership, indeed, from one who has so much to say against Spencer's joint rights as distinct from individual rights. Then again, *is* rent due to individual ownership? If so, will collective ownership abolish it, and so leave George nothing to tax? On the other hand, if it is not due to individual ownership, *per se*, but rather (and as I shall point out) to any form of avoidable legal appropriation as distinct from legitimate use, then the true course is not to substitute the larger and firmer appropriation of the State for a smaller one of the individual, but to get rid of the monopoly

altogether, as we would get rid of the walls were they to be built around our cities. The fact is, irrespective of any form of legal appropriation, economic rent is due to differences of soil and location ; and where land is held from legitimate use, and choice restricted, these differences of soil and location are enormously and artificially exaggerated, though not on account of the lowering of the margin of cultivation, nor of any such economic fiction. And as George vaguely saw this, he unconsciously felt that he must play with the term "monopoly." Neither is it true that wages are low because the margin of cultivation is low, but because the standard of comfort is low ; and the standard of comfort is low because stupid laws made it low, and kept it low ; and land will yield to land-owners rent in proportion to the lowness of this standard of comfort—that is under competition rents, and the legal appropriation of unused lands. Says Professor Thorold Rogers :

"We who have read those books in which the speculative element obscures the practical side of political economy are treated to many alarmist predictions about the margin of cultivation, the law of diminishing returns, and the exhaustion of fertility, and this constantly by people who are profoundly ignorant of the practical side of that on which they dogmatise. But no one, except in a general way, has ever discovered the margin of cultivation, has ever seen the law of diminishing returns in operation, or has witnessed the exhaustion of fertility."

The margin of cultivation, indeed, is largely a myth which survives on account of the plausibility given to it by the existence of monopolistic rent, which arises as a result of increased population, or increased productiveness of labour, and quite irrespective of any such process as the lowering of the margin of cultivation. This fact is overlooked by George, but not by so keen an observer as Professor Rogers.

From the philosophic point of view George's theory looks no better than from the standpoint of economics. Every one has a right to the use of the earth, he tells us. But it is difficult to understand exactly what he means by "use." He is particularly careful to assure us that, no matter where we are, whether hoeing the soil or working at a desk in the top storey of a London building, we are equally users of the land. If so, what is all the pother about? Perhaps he means that we all have a right to the free use of the land. In that case, what does he mean by free use? Does he mean use after paying rent in the form of taxation? But we can exercise that right now, if only we will pay an untaxed landlord instead of—as will be the case under the single tax—a taxed one. When Spencer proclaimed the abstract right to the use of the earth, he meant what he said, and means now a right that some day may be realised. But George means an abstract right that can *not* be realised. When he says that every one has a right to the free use

of the earth, he means that every one has a right, not merely to the use of a piece of land, but an equal right to *any* piece of land, whether in use or not in use. Of course this is ridiculous when put into plain language; nevertheless, George proclaims this right which cannot be exercised, but which he supposes to be enjoyed when, after denying me the actual free use of the earth, which I *do* want, he hands me the proceeds of the single tax in the form of (say) a lamp-post, which I may *not* want. Was there ever such a philosopher, perplexed or otherwise? Just here we may well make use of the anecdote related by George in his latest work, of the bum-boatman who had promised a sailor to bring him a white monkey, but brought him instead a yellow dog, explaining that anyhow the dog had eaten a white monkey.

It is sometimes said that, as rent does now exist, and as government is now a necessity, whatever in the direction of voluntarism may be accomplished in the future, society may as well in the meantime have the advantage of this rent as to allow it to go to individuals. This statement raises far too much controversy to be treated in this connection, although it may be observed that it becomes thus a matter of relative ethics, and can be decided only after a wide and systematised knowledge as to how far governments are likely to use wisely any extra supplies; how far also such a compromise of the community's rights would, in its application, clash with the rights of those individuals whose incomes will thereby be affected, &c.

As I have said before, this idea of taxing land values, so called, is based upon a false philosophy and upon a false conception of economic phenomena. It assumes that at the banquet of Nature all the best places are occupied, and looks upon those differences in value of location, artificially set up and artificially maintained, as natural differences; whereas any real differences that naturally occur are exaggerated and made doubly and trebly wide by stupid customs and legal barriers, which force the growth of towns in upon themselves. This, acting upon economic phenomena, produces the evils which are described as over-production, over-population, and the like.

But I do not believe that at the banquet of Nature all the best places are occupied. There is plenty of land for all, were it not improperly appropriated; and, more than that, there is plenty of the best land for all purposes were it as free as it should be to occupancy. What our reformers complain of is monopoly and monopolistic rent, which will disappear when we have the courage to face boldly the economic disabilities that have been set up in times of dense ignorance as to economic laws. Not only will monopolistic rent disappear, but economic rent would tend to be eliminated if land were free to occupancy and use, so that all kinds of land would find the use for which it is best adapted. Such economic rent as would remain would

not be worth considering, and certainly would not warrant us in violating any fundamental principles.

There is no doubt, when once the matter has been thoroughly considered, that land monopoly and monopolistic rents are much sustained by those legal restrictions and customs which prevent the development of a truer system of money than we at present have; because, as I have elsewhere shown,¹ the cause of those evils which we call evils of capitalism, flows directly from our undeveloped monetary system. But for that, labour would receive its due reward. Now, the reason which makes certain sites, such as town and city positions, so very desirable to large capitals, is because capital, as such, and as distinct from labour and work of superintendence and organisation of industry, claims reward according to the amount of money invested, and from each labourer and worker it employs, and so is able to give a higher price for certain positions, which excludes smaller capitals, just as smaller capitals can, by virtue of the same principle, exclude the labourer pure and simple. This is because money is divorced from capital, and either is, or is representative of, something which, as a productive agent, is of no use whatever. This divorce is waiting to be got rid of by the development to completion of our cheque system. When this is accomplished, labour will receive its due reward as far as capital is concerned, and then, no matter how many labourers it employs, capital will not be able to offer a premium on labour for the possession of desirable sites. More especially is this seen to be so when we come to perceive what facilities a true monetary system will give to the co-operation of labour and capital.

This, then, is the politico-economic monopoly which supports the purely legal monopoly of land, and so long as it exists we can never have a proper system of land-usage that will square with the purely ethical view.

We should set to work, then, to get rid of these political and politico-economic monopolies that restrict the choice of land, and which build up artificial values over and above the labour-value of improvements to land, and then we shall have those conditions of land usage which Mr. Spencer² declares to be the only conditions under which property becomes equitable—where the rights of property arise in conformity with the law of equal freedom. The ideal form of land ownership, the form which must guide us through the embroglio of our economic dilemmas, is that form where monopolistic rent does not arise, and where economic rent is practically extinct, as we find it in states of society, referred to by Mr. Herbert Spencer, where land is free to all in usufruct; a state of land usage which Spencer says is in accordance with absolute justice, and from which

¹ *Free Review*, August, 1894.

² *Justice*, sec. 54, p. 96.

alone can spring a true form of property. Possession and use, in such a manner that every one may have the free use of land, without any payment for land, as such, either to the individual or to the State—payment being merely for the labour value of improvements—such is in accordance with economic justice. Under no other condition can we really have the “market overt.” This alone is free land. It can be realised if we once clear our minds of some of the economic lumber of false notions which some of the best minds have warned us against. Under such circumstances the production of useful things would be the main ambition. Were it not that much of the wealth we see around us is wrung by one man from many, it could not possibly be squandered in the wanton and wicked way in which it now often is squandered, giving, instead of satisfaction and happiness, only unrest and disappointment, as ill-gotten wealth ever must. As Ruskin says :

“A nation which desires true wealth desires it moderately, and can therefore distribute it with kindness, and possess it with pleasure ; but one which desires false wealth desires it immoderately, and can neither dispense it with justice nor enjoy it in peace.”

We shall have to realise the majesty of these sentiments before we can have a full and complete life. Although there are economic conditions that are indispensable, and which will lessen the chances of one man taking the produce resulting from the labour of another, and which will enormously help to promote the full life, nevertheless it may be doubted if any conditions whatever will wholly prevent the cunning from taking some advantage of the weak, until the desire to take such advantage has ceased—a desire that must gradually evanesce with every step we take towards complete economic justice. But freedom can never grow under conditions of State regulation of land ownership, and, indeed, if we turn on the search-light, we find that the same can be said as to the State regulation of any other sphere of activity.

No wonder, then, that Spencer shrank from countenancing such retrograde measures, and declared that, whatever might be the ideal conditions of land ownership, no system has yet been set forth that would warrant us in disturbing the actual possessors by State interference.

J. ARMSDEN.

THE NEW MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND HIS WORK.

THE appointment of Sir John Gorst as Vice-President of the Council has given hearty satisfaction to practical educationalists. His ripe experience and wide sympathies will be invaluable in the administration of the work of a Department which is directly responsible to the nation for the efficient instruction of upwards of five million children, as well as for the control of vast and increasingly important organisations for science, art, and technical education. It is true that he does not bring to the task the marvellous knowledge of the principles and of the minutiae of the theory and practice of education that enabled his predecessor to leave his indelible impression upon every department of our scholastic system. Mr. Acland was an expert, brimful of enthusiasm and energy, and the splendid work that he has done will long outlast any monument of words, whether of praise or blame. It is best appreciated by those who best understand it, and the appointment of so honest and able a statesman as Sir John Gorst is a guarantee for the continuity of this policy of progress and thorough efficiency.

In Sir John Gorst the children have a valiant champion. He has demonstrated his determination to strive his utmost to promote their physical, moral, and intellectual welfare. His untiring efforts in their behalf, at the Berlin Congress, will be freshly remembered. His pledge, in the name of Britain—given “with the most precise and clear instructions from Lord Salisbury”—that the minimum age for the employment of children should be twelve, constitutes in itself an international children’s charter. But ‘hat pledge is still unredeemed, though it is the universal expectation that its author will take the earliest opportunity to fulfil this humane obligation, and thus to vindicate our national honour. Though the name of Sir John Gorst is identified with the movement for the emancipation of the child drudge, both in connection with the famous Berlin pledge, and by his untiring efforts in their behalf during the Committee stage of the Factory Bill, efforts which the country has now given him the opportunity to consummate; yet other and more serious obligations will devolve upon him in his new office. National education is once more in the forefront of political controversies. The rivalry of our dual system, Board and Voluntary, has, during

the past three years, become accentuated, and the heroic struggles of the former for existence in the face of increased official demands have appealed with irresistible force to the friends of the old system. As these demands are mainly in the interests of the health, comfort, and efficient instruction of the children, it is scarcely possible that they will admit of any relaxation. The contention, therefore, that increased official requirements should be accompanied by increased financial aid, whether State or rate, must receive primary consideration. And, concurrently with this, comes the further consideration, whether or not this increased State or rate aid to Voluntary schools should be accompanied by some measure of popular control. Here lies the gist of the problem, which, in its ultimate form, thus resolves itself into a purely political question, and, as such, has no relation to the actual work of education which goes on day by day, and year by year, within the four walls of the school-room. Still, it is the equitable adjustment of this financial and managerial difficulty which will at the outset tax the energies of the Vice-President.

The teachers will undoubtedly find in the new "First School-master of the Land," a sympathetic chief, and to him will, in all likelihood, be allotted the pleasant duty of piloting through the House of Commons a Bill for the Superannuation of Teachers, based on the recommendations of the Committee, recently presented. All shades of politicians appear to be in accord as to the justice and necessity of such a measure, so that it may, within the term of the present administration, have legislative effect. Another question, personal to teachers, and more important in its bearing on education than is generally supposed, is that of reasonable security of tenure. At the earliest opportunity, this will be brought under the notice of Sir John Gorst. Great have been the evils, and grievous the popular discontent, through the capricious dismissal of teachers who have been carrying out their duties to the entire satisfaction of the inspector, the parents, and of everyone, except a faddy or tyrannical manager of a Voluntary school, or member of a snug School Board. Appeal has been in vain; and many a teacher who has been thus arbitrarily cast adrift, has had no more chance of securing justice, or even a fair hearing, than if he had been a dustman in the backyard of Peter the Great's palace. As a rule, the teacher, loving peace, pockets the injustice, fearful of wrecking his chances of securing another school. But not infrequently, pitiful cases come to light. What the teachers demand is, that in the event of an arbitrary dismissal, they shall have the right to submit their case to the Education Department, and they desire that a clause to this effect shall be inserted in the Code.

We gladly admit that the tendency of the recent policy of the Education Department has been, as a general rule, in the direction of diminishing the danger of over-pressure. The evil arose with

the insensate inter-competition between schools of all grades that set in soon after the passing of Mr. Foster's Act. It gradually increased, until it attained such fearful dimensions that it could no longer be ignored. The only means of preventing a recurrence of this sacrifice of children's health and happiness is for the Department to insist rigidly upon a fair and reasonable time-limit for every school session.

The new Educational Minister cannot undertake a more laudable mission than this, of the total and utter abolition of overtime in schools. Paragraph 10a, in the Instructions to Inspectors, needs re-modelling at once, as its retention is a standing encouragement to the unscrupulous sweater. The multiplicity of subjects required under the new regulations is, in itself, a temptation sufficiently strong to induce the most conscientious teacher to transgress the limits imposed by the time-table. But when he is encouraged to do that which he knows will lead headlong to a revival of the former evils, the temptation becomes almost irresistible. Over-pressure has only been scotched. We believe the man has come who will kill it. Sir John Gorst enters on his work with a sympathetic and open mind. He has no fads. He can therefore the more freely set about the work of humane reform—first, by insisting on a time-limit, and next by rendering object lessons and suitable occupations, at least in the experimental stage at the outset, optional instead of compulsory. These safeguards and easements are of the very first importance.

Another problem now agitating the tutorial world is that of the miserable condition of the average rural teacher. With their case the Department will certainly have to deal, and remedial action will undoubtedly follow closely upon the heels of the revelation of facts. There are, probably, about ten thousand rural teachers working under the Education Department. For a generation they have been in a state of chronic discontent. Their grievances have not been made public, or inquiry and reform would have set in. A brief contrast of the conditions under which the average town and rural teacher respectively labour will suffice to indicate that the discontent is well-founded.

We have here the spectacle of two men, who have received the same professional training, men of equal professional ability, equally honourable, painstaking, and devoted to duty. The one obtains a town school, well equipped, well staffed; he is paid a good salary; his services are highly appreciated by his enterprising and sympathetic managers; his leisure is unfettered; and, it may be, he rises to well-merited municipal dignity amid the congratulations of all sections of his fellow-citizens. His *confrère*, who, in the competitive lottery for appointments, secures the mastership of the village school four or five miles distant, begins on a distinctly lower social plane.

He has precisely the same curriculum to teach, but under vastly different conditions. His school is under-staffed; he has to do the work of two teachers; his life is one of unceasing worry; it may be that his tenure is very precarious; and almost invariably his salary is miserable, probably hardly more than half that of his town brother. By the more prosperous villagers he is frequently regarded as an expensive and unnecessary luxury, a burden on the rate and tax payers. The more conscientiously his duty is performed, especially as regards the regular attendance of his scholars, the less is his presence and office relished, alike by employers of labour and by the parents of his charges. Added to this, his time is not his own. He is over-burdened with a variety of extraneous duties which are considered part of his ordinary work. It is not uncommon to find the village schoolmaster combining in his own person the offices of curate, organist, choirmaster, Sunday-school teacher, provider and director of all entertainments; in fact, the moving spirit of all things that are supposed to keep the place in sound spiritual and social activity. He is, naturally, expected to earn the highest possible Government grant for his school, which is always at financial low-water-mark, indeed, probably, an appreciable share of his scanty pittance depends upon the Government grant, which, in spite of drawbacks, he is therefore feverishly anxious not in any way to endanger.

From this bare statement of the average rural teacher's case it will be readily perceived that his difficulties cannot go much longer unconsidered. The Educational Minister is in no wise responsible for the low salaries, but he can protect the helpless teacher against himself. He can make his duties free from the imposition of extraneous tasks, many of which almost any good teacher would willingly perform voluntarily, but which, forced upon him, as they so often now are, as part and parcel of his routine work, cannot but degrade him, and bring the work itself into ungracious repute. Essentially State servants, even the humblest teachers have a right to have their professional independence safeguarded by the State, and their important office thereby magnified. These teachers will look to Sir John Gorst to be, not the glorified and autocratic superintendent of an Educational Detective Department, but the jealous and vigilant guardian of educational efficiency, and the powerful and sympathetic protector of their civic and professional liberties. We believe they will not look to him in vain.

He has the opportunity, moreover, of removing a disability which has been too long overlooked, that, namely, of abolishing the absurd age-qualification for the Assistant Inspectorate. At present this office is closed to all above the age of thirty-five. It is evident that this restriction is fatal to men of long and valuable experience in the teaching profession, who might legitimately look forward to this

avenue of promotion. This is certainly a minor reform, and, perhaps for that very reason, it has been neglected. But we are confident that its adoption would yield the liveliest satisfaction.

The Vice-President, however, will soon be confronted with a task of constructive legislation in which his ripe experience will prove of the highest value. The Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education will shortly be issued, and upon him will devolve the duty of reducing the recommendations into practical shape. Let us hope that the Secondary Education Bill which will be entrusted to his charge will be conceived in the broad, generous, useful, and truly national spirit that we have the right to expect, and that it will be an honest and effectual attempt to correlate and co-ordinate into one grand system the existing and now wastefully disjointed methods of primary and secondary education. From our new Educational Minister we look for naught paltry, partial, peddling. Faltering and piecemeal reform will make confusion worse confounded, and arouse that discontent which it should be the means of pacifying. Sectional interests, however clamorous, must be subordinated to the public good. It is beyond the scope of the present article to enter into the details of a satisfactory scheme, but we can confidently assert that, since the passing of the Education Act, no educational work of equal importance has arisen; and we can only hope that he will so organise secondary education in correlation with the existing work of the Department that the measure shall prove indeed the corner-stone of a national educational structure, broad-based upon a sure and steadfast foundation, perfect in its parts, honourable to the builders, and a blessing to the youth of succeeding generations.

JOSEPH J. DAVIES.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

WE forget how long ago it is, we believe it is not very long, since Sir John Lubbock suggested a list of one hundred of the best books, but Messrs. Routledge are to be congratulated on their enterprise in speedily publishing in a cheap and convenient form every volume in the selection. Sir John Lubbock has himself written commending the venture, and we join him in wishing it success. The ninety-fourth volume of the series is before us—a new translation by Laura Ensor of Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire's *Buddha*.¹ Though this work is in some respects anything but up to date, it will always remain a classical book upon the subject, and will supply a wholesome corrective to much of the uncritical admiration and laudation of Buddhism which has recently been popular. It has become fashionable to ignore the inherent weakness of Buddhism, and to disregard its disastrous effect upon all the peoples who have succumbed to its influence. Its European and American admirers select from the mass of Buddhist literature fragments which may appear to harmonise with evolutionary or monistic philosophy, they exhibit passages containing excellent moral teaching, but the practical effects of this religion are overlooked. M. Saint-Hilaire wrote before this tendency came into existence, but his general criticism of Buddhism is just, though often severe. The mere fact that Buddhism is accompanied by a mass of superstition is, in itself, no reason why it should be condemned, for Christianity is in the same case, there is not a Buddhist legend or superstition which might not be paralleled by a Christian one; but the pessimistic character of Buddhist philosophy has struck with impotence all the peoples who have adopted it. Saint-Hilaire's work is critical, historical, and descriptive. The most interesting part is the account of the great Chinese pilgrim, Hiouen-Tsang, and his visit to India in the seventh century, and only second in interest is the account of Buddhism in Ceylon during the present century. The translation is remarkably clear and free from blemishes; the book is well printed on good paper, and is published, we notice, at a reasonable

¹ *The Buddha and his Religion*. By J. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire. Translated by Laura Ensor. London and New York: George Routledge & Sons. 1895.

price. In fact the one hundred volumes, forming a by no means despicable small library, are within the reach of any one with a few pounds to spare.

Nearly every other volume that reaches us in these days appears to be one of a series, sometimes, apparently, with little more reason than that the publishers seem to hope that one volume will help to sell another; but the *International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments* has, of course, a better foundation; there is at least some relation between the various books of the Bible, though not always so intimate that a commentary on the whole is necessary. The "internationality" (if we may use the word) of this Commentary must be taken in a somewhat restricted sense, as the authors, nearly all of whom are announced, belong to England, Scotland, and the United States. A good beginning has been made by the issue of the *Commentary on Deuteronomy*,¹ by Professor Driver. In our opinion Deuteronomy is the noblest book in the Old Testament, it marks the highest level the Israelites reached in religious thought; it was written at a time when the nation had practically outgrown the Semitic beliefs and customs, and was more or less purified from the idolatry and sensuality of contiguous people, while it had not yet fallen into the narrow formalism of Judaism. The theism of the book is pure and almost spiritual, the morality is lofty, the ideal set before the people a high one, and there is, above all, a note of universalism in it which is scarcely to be found in any other book in the Old Testament. If Christianity is indebted to the Old Testament at all, it is especially indebted to Deuteronomy, which anticipated it in spirit as well as in letter. Dr. Driver's Commentary will help the reader to a generally intelligent appreciation of this book and its relation to the other books of the Pentateuch. The exegetical part of the work is, it appears to us, rather too microscopic and unnecessarily minute. It would be wearisome to follow every detail set forth, and to compare every illustrative word and text referred to. Still the work has been thoroughly well done, and is there for every one who is disposed to use it. The ordinary reader and student will be satisfied with the more general critical commentary, in which the origin of the book and the aim of the writer is clearly displayed, and the possibility of Moses being the author effectively disposed of. The authorship of Deuteronomy will probably remain an unsolved problem, and we are inclined to think too much is made of the story of the finding of the book of the law (Deuteronomy?) by Hilkiah in the temple, which is given in the Second Book of Kings (xxii., xxiii.). The story is romantic enough to suggest a doubt as to its truth. Leaving these questions, Dr. Driver's exposition of the contents and purpose

¹ *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*. By Rev. S. R. Driver, D.D. Edinburgh; T. & T. Clark. 1895.

of the book is on the whole useful, and fairly brings out the purpose the writer evidently had in view.

The next book before us is, again, one of a projected series, but the whole series in this case is to be by the same author. The present volume, we are informed, is to be followed by six others dealing with Christianity from different points of view, this first volume treating particularly of the life of the Founder Himself. In taking for his title, *Jesus an Essene*,¹ the writer evidently intends it at once to be understood that he has given up the orthodox doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, and deals with his subject from a purely historical standpoint. This being granted, it does not appear to us very important whether the life and teaching of Jesus are explained by his being an Essene or not. The fact of it is, we know very little about the Essenes except from a passage or two or in *Josephus* and *Philo*. No doubt in some points teaching attributed to Jesus by one evangelist or another shows some sympathy with the reported doctrines of the Essenes, but as far as we can judge the personal character of Jesus was much less like that of the Essenes. The writer's learning appears to be rather wide than profound, but he brings to the study of his subject a considerable amount of intelligence and common sense, which is often wanting in the works of specialists, whose theories make them blind to what is apparent to a reader who takes a wider view. We do not think that Mr. Nesbit has proved his case, but he has written an interesting book. Towards the close of the book the writer becomes more vigorously polemical, and evidently enjoys demolishing some of the more showy and superficial among modern apologists. With regard to the alleged resurrection of Jesus, our author appears to hold to the view that it was simply a case of suspended animation, and that probably Jesus lived in private for some years after the crucifixion. The book contains about two hundred pages, and runs on from beginning to end without break or division of any kind, which is a decided drawback. Some more systematic arrangement of material would tend to clearness and be of assistance to the reader.

SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

The expert critic, much more the average reviewer, might well recoil from the task of criticising the joint work of two such leading authorities in jurisprudence as Sir Frederick Pollock and Professor Maitland. The learned authors of *The History of English Law before*

¹ *Christ, Christians and Christianity*. By E. Planta Nesbit. Book I. *Jesus an Essene*. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1895.

*the Time of Edward I.*¹ make no claim for their work of finality. On the contrary, they send it forth, they assert, "well knowing that in many parts of their field they have accomplished, at most, a preliminary exploration. Oftentimes their business has been rather to quarry and hew for some builder of the future than to leave a finished building." However this may be, there can be no question but that this work will hold its own for many years to come as the standard authority on the history of early English law, and should find a place on the bookshelves, not only of every law student and of every lawyer, but also on those of every Englishman who is interested in the history of his own country.

The work is divided into two parts. Book I. deals with the origin and history of the law up to the time of Edward I.; and Book II., with the principles of the law which were evolved, took root and developed during the same period.

The whole is written in clear and luminous language entirely free from technicalities. So far as we have read, we have not met with a single passage which the average layman could fail to comprehend.

The learned authors are of opinion that the law which prevailed in England before the coming of the Normans was, in the main, pure Germanic law, and are unable to assign any definite share to ancient British law and custom. We venture to think that this statement is somewhat too general, although perhaps at present the presence of a Celtic element is impossible of direct proof, yet there is strong presumptive evidence, both etymological and ethnological, that this element was not inconsiderable.

Whether any Romanic legal institutions or principles survived the Teutonic invasion is substantially the same question. The learned authors contend that there is no real evidence of this. "Everything," they assert, "that is Roman or Romanised can be accounted for by later importation. This may be so, yet for all that, unless the British were entirely and everywhere exterminated, we can scarcely believe that four centuries of civilisation should have left no impressions. And indeed evidence is slowly accumulating which shows that, on the whole, the British, so far from being exterminated or even reduced to slavery, survived in large numbers, and in many instances coalesced with their conquerors upon more or less equal terms.

Into the equally controversial question of what proportion of Germanic and Franco-Gallic usages is of Roman origin, the learned authors do not enter, but accept the view that Anglo-Saxon law gained some of the Roman elements through the intercourse of the English princes with the Frankish court. With the Norman Conquest the

¹*The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I.* By Sir Frederick Mook, M.A., LL.D., and Frederick William Maitland, LL.D. Two volumes. Cambridge: The University Press. London: Stevens & Sons. 1895.

influence of Roman law commenced afresh. It came from Bologna and the first wave reached our shores when...

• Pavia, became William's trusted adviser.

and 1250 this tide was in full flood, shaping and modifying our English law. To what extent this influence prevailed, why this renaissance of classical Roman law was so rapid and apparently so overwhelming, and why it was followed by an equally rapid ebb, seem to the learned authors the central questions of English history.

The answers to these questions will be found more particularly in the chapters entitled "Roman and Canon Law," "The Age of Glanvil," and "The Age of Bracton."

Another question closely allied to these also meets with explanation. How was it that the ecclesiastical law, which became such a powerful rival of the common law, failed to oust the latter? The canon law strengthened our temporal law sometimes by repulsion, for repulsion begets emulation, and sometimes by attraction; but, perhaps, the most powerful cause was the fact that Henry II. made the prelates of the Church his justices.

"Blackstone's picture," write the learned authors, "of a nation divided into two parties, the bishops and clergy on the one side contending for their foreign jurisprudence, the nobility and the laity on the other side adhering with equal pertinacity to the old common law, is not a true one. It is by the 'Popish clergymen' that our English common law is converted from a rude mass of customs into an articulate system, and when the 'Popish clergymen,' yielding at length to the Pope's commands, no longer sit as the principal justices of the King's court, the Golden Age of the common law is over." Again: "These royal clerks have two sides; they are clerks, but they are royal. It would not surprise us to discover that Martin Pateshull, justice of the bench, had prohibited Martin Pateshull, archdeacon of Norfolk, from meddling with lay fee."

Here and there we get vivid pictures of English life. The dry bones are clothed with living flesh and blood. The following quotation must suffice. At the accession of Edward I. the group of professional lawyers was but small: "A great deal of legal business was still being transacted; a great deal of justice was being done by those who were not professional experts. The knight, the active country gentleman would at times be employed as a justice of assize or of gaol delivery, besides having to make the judgments in the county court. The cellarer of the abbey would preside in its manorial courts and be ready to draw a lease or a will. The freeholders of the shire, besides having to attend the communal and manorial courts, would have hard work to do as jurors; often would they be called to Westminster, and as yet the separation of matter of law from matter of fact was not so strict that a juror could afford

to know nothing of legal rules. In one way and another the common folk were constantly receiving lessons in law; the routine of their lives often took them into the courts, even into courts presided over by a Pateshull and a Bracton. This healthy co-operation of all sorts and conditions of men in the work of the law prevents the jurist from having it all his own way, and making the law too fine a thing for common use." It is impossible to do justice to this work in the space at our disposal. We can only hope to have stimulated our readers to possess themselves of this legal masterpiece without delay.

Feudal England,¹ by Mr. J. H. Round, is a book by a specialist for specialists. Some of the studies have previously appeared in the *Quarterly* and the *English Historical Reviews*, but the greater portion of the book is new, while the rest has been in part rewritten. The book is divided into two sections, the one entitled "Territorial Studies," and the other "Historical Studies." Under the first Mr. Round deals with Domesday Book, comparing it with the *Liber Eliensis* and the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, the latter of which, he contends, supplies the true key to the Domesday survey. The honour of the discovery of this extremely valuable MS. Mr. Round rightly assigns to Mr. P. C. Webb, who, in searching for the *Liber Eliensis*, had the good fortune to come across the MS., and was fully alive to the importance of his discovery, which has been overlooked or disregarded by subsequent scholars, including the late Professor Freeman, up to quite recent years.

The collation of the Domesday Book with the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* settles, in Mr. Round's opinion, several hitherto highly controversial questions. For instance, some scholars have strenuously denied that the number of oxen in the Domesday *caruca* was fixed. From the entries Mr. Round shows that the scribes must have deemed it quite immaterial whether they wrote "*dimidia caruca*" or "*iiii. boves*"; as immaterial as to us whether we wrote "half-a-sovereign" or "ten shillings." This evidence Mr. Round considers conclusive. Again, the evidence is similar as to the Domesday "plough." It has hitherto been contended that the *hida* of Domesday consisted of a variable number of virgates. The parallel passages cited by Mr. Round, and the analysis of the township assessments, appear to prove conclusively that in Domesday four virgates to a hide must have been of universal application. Again, no signification has hitherto been attached to the singular preponderance of five-hide manors in Domesday. The *Inquisitio* says "that this preponderance is infinitely greater than we should gather from the pages of Domesday, and that when the scattered

¹ *Feudal England*. Historical Studies on the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries. By J. H. Round, M.A. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1895.

manors are pieced together in their titles, the aggregate of their assessments generally amounts to five hides or its multiple of the five-hide unit." Mr. Round further contends that the same part is played in the Danish districts by a unit of six parishes.

After Domesday Book follow criticisms upon the subsequent surveys, the Northamptonshire Geld-Roll and the *Descriptio militum de Abbata de Burgo*. Of the historical studies, perhaps the most interesting to the general reader will be Mr. Round's destructive criticism of the late Professor Freeman's account of the Battle of Hastings, or, as the Professor insisted upon calling it, "the Battle of Senlac."

Mr. Round very properly, in our opinion, protests vigorously against such wanton and mischievous changes, which he denounces as mere pedantry.

It is scarcely necessary to add that Mr. Round has, by this collection of studies, made many highly valuable contributions to our knowledge of mediæval history.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

FROM time to time European travellers have succeeded in entering Lh'asa, the holy city of Central Tibet, and even in residing there for some years. Friar Odoric is said to have been the first European to have reached the Tibetan capital about the year 1325, and it was not until 1661 that the Fathers Grueber and Dorville accomplished a similar feat. In 1716 the Jesuit Fathers Desideri and Freye reached Lh'asa, and remained there until 1729 and established a mission, which flourished till about 1760. In 1730 a Dutchman, Samuel van de Putte, went to Lh'asa, but of his journey little is known.

The next to visit Lh'asa was the Englishman Thomas Manning in 1811, followed in 1846 by the Lazarist Fathers Huc and Gabet, who, after a few months' stay in the capital, were expelled by the Chinese Amban. Since 1844 no one has succeeded in reaching Lh'asa, although numerous attempts have been made. But these attempts have not been wholly fruitless, for although Lh'asa itself was not reached, a considerable part of Central Tibet has been explored. In 1879 Colonel Prjevalsky got as near to the capital as Nya-ch'uk'a; in 1889 Bonvalot reached the Tengri-Nor, and in 1890-91 Captain Henry Bower was only stopped at the same place.

The object of Mr. Rockhill, the author of the *Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892*,¹ was not so much to

¹ *Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892*. By William Woodville Rockhill, Gold Medallist of the Royal Geographical Society. Clarendon Press, Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 1894.

visit Lh'asa as to explore Central Tibet, and reach Nepaul or Sikkim from the Chinese province of Kan-Su by traversing Tibet from north-east to south-west. In this attempt, however, Mr. Rockhill was unfortunately foiled, for when about forty miles from the Tengri-Nor, and less than a month's journey from British India, and when at very nearly the same spot at which Bonvalot and Bower had been stopped, his further progress southward was arrested by the Tibetans, and he was forced to turn his face eastward.

In his first journey, undertaken in 1888-89, some of the results of which saw the light in *The Land of the Lamas*, Mr. Rockhill was encouraged to believe that he could by a second journey into Tibet add considerably to our knowledge of that remote region; but he also learned that in that portion of Tibet subject to the rule of Lh'asa, the opposition to foreigners was as strong as ever. As we have seen, this opposition was stronger than he supposed, for even though he made no attempt to enter Lh'asa, his projected journey through Tibet proper was effectually barred.

Mr. Rockhill's outward route was from Peking through Kalgan, Kuci-Hua, and Ho-K'ou, whence the course of the Yellow River is followed to the territory south of the Koko-Nor, and thence to the Tengri-Nor, at which point he was stopped and compelled to turn homeward through Chamdo, Batang, Chunging and Shanghai. Even if Mr. Rockhill had accomplished nothing more than the journey through Southern Mongolia and Western Kan-Su, he would have furnished a most valuable contribution, since our knowledge of these countries was even less than that of Tibet, but even of Tibet itself and of those portions previously explored by Bonvalot and Bower, there can be no question that Mr. Rockhill has very considerably extended our knowledge, since the present volume contains researches in other sections of the country previously entirely unexplored by European travellers. This expedition was undertaken by Mr. Rockhill partly under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution, and the work itself is issued as a special publication by that public-spirited body. The illustrations are excellent, and such as we now associate with the publications of the Smithsonian Institution.

About ten years ago the Somali Coast was formally brought within the sphere of British influence, and now forms one of our Eastern Protectorates with Zanzibar and Brunei. The Somali Coast is at present administered under the law of British India. *Seventeen Trips through Somaliland*,¹ by Captain Swayne, is the record of

¹ *Seventeen Trips through Somaliland*. A Record of Exploration and Big Game Shooting, 1885 to 1893. Being the narrative of several journeys in the Hinterland of the Somali Coast Protectorate, dating from the beginning of its administration by Great Britain until the present time. With descriptive Notes on the Wild Fauna of the Country. By Captain H. G. C. Swayne, R.E. With numerous illustrations and maps. London: Rowland Ward & Co., Limited. 1895.

various explorations made on behalf of the Government by the author, and of numerous hunting expeditions by the author on his own account between the years 1884 and 1893. Somaliland, which forms the Horn of Africa, was up to this period quite unknown to Europeans, and, as Captain Swayne points out, "had always borne the reputation of being the desert home of bigoted and ferocious savages."

That the Somali have been much misrepresented will be seen from the pages of this book. Captain Swayne found them willing, brave, and intelligent; indeed, he says they are specially remarkable for their faculties of adaptability. An unlicked cub of a Karia dandy with nothing but a shield and a spear, joins your caravan as a tracker or helper, and in a few years you meet him again as a prosperous merchant. This work is exceedingly many-sided and gives us a complete picture of our new protectorate, and more complete than any we are likely to have for many years to come. The racial, political, and social conditions of the Somali are fully described, and the scientific surveys have added largely to our geographical knowledge. But to the sportsman the book will be invaluable. "Somaliland," says Captain Swayne, "is the home of most varieties of African large game, and affords one of the best and most accessible of hunting grounds to be found at the present time." Captain Swayne is evidently a great hunter, and he tells his experiences in a modest but telling way that fellow-sportsmen will appreciate and from which they may learn much. On many of his expeditions Captain Swayne was accompanied by his brother, Captain E. J. E. Swayne, to whose promptitude and straight shooting he owed his life. On this occasion, out in the open, a lioness charged Captain Swayne after having been hit by his brother. Captain Swayne fired twice, but, owing to the triggers having become stiff, both bullets went low, passing through the brute's right foot. His brother said "that after firing the second shot, I had jumped to the right in a perfectly collected manner, but the lioness had slewed round her tail like the rudder of a boat, and slightly altering her course, she had hit me like a battering ram and sent me head-over-heels . . . the lioness lay on me, shaking me savagely and grabbing at my arm, and E—— finding he could not fire without the chance of hitting me too, decreased his distance at a run from seventy yards to five; and she then came for him with a grunt, and he stretched her dead at his feet with a bullet in the chest." Captain Swayne's moral to this is, never go into the interior without another European.

The last chapter, which treats of the wild fauna of Somaliland, will be of special interest to naturalists, and the appendices, which deal with the fitting out of Somali expeditions, the physical geography of the country, and the Somali trade, are not the least valuable parts of an eminently useful and successful book.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.*

AN excellent biography of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales¹ has been published by Mr. George Newnes. Of course, the facts of the Princess's life are nearly all familiar to the English public; but they have been narrated with admirable simplicity and lucidity by Mary Spencer Warren, who modestly informs the reader that she makes no pretence of "eloquence in portraiture." The various acts of benevolence which have adorned the career of the Princess of Wales are very properly dwelt upon; but we cannot understand why the Phoenix Park murders have been dragged into the narrative, as they have really no direct connection with the life of Her Royal Highness. However, female biographers and historians are rarely logical, and this is only another example of a rule which has few exceptions.

A volume entitled *Le Président Carnot et ses Funérailles au Pantheon*² has been published by the Librairie A. Le Soudier, and may be regarded as a fitting tribute to the memory of a man whose cruel murder little more than a year ago caused such a thrill of horror all over Europe. M. Lameillière, the author of the work, has collected all that has been said with reference to the tragic event, and has also given an interesting account of M. Carnot's journey to Lyons which commenced so auspiciously and ended so terribly. In the minute description of the wreaths sent from all quarters to the family of the illustrious deceased, there is perhaps a slight suggestion of vanity to the philosophic mind; but we must remember how strongly rooted is the idea of adorning the Courts of the dead in France, and surely it is a beautiful and gracious sentiment! President Carnot was a good, if not a great Frenchman, and the grief of a whole nation for his sad end is a touching and eloquent manifestation of the noble side of the French character.

We have received the second volume of Adolph Holm's *History of Greece*.³ The English translation of the work has been admirably done, and the educated reader will find an interest in comparing this *History of Greece* with Mr. Grote's great work. The research of the German historian is remarkable. In the notes at the end of each chapter he gives his authorities. His critical method gives a somewhat Dryasdust character to the narrative; but it must not be assumed that, in spite of his archæological lore, the author is not a philosophic historian. In the very first chapter of the present volume he points out the analogy between the conflict waged by the East

¹ *The Princess of Wales: A Biographical Sketch.* By Mary Spencer Warren. London: George Newnes, Limited.

² *Le Président Carnot et ses Funérailles au Pantheon.* Par L. Lameillière, Paris: Librairie H. De Soudier.

³ *History of Greece.* By Adolph Holm. Vol. II. London: Macmillan & Co.

against the West in the Persian wars and the mediæval struggle between Islam and Christendom. "What Bagdad and Kaironan were to Christendom in the tenth century A.D., Susa and Carthage were to Hellenism about the year 500 B.C. But in one respect the two epochs differ completely. In the Middle Ages the opposing forces are of a similar character; fanaticism is arrayed against fanaticism, numbers against numbers, strategy against strategy. This is not the case in the struggles between the East and the Hellenic world. It is precisely in this respect that sharp contrasts are clearly discernible." The defeat of the Persians by the Greeks is well described as "the triumph of mind over matter, discipline over mere numbers, and life over routine." It is manifest from the passage quoted that Adolph Holm is something more than a mere collector of facts. For his account of the battle of Marathon he prefers the authority of Herodotus to that of later writers, thereby showing that he has no prejudice either for or against antiquity, but that he judges historians of different periods on their merits. He maintains that Nepos and Plutarch can only be used to supplement Herodotus, not to contradict him. German critics have written a great deal about the battle of Marathon, as may be seen from the notes to chapter ii. of the volume before us. All who desire to study Greek history without being misled by poetic glamour should read this learned and elaborate work, whose completion we may anticipate at no distant date.

The seventh work in Messrs. H. S. Nichols & Co.'s *Collection of Court Memoirs*¹ consists of a translation of the Memoirs of Madame de Montespan. These memoirs are well described as "a piece of unconscious self-portraiture." The character of Madame de Montespan was apparently that of a cynical woman of the world who, while she sold her person to a king, considered herself "moral by remaining otherwise chaste." The two volumes comprising the memoirs are sumptuously brought out.

Under the title of *The Model Republic*² Mr. Grenfell Baker has written an elaborate history of the Swiss people. The book is full of information, which proves the industry of the author. It enables the reader to trace the growth of Switzerland from a condition of practical serfdom to its present state of advanced political freedom. Mr. Baker dedicates his work to "the memory of Richard Francis Burton, K.C.M.G., F.R.G.S.," who appears to have not only suggested the idea of such a history, but also to have assisted in its composition. We cannot say that the author's account of the origin of the Swiss people is at all satisfactory. The attempt to show that the lake-dwellers were the earliest inhabitants of the

¹ *Memoirs of Madame La Marquise de Montespan*. First translated into English. London: H. S. Nichols & Co.

² *The Model Republic: A History of the Rise and Progress of the Swiss People*. By T. Grenfell Baker. London: H. S. Nichols & Co.

country is not convincing. The Roman historians describe the Helvetii and the Rhaeti as half-barbarous Celtic tribes. Cæsar praised the bravery of the Helvetii, but no authentic record of the internal condition of this people about the dawn of the Christian era has been preserved so as to enable us to realise whether they were mere savages or a race possessing some vestiges of civilisation.

The best part of Mr. Baker's book is his very minute account of the condition of the country before and after the Reformation. His eulogistic portraits of Zwingli and Calvin are, however, exceedingly exaggerated. The impression left by a careful perusal of the entire volume is, that the Swiss were a brave and liberty-loving though sanguinary race. The tourist who to-day seeks change of scene amid the mountains of Switzerland, scarcely ever reflects that in the course of centuries this beautiful land has been steeped in the blood of her own children. It took nearly a thousand years to free the country, not so much from the slavery of despots as from the tendency of the inhabitants to engage in fierce and destructive feuds. The religious wars of Switzerland were frightful examples of sectarian rancour and malignity. However, with the dawn of the nineteenth century true civilisation has made its influence felt amongst the Swiss. Though the French Republic exhibited some cruelty in its dealings with Switzerland, the first Napoleon was certainly the friend of Swiss liberty. His Act of Mediation tended to promote the prosperity of the country. The system introduced in 1815 under the auspices of the Congress of Vienna was of a somewhat reactionary character. The last sanguinary struggle that took place was the Sonderbund civil war of 1847, after which the constitution of 1848 was drawn up. In 1857, when the action of Frederick William IV. of Russia threatened the rights of Neuchâtel, the Swiss people proved their heroism by arming to a man to maintain the integrity of their country.

At the present time the Swiss enjoy a large share of political liberty. In the Referendum we find a remarkable power given to the citizens to control legislation, which perhaps is only suitable to a population in an ideal state of enlightenment.

Mr. Baker's estimate of the Swiss Republic is open to criticism. There is much to be said both for and against the Swiss system. Though the military organisation of Switzerland may be excellent, its powers of self-protection are obviously limited.

The book is marred by many faults of style. Take the following curious sentence as a specimen of faulty English: "The political oscillations that show in all periods of great change were especially marked in the modifications the Swiss Constitution underwent after the time of the French Revolution" (p. 462). Mr. Baker has made two misquotations from Byron, one (p. 280) being: "In hope to merit Heaven by making *life* a Hell," where, of course,

the proper word should be "earth"; and the other (p. 378) being: "The *golden* halo hovering round decay," where Byron's word was "gilded." However, the work only requires some slight corrections to be a valuable addition to historical literature. Switzerland, although she cannot, in the light of advanced criticism, claim William Tell as a *réal* personage or anything more than a purely legendary hero, has indeed had a great and wonderful history, and in Mr. Grenfell Baker she has found a very painstaking historian.

BELLES LETTRES.

THE new section of the Oxford English Dictionary (DEFECT-DEPRAVATION)¹ contains 1269 main words, thirty-seven combinations explained under these, and 138 subordinate words. Attention is drawn in the introductory note to the fact that of the 1269 main words dealt with, not ten are of old English origin, the chief being *dell*, *delve*, *dempster*, *den*, and *dene*. The word "depart" has entirely lost its original sense, so that to the modern English mind the phrase used in the marriage-service in the Book of Common Prayer "Till death us *depart*," appears absurd. However, "depart," down to the sixteenth century meant "separate," or "put asunder." Each word in the present section is explained by copious quotations.

Mr. Grant Allen's recent novel on the marriage question—taken too much *au sérieux* in our opinion by many of its readers—has provoked the inevitable skit in the shape of a shilling *brochure*, entitled *The Man Who Didn't*,² by Mrs. Lovett Cameron. But the writer has missed her opportunity, and the shallow humour and crude characterisation make but a feeble parody of little or no intrinsic literary value.

In *Two Women and a Fool*³ there is no lack of smart dialogue and pretty epigram anent the indecision of the Fool as to the respective merits of the Two Women, one of whom "his reason loves," while "his heart beats with maddening throbs beneath the gaze of the other's eye." But we cannot help feeling all through that literary power of no mean quality has been wasted on an unsatisfactory subject.

¹ *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Edited by Dr. J. H. Murray. Defect-Depravation. Vol. III. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

² *The Man Who Didn't*. By Mrs. Lovett Cameron. London: F. V. White & Co.

³ *Two Women and a Fool*. By H. C. Chatfield Taylor. London: Geo. Routledge & Sons.

Those who have a taste for the extravagances of American humour will certainly find to their liking both the matter and the illustrations of *The Adventures of Jones*,¹ a champion liar of the Baron Munchausen type, whom he quite puts in the shade, as he does his friend, Jackson Peters, with the unblushing audacity of his inventive faculties.

Among French novels received this month, the bunch of pastoral flowers gathered into a nosegay under the title *Corbeille d'or*² (our yellow alyssum) breathe all the fragrance and poesy of the country scenes and lives which they depict; while the indefatigable Henry Gréville, in *Le Fil d'or*,³ fresh from his lurid picture of the passion-tossed Comtesse Chévinsky, paints in monochrome the quieter story of a French love-match, and deduces therefrom the lessons which should enable bride and bridegroom to draw tighter the golden ribbon which, in the words of the Breton song, binds them on their marriage day till death do them part. Quite another note is struck in *Le Destin d'Aimer*,⁴ a tragic story of blighted love and blighted lives, intensely dramatic in form and conception, but lacking somewhat in genuine pathos owing to the egregiously selfish personality of M. D'Auris, the prime mover in the work of ruin.

In *Tablettes d'Argile*⁵ Jacques Frébel has gone far afield—in time and place—for the environment of his love stories to the Golden Ages of Egypt and Assyria, and has availed himself of an intimate knowledge of their history and archaeology to frame a fresh and unique setting for his prose idylls.

We have not read Lytton's *Haunted House* in the original, but have thoroughly enjoyed reading the excellent translation of M. René Philippon, under the title of *La Maison Hantée*,⁶ few, if any, signs of its being a translation being visible even to the critical eye of an English reader, so natural and idiomatic is the style.

Mrs. Molesworth's hand has lost none of its cunning in the weaving of stories for girls, which, while full of human interest, yet point their moral forcibly and unobtrusively. The morbid type of jealousy, suspicion, and complaint portrayed in *Sheila's Mystery*⁷ is only too commonly found in boys and girls. Such types are in most cases quite conscious of their failing except when blinded by their temporary outbursts of unreasoning temper, and on the imagination of such the perusal of this story might consciously or unconsciously leave the traces of much permanent benefit.

¹ *The Adventures of Jones*. By Hayden Carruth. London: Chatto & Windus.

² *Corbeille d'or*. By Georges Beaume. Paris: Plon Nourrit et Cie.

³ *Le Fil d'or*. By Henry Gréville. Paris: Plon Nourrit et Cie.

⁴ *Le Destin d'Aimer*. By Charles de Borden. Paris: Plon Nourrit et Cie.

⁵ *Tablettes d'Argile*. By Jacques Frébel. Paris: Plon Nourrit et Cie.

⁶ *La Maison Hantée*; a translation. By René Philippon. Paris: Chamuel: Editeur.

⁷ *Sheila's Mystery*. By Mrs. Molesworth. London: Macmillan & Co.

In *The Adventures of Captain Horn*,¹ the author of *Rudder Grange* relies on the power of stirring incident to arouse and retain the reader's interest, rather than on the humorous sayings and doings of quaint characters, as he did in the work that brought him fame. The adventures of the typical Yankee sea captain, whose resolution and resource are never at fault in anticipating every possible contingency and facing every crisis, are told in a matter-of-fact style which suggests a commanding officer's despatches from the scene of war. Even the vastness of the long-lost treasure of the 'Tucas of Peru, so providentially discovered and so strenuously secured, fails to strike one with any sense of undue exaggeration, when the secret of its amount, so cleverly kept throughout the narrative, is finally revealed in the captain's matter-of-course way to the astounded ears of the good, simple-minded Mrs. Cliff, the one character in the book, by the way, who reminds us of any of the author's previous work of characterisation.

Mr. Stockton has not produced a story which can compare in any way with *Rudder Grange* for originality of idea or treatment, but he shows conclusively that he can more than hold his own with those who confine themselves to the beaten track of adventurous narrative.

Another work of the same character, but not of the same calibre, is Robert Cromie's *The Crack of Doom*.² The author out-Herod's Herod in the extravagance of his conception, whereby the discovery of the means of "wrecking the constituent atoms of a molecule of marsh gas," is utilised by expansion of application into a plan for the wrecking of our whole planet, which is only frustrated by the wrecker's formula being tampered with at the last moment. Mr. Cromie is entirely lacking in the imaginative power and logical persuasiveness which constitute the charm of Jules Verne's narratives, on which his story is apparently modelled, and, in lieu thereof, is content to fog his readers with an unintelligible scientific jargon which has little or no basis in fact, and no pretence whatever to any logical sequence between premise and conclusion.

*In Many Queer Streets*³ is the apt title given to a realistic sketch of the struggle for existence led by so many of the lower middle classes in their endeavour to eke out an existence as clerks, agents, canvassers, and the like. The writer makes no pretence to any literary style; but a keen observation, added to a certain dry, satirical power of hitting off the weaknesses of his enemy, the employer of clerk labour, combine to lend an air of refreshing originality and truthfulness to the narrative of the writer's persevering efforts to

¹ *The Adventures of Captain Horn*. By Frank Stockton. London: Cassell & Co.

² *The Crack of Doom*. By Robert Cromie. London: Digby Long.

³ *In Many Queer Streets*. By Colebrooke Rowe. London: Digby Long.

make a livelihood in the fierce competition of City life. In the other sketches which go to make up the volume, the poverty of literary workmanship is brought into greater relief in proportion as the writer's subjective interest in the people, places, and things described decreases; and it is difficult to find any excuse for putting down in black and white such a glaring example of vulgar colloquialism as "The wounds of the heart consequent on leaving kind friends, and perhaps home, are ghastly fresh and bleeding."

In *Annals of the Court of Oberon*¹ the Court annalist, having been duly appointed as such by his Imperial Highness of Fairyland, who had been looking out for a "feeble-minded, elderly person for that duty," proceeds to put us right on many points concerning the small folk, "of whose very existence it is sad to reflect that there are persons, otherwise intelligent, who (casting aside the sworn testimony of their ancestors) affect to disbelieve." He then treats us to a whimsical fantasia of anecdotes and sketches, wherein is served up, in the veritable jumble of a *Midsummer Night's Dream*, a curious medley of humour and pathos, satirical comments on men and things in general being thrown in casually in a way that sometimes reminds one of the Autocrat at the breakfast-table. The genial annalist is at times somewhat diffuse and obscure, and the points of his narratives are now and then a trifle far-fetched, but King Oberon may well be congratulated on having found one so well fitted, on the whole, to execute his commissions and point out to us mortals what fools we be in many things.

No small powers of characterisation are displayed in "Marston Moore's" novel entitled *Drifting*,² and the author has the courage not to allow the heroine to mar at its close the consistency which marks her action throughout the tale. It is impossible not to sympathise with the gallant and faithful Geoff's failure to touch the heart of his girl love; and his straightforward, manly devotion stands out in strong contrast to the mawkish sentimentality of his successful rival. But the infatuation of the heroine for the wrong man (from the outsider's point of view) represents faithfully a not uncommon phenomenon in such affairs in real life, and it is no small praise to be able to say that the writer, in holding up the mirror to Nature, has succeeded in catching a true reflection and in depicting her as she is, and not as we might wish her to be for the sake of a "happy ending."

In *Recognition*³ the old, old theme of lovers parted by treachery through the agency of a "doctored" letter forms the basis of the plot. In the matching and parting of the lovers the author is content to follow the usual course demanded in such situations; but

¹ *Annals of the Court of Oberon*. By John Hunter Dewar. London: Digby Long.

² *Drifting*. By "Marston Moore." London: Digby Long.

³ *Recognition*. By Sydney Wright. London: Digby Long.

the series of adventures in the Australian bush, to which the unfortunate hero is condemned, the subsequent "recognition" by his friends after many years' interval, of the long-lost Ned in the person of an Australian Albino exhibited at the Royal Aquarium, and the successful operation by which he is in the end restored at once to sanity and the arms of his lady-love, combine to lend an air of boldness and originality to what promised at opening to make a rather tame and timid picture, and the author, both in the descriptive and narrative passages, does not fail to rise to the occasion.

A curious study in ethics and psychology is presented in G. A. Grant Forbes' *Another Wicked Woman*,¹ and the reader is left to form his own conclusion as to the relative guilt of the two women. That a wife, by her negligence of home and husband's interests, becomes a contributory to that husband's infidelity, and so *particeps criminis* with the woman who leads him astray, is a contention that will not commend itself to those who pin their faith on the "for better or for worse" of the Marriage Service, but the counsel for the co-respondent certainly succeeds in enlisting our strong sympathy for his client and proving that moral wrong is not always synonymous with conventional sin.

In *Willoughby Court*² the hackneyed character of plot and personages (the falling in love and marrying happily of two young people whom, first the terms of an eccentric will and then the machinations of a scheming mother keep apart) is not redeemed by any exceptional literary style or merit which can justify the use of such commonplace materials.

Professor P. Jones' novel dealing with Slav life, entitled *The Pobratim*,³ gives the reader a singularly clear and vivid picture of the interesting folk who live on the eastern side of the Adriatic, their superstition and courage, simplicity and cunning, their savage love of freedom, whether from the oppression of the Turk or the civilisation of the Austrian, their fierce vendettas and their Oriental passion for story telling. There is no lack of exciting episodes; but, as might be expected from the task which the Professor has set himself of introducing English readers to what is practically the *terra incognita* of Dalmatian life, there is a considerable leaven of purely didactic and explanatory matter, which somewhat deteriorates from the merits of the volume as a work of fiction. We are reminded at times of these curious specimens of didactic fiction of our school days, Becker's *Gallus* and *Charicles*, and the even flow of the narrative is too frequently interrupted by the constant interpolation of tales and anecdotes.

In her picture of what we may call a private Royal Family of

¹ *Another Wicked Woman*. By G. A. Grant Forbes. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

² *Willoughby Court*. By G. Buchan. London: Digby Long.

³ *The Pobratim*. By Professor P. Jones. London: H. S. Nicholls.

the Lakes, Esmé Stuart strikes out quite a fresh line in literary portraiture; and in the last heiress of the family honours and impecuniosity, who sacrifices herself on the altar of family duty and is *Married to Order*¹ to save her house from ruin, we have a study of character at once charming and original. Esmé Stuart's reputation will be much enhanced by the publication of this work.

*La Iccsinska*² is a shillingworth of melodrama, made up in about equal parts of love and nihilism, neither better nor worse than the usual mixture provided at that figure; and the collection of blood-curdling tales issued under the title *Stolen Souls*³ (the first of the series) is only saved from being included in the same class by the clever touches of local colouring—ranging from St. John's Wood to the Sahara—thrown in as backgrounds to the commonplace blood-and-thunder narratives.

ART.

IN the interesting series of "Masters of Contemporary Music," the English, German, and French volumes are followed by Mr. Streatfeild's book on the *Masters of Italian Music*.⁴ These are Giuseppe Verdi, Arrigo Boito, Pietro Mascagni, Giacomo Puccini, and Ruggiero Leoncavallo. Well-executed portraits are supplied with each of the critical biographies, and *facsimiles* of autograph scores are given from the four first. Altogether, this compact and neatly printed volume of 280 pages forms a pleasant handbook of modern Italian music, so far as it is commonly known outside of Italy. It could hardly be expected that such names as Catalani, with his *L'orelci*, and others of the multitudinous younger school of Italian composers should be included in a work of this kind.

Perhaps the absence of all mention of Church music, in which the revival of a Palestrina cult with a very curious influence of Wagner over the inveterate operatic tendencies of the modern Italian may be traced, should be considered an omission. Cappocci and other Roman *maestri di cappella* are known, and exercise a decided musical influence outside of their own country. It is true that few musical critics think it worth their while to attend to this influence of Church choirs, although the first training of composers like Gounod and Verdi himself is to be attributed to them. In Germany even the influence of Franz Witt, the friend of Wagner, and his Cæcilian societies extends far beyond the cathedral close. For

¹ *Married to Order*. By Esmé Stuart. London: Horace Cox.

² *La Iccsinska*. By Harriet Buckley. London: Digby Long.

³ *Stolen Souls*. By William Le Queux. London: Tower Publishing Co., Limited.

⁴ *Masters of Italian Music*. By R. A. Streatfeild. London: Osgood, McIlvaine & Co. 1895.

technical musicians, it would be worth investigating how far the ecclesiastical schools are responsible for modern polyphony.

For the general reader the author very properly remarks: "At the present time, and indeed for many years past, music in Italy has meant opera, and opera alone. . . . In France and Germany opera has divided honours with orchestral music and oratorio. In Italy it has reigned supreme. In England, except at a few favoured moments, opera has always been an exotic."

The biography of Verdi, as here given, is exceedingly good reading. It seems incredible that a composer, who has touched the height of musical fame with the *Otello* and *Falstaff* of these later years, should be the same as the one who flooded the world with the melodies of *Il Trovatore* forty years and more ago. And even this marked the second period of the already successful composer's work. In spite of the wonderful third period, with its full summer harmonies of *Aida*, and the prodigies of autumnal ripeness in the adequate rendering of Shakespeare's laughter and tears, it is *Il Trovatore*, with its tripping tunes and foolish plot, that endears the name of Verdi to the world of elementary music. Its classic use in every competition of the Paris Conservatoire goes to show that it has fast hold of even higher circles. Those who love popular idols, because they reverence the hidden cause of man's idolatry, will not easily pardon Mr. Streatfeild for telling the musical truth about it so unconcernedly. They will also find a few pages of his own enthusiasm over the master's latest work somewhat long in their attempted word-painting of musical effects. There is always a lurking suspicion that the composer, in his spontaneous inspiration, was quite unconscious of the fanciful ideas which the critic has admirably found in his work. But the story of Verdi's career is told interestingly, and is human enough to captivate the *bourgeois* and Philistine.

The author's narration of Boito's unique success and of Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana*, with the only less successful *I Pagliacci* of Leoncavallo, is also clear and pleasing. The musical appreciations are not too technical, and have an air of judicious and kindly moderation which greatly recommends them. Perhaps a speculative philosopher would have insisted more on the Germanisation of Young Italy, which is here disclosed, as a sign of the times. But, in sum, Mr. Streatfeild's volume is one of the most readable and agreeably filling of our recent musical literature.

M. Gustave Geffroy is one of the younger French critics of art and life whom the belated English reading public has yet to learn to know. The veteran Edmond de Goncourt, after the French fashion, introduced him to the world with a preface some five years since. Beginning with the Salons of 1890 and 1891, he has collected his essays and criticisms, scattered through the daily papers,

of which so many occupy themselves with art in France, into yearly volumes of *La Vie Artistique*.¹ The fourth series, dealing mainly with the Salons of 1894 and 1895, has just appeared in a volume of 334 pages. It is daintily printed, for a French book (paper-covered, marked 5 francs), and has a dry-point engraving by Raffaelli.

M. Geffroy, as becomes a *jeune*, has ideas. These are agreeably tintured with the anarchy and impressionism of the latest youthful enthusiasm in France. They are also of a man who thinks for himself and has many things to say worth hearing. The enforced courtesy of a contemporary criticism of art exhibitions somewhat obscures his really brilliant qualities when there is question of the Salons. Yet his accounts are worthy successors of those of Diderot and Théophile Gautier, and more lastingly readable than the supposed *ne plus ultra* of the mere *boulevardier*, Albert Wolff.

It is in his side pieces that our author is most suggestive of valuable thought. This time it is a *Musée du Soir*, for the sake of artisans in the working-men's quarters round the Bastille. He has been successful enough in his campaign for this desirable institution to induce the Minister of Fine Arts, the Chamber of Deputies, and the Paris Municipal Council to devote their official attention to it. This is the first and necessary step in France, where no People's Palace can arise in the East End from private initiative and enterprise. M. Geffroy catches at the essentially Socialist character of French government to connect his plan with the "integral" education of the people which the Republic has taken on itself to give. Where the State is everything, he is perhaps right in relying on it, though history seems to teach that reforms, as well as revolutions, are wrought by social forces existing independently of the State. This is certainly the case in England and America, to which our author refers with too much admiration and, perhaps, too little comprehension. The reform he would work, however, is not revolutionary. He would wean the workmen in *articles de Paris* and art furniture from the *cabaret*, and he would pleasantly teach them the possibilities of their daily toil. This, he acknowledges, would not resolve the social question. We do not think it would even help as much as to give each working-man a home and individual existence for his family. But, as M. Geffroy seems to anticipate, it might prevent the mob of another Commune from trying to burn the Louvre.

Meanwhile every one will agree with him, from the point of view both of art and life: "For a hundred years, since the somersault rebounding through the world of the French Revolution, our society seeks its way forward and its safety."

¹ *La Vie Artistique*. Par Gustave Geffroy. 4e Série. Paris: E. Dentu. 1895.



WANTED A NEW LIBERAL PROGRAMME.

FOR a political party which wishes to keep within the lines of purity there is nothing like an occasional reverse. It is to the politician what refreshment is to the traveller. It affords him a temporary breathing-space, during which he may check his course and correct any deviations therefrom of which he may have been guilty, and it enables him to drink of the pure fountain of political truth without having his supply filtered through the polluted channels of wire-pulling and party selfishness.

No such opportunity of reflection is open to a party whilst in power; office entanglements at the very best are not conducive to clearness of vision, and the first intimation of danger is usually defeat. Just as the Irish sailor said to the passenger who had asked him if there were any rocks in the vicinity, "Yes, sir, there's one," his remark being aptly illustrated by the bursting up of the ship.

If we interpret in this light the disaster which has recently befallen the Liberals we shall find much to be thankful for in the situation, from the standpoint of party purity. Although to the professional Liberal politician the shock was sudden and unaccountable, the intelligent outsider might easily have foreseen what has happened. The party had not been well for many days. Nothing but the wizard hand of the greatest parliamentarian of the century could have swayed the forces of disintegration which were raging within the party itself, and with the removal of that hand everybody not blinded by conceit and passion must have foreseen that a crisis was inevitable. Indeed there are many genuine Liberals who hail with satisfaction the advent of the Tories to power, as being the only chance of restoring unity, purity, and efficiency to what is vaguely called "the Liberal party." As the Liberals are not likely to be called upon to exercise power for six or seven years, and as during those years great changes affecting the fortunes of the party may be expected to take place, it may be worth while to inquire what those changes will be. Whether the new organisation is to have much in common with the old, who are to be its generals, and by what skilled tactics it is to be transformed from a heterogeneous rabble to an efficient fighting force, are points of immediate practical concern. Political problems do not wait upon the convenience of party

managers; and it remains to be seen how far the historic party of progress, under the new men and the new conditions, retains the assimilative power which has enabled it to cope successfully with the perplexing struggles of bygone days.

Whoever has watched the perturbations of party politics for the last dozen years or so must have noticed that a new order of things was rapidly being evolved. It was no longer the two great historical parties that divided the representation between them. The extension of the franchise, the operation of the Ballot Act, and of the Education Act, had resulted in the accession of a huge influx of voters determined to flourish their newly-acquired privileges. These new voters were not inclined to pay too much regard to the usages of party politics. They had long been excluded from the Constitution, and they had not been trained to respect its forms and traditions. Consequently imperial interests began to be lost sight of, and sectional interests became the order of the day. This sectional selfishness on the part of large masses of the electorate of the United Kingdom has continued up to the present, and has, at the last election, unquestionably been a leading factor in bringing about the Liberal disaster.

I may, however, explain at this stage that disaster to the Liberal party does not necessarily mean disaster to Liberalism. I am not relying upon the admitted fact that the Unionist majority of 150 only means a transposition from the Liberal to the Unionist side of some 50,000 votes, for whatever the exact number of votes thus transferred in the aggregate, it applies to a large number of different localities, and does unquestionably argue a widespread if not too intense diminution of confidence in the present attitude and policy of the Liberal party. Nor can such widespread dissatisfaction be explained on personal grounds, for the candidates rejected were in many cases men of the very highest standing both personally and politically, men who had hitherto been recognised as prophets in their own country. There is, depend upon it, a deep significance—almost tragic in its bluntness—in the defeat of such veteran leaders as Sir William Harcourt, Mr. John Morley, and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre. To nothing short of positive disapproval outweighing all past gratitude can the dismissal of such champions be attributed. We must look to the items of their programme, and to their manner of bringing them forward for the true explanation. This is indeed the most simple test, and it were as well to recognise it first as last. The principal questions brought before the constituencies, and upon which the election mainly turned, were Local Veto, Welsh Disestablishment, and Reform of the House of Lords. Of these items the Local Veto probably did most damage to the party. It was never a popular proposal—popular in the sense of being universal, as I contend all Liberal tenets ought to be, and it was of all measures the most diffi-

cult to defend from the standpoint of true Liberalism. In so far as it tended to confiscate the property of the publican without compensation it was naturally viewed as a national breach of faith by the class whose livelihood it affected, and it alienated the support of other classes of property-owners who saw their neighbours' houses on fire; whilst in its essential principle of coercing the minority as regards the use of an article of universal consumption, it was regarded as a clumsy infringement of the doctrine of individual liberty. And there were advocates of national temperance who believed and still believe that it would leave the worst plague-spots untouched.

Home Rule appears to have had little to do with the result. Some Unionist journals, thankful for anything which gives them a few years' respite from the dreaded monster, have gloated over what it pleases them to call the extinction of Home Rule. But the truth is that Home Rule was very little before the constituencies at all at the last election. It was prominently before them at the election of 1892, and they affirmed their faith in it by returning a majority pledged to support it, which majority duly carried out the task with which it was entrusted. Since then the subject has been allowed to fall into the background, not only by the official Liberals but, strange to say, by the Irish party themselves. At all events it certainly was not *the burning question* in 1895; neither has it been burnt to ashes as some would have it; it has simply been taken off the spit, for the time being.

The tactics of the official Liberals in thus shelving Home Rule after its rejection by the Lords, in introducing measure after measure of advanced, and not too congruous, legislation, not with the earnestness of men who believed they could pass them into law, but in order that their rejection, one by one, by the Upper House would constitute a formidable indictment against that assembly, may have been artful, but they were not candid, and, as the result proves, not wise. They were readily seen through by the Tory and Unionist Press, and discounted by the country, and, worst of all, they provoked the distrust of many good Liberals.

After all, the British elector likes earnestness and pluck. It was by a masterly display of such qualities, and by his chivalrous appeals to the nation's sense of justice, that Mr. Gladstone in 1868 converted his countrymen to Irish Church Disestablishment. It was by similar fortitude and resolution that he succeeded in getting a Home Rule majority in 1892. Had the Liberal party dissolved Parliament immediately on the rejection of the Home Rule Bill by the Lords they might not have got the increased majority which would have cowed the latter, but they would assuredly have stood in a better position than they do to-day, both in numbers and reputation. At any rate they would have vindicated their sincerity, as a party. And as

respects their later proceedings this is precisely what many think they have not done. The best way to convince any one is to show that you are yourself convinced.

Add to these influences the internal dissensions on the subject of the succession to the leadership, and the unseemly squabbling in the ranks of the Irish party, and there is no further need to account for 50,000 Liberals voting with the Unionists, that is to say, roughly speaking, about one hundred disappointed men in each constituency. The selection of Lord Rosebery as Liberal leader was not achieved without a painful operation. Inside the party there must have been keen discontent which even the dictates of expediency could not wholly conceal. Amongst the rank and file the appointment was still less popular; there was a perceptible murmur of dissent based upon the presumption that a fashionable Whig aristocrat of academic opinions, and with dangerous environments, could never be the natural leader of a party of radical reformers. Nor, truth to say, has the course of subsequent events tended to mollify their suspicion. Lord Rosebery's indifferent attitude on the Home Rule question, and his unfortunate and misleading analogies on the subject of the partnership between England and Ireland, have chilled the enthusiasm of some of his would-be supporters, and elated, in a corresponding degree, his Unionist opponents.

After the pitiful spectacle of bungling and dissension what wonder if the country paid no attention to the cry of reforming the House of Lords? Even if the House of Lords needed reforming it was evident that the Liberal party, as it then stood, was not the best instrument for effecting that object. For once the will of the Lords became the will of the people. "Let the Liberal party," said the latter in effect, "reform itself, and then it will be time enough to talk about reforming the Lords."

It by no means follows that an appeal to the people affords in every case an infallible standard of political judgment. It may often be the fate of a just and patriotic party to waste for a time "its sweetness on the desert air" of ineffectual Opposition; and I cannot conceive a higher service which a party can render to the community than to hold the citadel of truth against the violence of the multitude until reinforced by the timely aid of reflection and experience. But as long as "right," in the sphere of politics must, apart from abstract definition, possess an intimate relation to the popular needs, the people are not likely to be long mistaken in their views of what it comprehends; and where a political proposal has been put to them clearly, and rejected repeatedly, that proposal can hardly by any possibility have been for their benefit, or they would assuredly have found it out.

The first lesson which the various sections of the Liberal Party have now to learn is unity—I know I am only stating a self-evident

fact, but it is just the sort of fact that men are sometimes apt to overlook. They are so fully occupied with secondary objects and principles that they need to be reminded of primary ones. Like youthful arithmeticians they have forgotten addition by the time they have learnt division. The "sectional selfishness" which I have above referred to is at present the curse of the party, and the sooner each section is taught to see that the disruption of the party does not necessarily mean the realisation of its ends, the better for all concerned. Two parties are quite enough for any healthy state. What is a party? The true definition has been half-forgotten. Essentially it means a combination of individuals agreed upon one fundamental principle to which all their various secondary objects, no matter how complex or diverse, must be referred. Does the Liberal Party in its present state answer this description? Does it not rather resemble a combination of separate interests, each exclusively bent upon its own particular end, and jealous of the slightest precedence on the part of its fellows? The central fundamental principle is missing; the party has no more coherency than a handful of sand. Suppose A. wants the Church disestablished. B. wants the public-houses shut. C. wants his hours of labour shortened. A., B. and C. do not care a jot for each other's interests, but they go to D., who is a political contractor, and is making up a party for St. Stephen's, and wants a few passengers to complete the set. He accepts their terms and drives them off, but at the first cross-road he comes to they each want to drive different ways, and threaten to join the opposition coach if they do not get their own way. While they are thus squabbling the opposition coach has got ahead, and the jaunt has to be abandoned. Now, if instead of the passengers being thus picked up in a haphazard manner, the destination of the coach and the choice of the driver were regulated at the start by the votes of the passengers the journey would have been much more agreeable, and the other coach would probably not have got ahead.

The above, I submit, is not an unfair illustration of the way the various items in the Liberal programme have lately been patched together. Instead of each item being well sifted, and submitted to the general judgment of the party as a whole before being officially incorporated in the programme, some of the items were hastily picked up, and, in their raw and unfinished state the party found itself committed to them before it had a full opportunity of testing them by its own vital principle.

The time has at last arrived when all who believe in true Liberal principles should recognise the necessity, if they wish to become an effective force, of being Liberals first and sectionists afterwards. The over-activity of Liberal ideas which found vent in internecine warfare must give place to a counsel of philosophical loyalty. "Sweet

are the uses of adversity," if they can bring this lesson home to the minds of the belligerents. The task of reconstructing the party must be at once begun upon a logical basis, and a policy must be devised which will be comprehensive enough to grasp all that is real and valuable in the popular aspirations of the present day. Where is the inspiration of such a policy to be found? Where but in the needs of the people? Notwithstanding the legal majority of 152, which has driven half the Tory press into ecstasies, but which, I suspect, must make Lord Salisbury now wonder what he will do with it, there never was a moment when the path of the Liberal party was more clear, or where better work awaited it, than the present. Do people think, when they chuckle at the vaunted destruction of Liberalism—if, indeed, that could be destroyed which is as indestructible as matter itself—that there are no grave social questions awaiting solution, no historic injustices to remove, no barriers of exclusiveness to break down, no higher developments to hold out to crippled humanity? As long as Ireland is governed by reactionary methods, as long as the disgraceful conditions of land ownership in England fetter industry and pauperise her population, as long as monopolies in trade and manufacture operate to the detriment of the community, as long as reciprocal justice is not observed throughout the length and breadth of our national life—so long must it be the duty of the Liberal party to lead the way. If the Tory party usurp its functions, well and good; if we get the genuine article, it does not concern us much whether the seller is ashamed to call it by its proper name; the credit belongs to Liberalism. But, broadly speaking, the Tory party must always remain the party of exclusiveness and obstinacy; in so far as they diverge from their historic character, they will alienate their own supporters, who will prefer, if they are to be robbed at all, to be robbed by the Liberals.

For the present the Liberal party must be content to remain an educational force. The distribution of sound economic ideas amongst the masses, the vivid exposure, in all their naked deformity, of the anomalies and absurdities that still lurk in the constitution, the bringing home to the electors the sacred duties and responsibilities of citizenship of a free and complex community—these are the immediate tasks which call for willing hands. Let the time bring forth the men. Who is to be the chosen apostle of the new crusade of justice it would perhaps be idle at this stage to inquire. We know that the void left by the withdrawal of Gladstone cannot be filled in this generation, if indeed at all. It has been said that a statesman is essentially the creature of circumstances and the product of his age, but of Gladstone it may almost be asserted that he shaped the circumstances as much as he was shaped by them. We must lay the pattern aside with becoming reverence, and be content to judge our leaders by a more conventional standard.

The conduct of the Unionist party whilst in office may be trusted to furnish many striking object-lessons to the electorate, and thus ably second the work of political enlightenment. It is not to be supposed that at the wave of Lord Salisbury's wand universal tranquillity will prevail; that Ireland will lie down like a lamb to the slaughter; that the industrial and commercial millennium which was foretold by the prophets as certain to follow the advent of the Tories to power will keep its appointment; that the rash pledges on these and other subjects by which many Unionist candidates won their seats will not come home to roost; that, in short, the dust of six or seven years will not have soiled the Unionist mantle, if, indeed, it should not have to be washed before then. It will be a matter of the keenest interest to students of political science to observe how far the negative policy of maintaining the union will satisfy a multitude of positive grievances.

If there is one item more than another which ought to have precedence in the next Liberal programme it is the Reform of the House of Lords. No apology is needed for making this the first target for attack. No process of "filling the cup" is necessary if the true position and record of the Upper Chamber is laid before the electors. Instead of picking a quarrel with the House of Lords while in power, and then "going to the country," let us attack it now boldly, on principle, while we are in the country, and get every constituency to declare what it already thinks and knows, viz., that hereditary legislation is wrong in principle and must be abolished. By blaming the Lords for their action in particular cases you obscure the real issue because you are raising for them a number of champions from the side which they happened to espouse, so that the verdict turns upon a side-issue. It matters little whether the House of Lords threw out this or that measure; it is not upon the measure a verdict is wanted; it is upon the House of Lords itself; upon its right to possess the power it wields, and it is impossible to get the judgment of the country focussed upon the question except by raising it in a direct, substantive form in the very heart of the constituencies.

Home Rule may safely be left to take care of itself. Even if Liberals of the ornamental and perfunctory class were disposed to drop it as being a bad investment, the presence of Irish discontent, expressed as it may be again in violent terms, agrarian and Parliamentary, would be a lasting guarantee that it could not be abandoned. It is part and parcel of the enlightened Liberalism of the nineteenth century; it is nothing more than putting into practice as regards Ireland the principles of liberty upon which Liberalism has lived and thriven since the dawn of the British Constitution. Remove it from the programme, and except upon the assumption that a party is a joint-stock company whose sole object is to keep in

office, there is no knowing what does or does not form an essential ingredient of Liberalism. A great deal of distinguished nonsense has been uttered in connection with this subject since the Bill passed the House of Commons, and unfortunately countenanced by those whose position should have taught them better, tending to single out this one question for an exceptionally severe test of national approval. I humbly confess that I can see no law, either of constitutional ethics or constitutional arithmetic, which differentiates this question from any other which may be decided by a majority of the Commons of the United Kingdom. The contention is that a majority of the United Kingdom is not sufficient to pass Home Rule; that there must be a clear majority of the English constituencies. Where is the sanction for such a doctrine to be found? Either Great Britain and Ireland are a United Kingdom, or they are not. If they are not a United Kingdom there is no case. If they are, then the Parliament representing them has power to delegate or bestow its functions to any lesser body it chooses to create, without reference to the composition of the majority by which it does so. Of course one could understand the plausibility of the contention if the constitutional practice were, in legislating for each part of the United Kingdom, to assign special values to the votes from such part; but such a proceeding was never heard of, and only in the case of Home Rule has this demand for separate voting been put forward as a serious argument. A curious fact in connection with the matter is that some of those who would thus make a distinction between English and non-English votes are, or say they are, advocates of "One vote one value."

It is the attitude of the House of Lords that has really given currency to this illogical demand for an "English majority." Those who make it know that the House of Lords is the stumbling-block, and will not give way without a "convincing" majority, and reconciling themselves to the situation, they invent a justification for an abuse of power and pass it off as a constitutional axiom. But if the House of Lords were first strangled we should hear no more of this absurd doctrine of qualitative voting.

Now is the most favourable time to push forward the question of land law reform. It is, indeed, the vital question for the whole community. While short-sighted sectionism is so rife with its exclusive zeal for the promotion of secondary interests, it is the duty of every true Liberal to direct attention to the mainspring of poverty, the great land monopoly, which, deeply embedded in our legislative system and protected by all sorts of crafty disguises and contrivances—the fruits of hundreds of years of class legislation—saps every industry and feeds every form of social discontent. The sublime ease with which most people lend themselves to an absurd delusion when their attention is distracted by a number of plausible

cries, is almost incredible. People are yet content to believe that thousands of acres of land in England are annually going out of cultivation because it is cheaper to import food from a distance of 3000 miles. It reminds one of the case of the enthusiastic old gentleman who put up his shutters in the daytime because electric light was cheaper than daylight. A man's labour on arable land will produce a man's food anywhere, and it can never be cheaper to sit idle and pay some one else to procure your food and convey it from abroad than to procure it yourself from the earth that is only too willing to afford it. Whatever shape the proposal may take, whether it be to tax uncultivated land or to buy out the landlords, the formation of a sound public opinion on the matter is one of the crying necessities of the hour.

Scotch and Welsh Disestablishment and the Temperance question must, of course, be given their due place in the category of Liberal demands, but I venture to think that Local Option is not the precise form in which the views of the temperance advocates should be embodied. Several alternative plans might be proposed, such as what is known as "the Gothenburg System;" but in any plan of wholesale extinction of public-houses compensation on a moderate scale ought, in conformity with the time-honoured traditions of State policy, to be allowed.

Social and domestic legislation are not considered to be the exclusive domain of either political party, and it is quite likely that the Tories whilst in office will make a strong bid for popularity by bringing forward some fancy schemes, such as Old Age Pensions, &c., but it will devolve upon Liberals to see that nothing but what is radically sound and equitable will pass without a determined protest and a full exposure. The discontent amongst the labouring classes, whether in the shape of a demand for higher wages, or a shorter working day, and the deplorable frequency of strikes and lockouts, ought to be treated by the Liberal party in a sober, comprehensive spirit, as having a deeper root than the Tories are willing to acknowledge. The common-sense view of these labour disputes is that the labourer and the capitalist should be brought closer together—should, as far as possible, be identical. How is this to be done? A step in the right direction would be to encourage the conversion of private firms into limited liability companies, and to provide that all employes should have the preference in the allotment of shares, the object being to bring the two elements into harmony, and to extend to every trade, as far as possible, the benefits of self-government, in all matters pertaining to hours and wages.

A subject which I must not omit to mention and which ought to command early treatment is the deficient state of our electoral machinery. An appeal to the country cannot be properly made

till every *bond fide* citizen (householder or lodger) is *ipso facto* a voter without having to comply with the present embarrassing conditions, as to, qualification, till plurality of voting is abolished, and till all elections are held on the same day. At present a large percentage of our most intelligent citizens never vote, owing to technical disqualifications.

I need only say in conclusion that Liberalism, so far from being dead or dying, is as potent a force to-day as it was at any former time. So long as it acts up to its own high traditions, and only seeks the greatest good of the greatest number, neither bending to this class or that for support which must cost the allegiance of an equally deserving class, but searching deep down in the intertwining affairs of men for the true mean of justice, its success is assured. Where it fails to do this it must put up with a temporary rebuff. But the disease suggests the remedy. The finger of fate which is now turned from Liberalism will before very long beckon it onward to renewed exertions and triumphs yet to come.

THOMAS SCANLON.

STRAY NOTES ON LADY HAMILTON.

RATHER more than a hundred years ago a Minister from a small Saxon Court happened to be entertained by the British Envoy at Naples during his travels in Italy, and made the following entry into his diary, which reads as fresh as though it had been written yesterday :

"Sir William Hamilton, who still resides here as ambassador from England, has at length, after a long devotion to Art, and a long study of Nature, discovered the zenith of all natural and artistic delight in a beautiful maiden. The old knight has had a Greek costume made for her, which suits her admirably. Dressed in this, and letting her hair loose, and taking a couple of shawls, she displays every variety of posture, expression, and look, so that at last one really supposes it is a dream. Standing, kneeling, sitting, lying down, grave or sad, playful, exulting, repentant, wanton, menacing, anxious—all states follow quickly one after another. The old knight holds the light in front of her, and has given himself up to it with his whole heart. He discovers in her all antiques, all lovely profiles on Sicilian coins, even the Apollo Belvidere. So much is certain, the fun is unique. We have enjoyed it two evenings. Tischbein paints her early to-day."

This entry may well arouse our interest, for the beautiful maiden was Emma Lady Hamilton, and the traveller who wrote of her, "the world-poet Goethe." Yet, so little is the passage cited by historians, that even Mr. W. H. Long, a bookseller in Portsmouth, who has devoted many years to the study of Nelson's guardian angel, was not aware of its existence till I drew his attention to it not many weeks ago. His face brightened at the discovery, and all his special knowledge was at once generously imparted to me.

Mr. Long has published a new edition (with notes) of an anonymous volume of *Memoirs* which first saw the light of day in the year of Lady Hamilton's death, some ten years after the death of her hero-lover. The long struggle with France was only just over, and the first edition of the book was eagerly read and sold off in a few weeks. In spite of its extravagant bias and sententious style, it contains interesting matter, and even now repays the time and trouble spent in reading it. Besides three engravings of Lady Hamilton after Romney, Mr. Long adds notes of his own based on

more recent sources of information and recording curious bits of anecdote. The following enables the reader to form some idea of Emma's mother, who was known in naval circles as Mrs. Cadogan :

"At an entertainment given in honour of the English fleet at Naples, at the drinking of a toast Mrs. C. exclaimed, 'They may talk of their *Lachrymæ Christi* and stuff, but give me a glass of London gin before a whole bottle of it!' As there happened to be a few bottles of gin on board one of the ships, her wish was speedily gratified."

What a strangely chequered life her voluptuous daughter led! Born in a humble walk of life in the then obscure village of Hawarden in Cheshire, she succeeded in overcoming the hearts and consciences of many persons of importance, and died in debt and obloquy at Calais. Besides Lord Nelson and her husband, she is known to have been on more than friendly terms with her husband's nephew, Charles Greville, second son of the Earl of Warwick, and with the great portrait-painter, George Romney. The genial but avowedly sceptic prelate, Lord Bristol, Bishop of Derry, who spent his rich revenues on foreign travel and the fine arts, was among her passionate admirers, and did not see any harm in "visiting one sinner." The plea sometimes advanced, that Romney's attachment was merely a painter's admiration for a beautiful work of art, is ingenious but scarcely probable. That she was the mother and Nelson the father of the child Horatia is proved beyond reasonable doubt by sundry passages in the letters that passed between them. Horatia's son, who became a respectable clergyman, is said to have been remarkably like his immortal grandfather.

It seems to have given Lamartine real pleasure to dwell on the fact that the naval hero of the strong self-righteous rival nation was not exactly an archangel. Even the bombastic but sternly virtuous Robert Southey felt uncomfortable when he came to deal with the chief blot on Nelson's fame. But more displeasing than the *liaison* itself is the execution of Caraccioli, which Nelson has been accused of countenancing for the sake of another man's wife. Some have represented Caraccioli as a high-souled patriot; others have made him out completely the reverse. It is, at any rate, true that he was tried by a hostile junto, and not allowed to defend himself. Mr. Long is of opinion that there is no authority for the oft-repeated statement that Lady Hamilton herself witnessed his cruel death by hanging at the yard-arm on board a Sicilian frigate. He had been obnoxious to the corrupt Neapolitan Court, with which she naturally had intimate relations.

A certain Mrs. Trench, who met Lady Hamilton in Dresden while she was journeying overland from Naples to Hamburg in the company of Nelson and her husband, describes her as "bold, coarse, assuming, and vain"; and adds that her ruling passions were "vanity,

Stray Notes on Lady Hamilton.

avarice, and love for the pleasures of the table." The pious inhabitants of Canterbury (where Nelson had obtained preferment for his brother) seem to have held a similar opinion, and refused to invite her to their firesides. But the "home of lost causes and forsaken beliefs" gave her a welcome, and bestowed the degree of D.C.L. on Nelson and Sir W. Hamilton at the same time, although the one had quitted a faithful wife and the other had lapsed into Deism. Soon after, Sir W. Hamilton lay on his deathbed, and commended "Emma" to the care of his friend, ignorant, as some affect to believe, of their guilt. He frankly avowed he had lived too long to mind what the world thought or said about such matters.

That Nelson was deeply attached to this wonderful woman can hardly be doubted by any one who takes the trouble to read his latest letters. Their tone is peculiarly tender, though some may well be shocked by his allusion to the impediment to their legal union which "the Almighty can remove when he pleases." He would probably have married her after her husband's death, if Lady Nelson had not been still alive. In his last moments he begged Hardy to take care of her, and hoped the nation would be sufficiently grateful to save her from want. She had probably led her lover to believe that the English fleet owed more to her kind offices on various occasions than was really the case.

Nelson was supremely human, and, for that reason, religious to a certain extent. In one of his letters to Emma he inquired sincerely about the church at Merton, in Surrey, and talked of "setting an example of goodness to the under-parishioners." Like many other interesting personages, Lady Hamilton was attracted by the oldest and most sensuous form of Christian faith on her deathbed, and received the viaticum at the hands of a French priest.

MAURICE TODHUNTER.

THE INCIDENCE OF RATES.

THAT we are face to face with important changes in matters of local rating must be apparent to the most superficial student of present-day politics. The enormous growth of local expenditure in our great cities and the growing restiveness of the ratepayers under the burdens imposed upon them, are fast becoming matters of grave concern to the municipal authorities.

The tendency of the times in favour of increasing municipal outlay meets with a fierce resentment from a section of the public who consider themselves at present grossly over-rated.

The question is undoubtedly a burning one. It is therefore rather surprising to find so much vagueness and confusion in the public mind generally, and in the House of Commons in particular, on the elementary questions relating to the incidence of rates. Those who are perfectly capable of discussing rationally the incidence of ordinary *taxation* frequently seem to be hopelessly at sea about the incidence of *rates*.

Yet rates differ in no way fundamentally from taxes. The term "rate" is usually applied in connection with *local* revenue, and the term "tax" in connection with *national* revenue. It is also customary to describe rates in accordance with the object *for* which they are levied (as police rate, poor rate, and school rate), while taxes are usually described in accordance with the subject *on* which they are levied (as income tax, window tax). Otherwise there is no difference between a rate and a tax, and the ordinary principles of taxation apply with equal force to rates.

Every now and again the subject crops up in the House of Commons and elsewhere, and the question, "Who pays the rates, landlord or occupier?" is hotly discussed. One side insists that the occupiers bear the whole burden, while the other side claims that the landlords ultimately pay all rates. The true bearings of the situation are generally obscured in a fog of side issues and so-called "practical" illustrations.

There is, however, nothing very extraordinary or mysterious about the incidence of rates, provided the ordinary economic laws which govern the incidence of *taxation* are not lost sight of. Assuming a rate to be essentially the same thing as a tax, let us see what the current theories of taxation have to say on the subject.

Caution is required at the outset against assuming that those who actually pay the tax or rate to the authorities are the people who bear the ultimate burden. It is well known that many taxes can be shifted; as, for example, the tax on tea in this country, which, though nominally paid by the importer, is in reality paid by the consumer, in the shape of increased price of tea. The problem of the incidence of taxation is, then, that of deciding how far and in what direction taxes can be shifted.

To illustrate, let us take the tea trade in England and the import duty or tax levied on it.

Most people are aware that the tea duty is, in the long run, paid by the consumers of tea. Experience has shown that the price of tea will rise by (at least) the amount of the tax levied on it. But fewer people are aware of the reasons which lead to this result. First, Why is it that tea will rise in price when a tax is levied on its importation? Under free competition the price of tea is determined by supply and demand. Neither the merchant nor the grocer can arbitrarily fix the price of tea otherwise than it is. To suppose so is to assume that they would voluntarily take a lower price than they could get.

We must therefore look to supply and demand to explain the rise in price. Supply and demand being the determinants of price, a variation in either of these factors causes a variation in price. Consider now the imposition of a tax on tea importation.

The tea importers have now to pay the amount of the tax on each pound of tea they import to the Customs department. How does this fact affect supply and demand?

Primarily it has no effect upon *demand*, since the number and wants of tea consumers are not thereby altered. But with *supply* it is very different. The tea importers who have to pay the tax directly to the Government will begin to feel the pinch at once in diminution of profits unless they take steps to raise the price of tea.

How can this be done? Obviously only by restricting the supply, *i.e.*, importing less. And this restriction is not arbitrary on the part of the importer (though it is the fruit of a Government decree), for it flows directly from the tendency of capital to seek the best investment. What really happens is this.

Capital, finding its returns in the tea trade are diminished by the new taxation, begins to withdraw from the tea business and to seek investment elsewhere. This at once reduces the volume of the tea trade and consequently the supply of tea in England, and will continue to do so until the price of tea rises, and so yields the normal return to the capital engaged.

It will be readily seen that the above case is typical of all other cases where demand is fairly constant and supply is variable.

But there are cases in which supply is practically constant, *i.e.*, the quantity of the commodity in the market cannot be increased or diminished at will. Of these cases by far the most important is land.

In considering the incidence of taxation the student finds that the commodities subject to taxation tend to group themselves under two heads. The first group, which includes the great majority of existing cases, consists of those commodities whose supply is variable (*e.g.*, tea, tobacco, and all labour products which can be produced to a practically unlimited extent to meet current wants). The second group consists of those commodities whose supply cannot be varied at will (*e.g.*, free gifts of Nature, such as land, and certain labour products which cannot be readily reproduced, such as the productions of special genius, works of art, violins, &c.).

These two groups are sometimes broadly distinguished from one another as monopolies and non-monopolies; the second group belonging to the class of monopolies, and the first group to that of non-monopolies.

The incidence of taxation is different for these two groups.¹ Taxes which are levied upon non-monopolies (such as tea) can be shifted by the producer or distributor on to the shoulders of the ultimate consumer, as we have already seen.

Now consider the case of a monopoly such as land upon the value of which we will suppose a tax to be levied. Can the landowner shift the tax on to the tenant by raising the rent, in the same way that the tea importer can shift the tea duty on to the tea consumer?

Here, again, the question must be referred to supply and demand. At any given time the *demand* for land is fairly constant, so that the value of land (or rent) cannot be affected from that side.

Can rent be raised by restricting the *supply* of land? Obviously not. For land, being a free gift of Nature, can neither be diminished nor increased by human effort, but is fixed in quantity.²

Supply and demand being thus constant in the case of land, the landowner has no power to raise rent or in any way to shift the tax on rent on to the tenant. He must himself bear the loss.

A caution is, however, here needed. Sometimes a tax is levied not upon *land values* but upon *land*.

A tax upon land values (as in the above case) falls only upon valuable land. Land of inferior quality (though fully used) may

¹ Another way of expressing the same reasoning is, that taxes on non-monopolies enter into the cost of production, and so raise price; while taxes upon monopolies such as land cannot enter into cost of production (since land is the free gift of Nature and has no cost of production), and so cannot raise price.

² That landowners can and do hold valuable land idle under our present laws by refusing to let is unfortunately the case, but in a free and open market the above is true.

have no rental value, and would therefore be exempt from land value taxation. A *land value* tax can thus never fall upon industry.

A *land* tax, on the other hand, is generally levied not according to the value, but according to extent (so much per acre on land of all qualities). In this way it falls upon land yielding no rent, as well as upon valuable land. Hence it must be paid out of the earnings of Labour and Capital. But Labour and Capital will not engage in production unless they receive normal returns.

Production is therefore restricted until prices are raised sufficiently to recoup Labour and Capital for their loss through the tax.

It is, in fact, the case of the tax in the tea trade over again. A *land* tax is in truth a tax on labour products, and as such restricts production and ultimately falls on the consumer.

From the foregoing cases it is now clear that while taxes on the processes and products of industry are ultimately paid by the consumers, taxes levied upon monopolies are paid by the *owners* rather than the *users* of the monopolies, and that taxes on land values (or economic rent) fall wholly upon the landowners and not upon the tenants.

Keeping these principles clearly in view, let us now consider the vexed question of the incidence of rates.

Rates are levied almost universally in one way—viz., upon the gross rental of buildings and sites combined. How is the incidence of rating to be determined in such a case? Upon whom does the burden ultimately fall? Landlord or occupier?

Recurring to the previous illustrations, we have seen that the question of incidence turns on the nature of the supply of the commodity in question. What is the nature of this gross rental value upon which rates are levied? It is a composite value made up of two distinct parts; first, the value of the site, and secondly, the value of the structure or improvements thereon. These two elements in gross rental do not necessarily bear any fixed relation to each other. Thus the value of the site may be either a large or a small proportion of gross rental according as the advantages of situation are great or small. Similarly the value of the structure may be great or small according as the building outlay is great or small. A palace might be erected on a site of very little value on the outskirts of the city, or a hovel might be built on land of very high value in the centre of the city.

It is evident that it is impossible to apportion the incidence of rates levied on gross rental unless the relative values of site and building are both known. For these two elements behave differently under taxation. Sites (*i.e.*, land apart from structures or improvements) belong to the group of monopolies, and taxes levied upon their value must be paid by the owner. Buildings or im-

provements, on the other hand, are labour products which belong to the group of non-monopolies, and taxes levied upon their value must be paid by the occupier (consumer). It might be argued that buildings or other permanent improvements do in reality share the nature of land in virtue of their permanence; and in a dwindling community this argument would to a certain extent have force in spite of the fact that houses are liable to deterioration. For capital and labour which have once been sunk in buildings cannot be so readily diverted into other investments, as is the case with the tea trade and the majority of ordinary commodities.

But in all cases where demand for houses is either constant or increasing, it is certain that builders will keep the supply of houses within such limits as will enable them to shift the tax and reap normal profits.

In all cases, therefore, of progressive communities such as our own it may be fairly assumed that houses obey the same laws as other ordinary commodities, and that rates levied upon their value must be paid by the occupier.

An assessment of house value, as distinguished from land value, would thus enable us to determine approximately the relative burdens on landowners and occupiers involved in our present system of rating.

Such a separate assessment is in every way desirable, not merely with a view to settling the vexed question of the present incidence of rates, but also with a view to possible rearrangements in the future. Competent authorities declare that there is no practical difficulty in the way of such an assessment. At present it is only possible to make very rough estimates of the incidence of rates from guesses at the probable relative values of sites and buildings. Thus, in the central part of a city, where we know land values to be exceedingly high relatively to the buildings, we may safely conclude that the landowners' share of the rates is a large one; while, on the outskirts, where the value of land is low relatively to buildings, we may conclude that the tenants' share is the heavier.

So much we can learn by applying the theories of taxation to the problem of the incidence of rates.

There are, however, those who are not satisfied with theoretical deductions, who consider theory as all very well for armchair philosophers, but hardly worth the attention of "practical" politicians. These "practical" persons are commonly in the habit of proving their point by the use of "practical" illustrations.

By these means they succeed in demonstrating to their own satisfaction, on one side that the tenants pay all the rates, and on the other side that the landlords pay all the rates.

To trace this confusion to its source it is worth while to consider for a moment a typical argument on each side.

The one side say, "Here is a tenant looking out for a house. He can only afford to give £80 for it. He finds a house to let assessed at £70 gross rental, on which the rates amount to £10. The landlord offers to let him have it at £70 (tenant to pay rates), or at £80 (landlord to pay rates). Under either arrangement the tenant will find himself £80 out of pocket due to the house. It is thus a matter of indifference to the tenant whether he pays the rates himself directly, or indirectly through the landlord in increased rent. In any case the landlord escapes, and the tenant has to bear the whole burden."

The other side get at an exactly opposite result, as follows: "Here is a tenant who can only afford to pay £80 on account of his house. Assuming that there are no rates for the tenant to pay, he can afford £80 for rent. But if he has to pay away £10 in rates to the authorities, he can no longer afford to give £80, but only £70 in rent. Hence the rent which the tenant can pay is reduced in each case by the amount of the rates, and the landlord has to bear the whole burden in the shape of diminished rent."

These two contradictory results are reached by considering the question in each case from a one-sided point of view. The fallacy lies in looking at the matter solely from the point of view of demand and altogether ignoring the influence of supply. It is assumed in each case that the tenant can just afford £80 altogether for his house. But observe that though this £80 is the *maximum* price which he *can afford* to give, it by no means follows that it is the irreducible *minimum* that he *will* give. People do not usually lay down a fixed sum and insist on spending the whole of it upon their houses irrespective of all other considerations. On the contrary, they generally fix on a house (within their means) which suits them, and then make the cheapest bargain they can over it. To say that a tenant *can* give £80 for his house is not to say that he *will* do so. He will not, in fact, pay more than he can help. The amount he actually has to pay depends upon the supply of houses. His demand for the house may be effective up to the limit of £80, but the true value of the house may be anything at all within £80, depending upon supply, which is in its turn regulated by the cost of production of such a house.

Similarly, no man will pay more rates than he is compelled to. If he can evade them entirely he will do so. Both landlord and tenant endeavour to shift the rates off themselves on to one another. How far they can do so depends, as we have seen, on the respective proportions of land value and building value in each case.

Now as to the first of the above illustrations, where the tenant appears to pay all the rates. So much of the rates as are levied on the *building* value will fall on the tenant, but the remainder, representing the rates levied upon the value of the site itself, will

operate to diminish its advantages relatively to other sites on the town margin, and thus reduce the landowner's rent. Whether the landlord or the tenant nominally pays the rates is simply a matter of convenience, and does not affect the real incidence. Whatever a tenant pays in rates on building value he *cannot* regain, while whatever he pays in rates on land value he gains in reduced rent.

Again, as to the second illustration, where the landlord appears to pay all the rates. We have seen that, so far as the rates fall on land value, the landowner must pay them ultimately. The gross rental of the house was £70, on which rates amounted to £10. Now suppose that the land value and the building value formed equal proportions of this gross rental. Then £5 would be paid as rates on the land value and £5 on the building value. The £5 on land value must fall on the landlord as a *landowner*, but the remaining £5 on the building value will fall on the landlord as a *capital owner*: building value (or the price paid for the use of buildings) being in effect merely interest on the capital invested in building. So that while the landlord is powerless to shift the first £5 mentioned above, he both can and will shift the second £5 on to the occupier of the house. And this, as explained above, for the reason that, as a building-owner, he refuses to keep his capital in houses, unless by restricting the supply of houses he can secure such prices from the occupiers as will recoup him for loss through the rates. The net result is that the tenant in this particular case will share the burden of rates in equal proportions with the landlord.

It will be noticed in the above illustrations that both the words "landlord" and "landowner" have been used. This unfortunate term "landlord" has been a most disastrous stumbling-block in the way of clear thinking on this subject. It is of vital importance to distinguish a "landlord" in the popular sense from a "landowner" in the economic sense. The term "landlord" is commonly used to express the owner of either land or houses. Thus, if a man rents a piece of land from a landowner and builds a house on it which he lets to a third party, he is at once the tenant of the landowner and the landlord of the occupier. This vagueness of definition has been a fruitful source of mental confusion in connection with the incidence of rates.

The "landowner," on the other hand, is a term principally used in political economy. It is employed in a well-defined sense, and strictly confined to those who are recipients of land values. It frequently happens that the land value of a particular estate is divided between several individuals, known in legal terminology under various names, such as feu-duty holders, chief-rent holders, ground-rent holders, leaseholders, freeholders, mortgagees, &c. &c. All these persons may participate with varying degrees of interest in land values.

But the legal complexities of land tenure need not confuse those who keep steadily and clearly in mind the fact that land values (or economic rent) are *always the same in nature*, by whatever different names they may be called, and any individual who is to any extent the recipient of land values is to that extent a *landowner*, no matter by what name he calls himself.

The ill-defined term "landlord" is used to express both the owner of land and the owner of buildings (which are capital). Great care must therefore be taken, whenever the term has to be used, to distinguish between the landlord's function as a landowner and his function as a capitalist.

So far the incidence of rates has been discussed from the purely theoretical point of view of a state of perfectly free competition. It is now necessary to consider what modifications must be made for the actual state of affairs, and especially in relation to the growing demand for a change in the incidence of rates which shall put a larger share of the burden upon landowners.

This demand has been engendered on the one hand by the rapid growth of local expenditure, and on the other hand by the enormous rise in land values, features of modern development which have advanced hand-in-hand in all our great cities. Mr. Fletcher Moulton, Q.C., in his pamphlet on the "Taxation of Ground Rents," says:

"It has been rightly said that our town life is the most serious problem of the day. The tendency of population to come to the towns seems irresistible, and yet the lot that awaits the new-comers is too often a melancholy one. Side by side with overflowing prosperity we find abject wretchedness. Poverty and overcrowding seem to attend, and even to measure, our ever-increasing wealth. The magnitude of these evils is fully known and appreciated, but the inhabitants of our towns already groan so deeply under the burden of local taxation, that they have not the courage to seek to remove them. And amid all this they see the land in their towns swelling in value, and its owners acquiring colossal fortunes without any effort. They are rapidly learning that this rise in value is the direct result of the existence and expenditure of the community, and that their burdens are thus heavy only because they have been expending their wealth to enrich the landowners."

The average citizen is beginning to see all this more and more clearly every day. Hence the inquiries for some effective method of making landowners bear a more adequate share of the rates.

Much legal ingenuity has been expended in devising schemes to effect this object, and the London County Council has been honourably to the fore in promoting them. The best proposal in this direction is that all land values should be separately assessed as distinct from building values. This done, the rates should be gradually transferred from the gross rental and levied upon land values alone, thus releasing an important necessary of life (*viz.*, houses) from taxation, and so mitigating the evils of overcrowding. Of the

far-reaching and beneficial results which would flow from such a change, more will be said later on. For the present, our principal concern is to gauge the certainty with which we may expect the burden to really fall on the shoulders intended to bear it. In this connection the virtue of the above proposal stands out pre-eminently. For, as we have already seen, it is in the nature of a tax on land values that it *must* be ultimately borne by the landowner, no matter who may nominally pay it. This enables us to dispense with all the cumbersome provisos and regulations which have been thought necessary to ensure that taxation should fall exactly as its authors intended. Herein lies the value of studying economic laws. We are enabled to secure our object with a minimum expenditure of energy. We can take the economic "line of least resistance." As well try to make water run uphill as to seek to fix by law the burden of taxation upon those who are economically able to evade it. But utilise the flow of economic tendencies and all is then plain sailing. That our present system of land tenure is confused and complicated; that land values are split up into many parts; that it is difficult to appraise the exact value of certain interests in land values: these things need not seriously disturb us.

For, from its nature, a tax on land values tends to settle of its own accord on all recipients of land values, and that in proportion to their interest in them. This is due to the action of economic laws. Ground-rent holders, leaseholders, freeholders, whatever they may legally be called, if they are in any degree landowners (*i.e.*, recipients of land value), the land value tax will ferret them out, as no legal contrivance could, and fasten upon them until they have disgorged their full quota.

There is, however, in some quarters such an invincible prejudice against the application of economic theories to practical affairs, that any proposal which is based upon abstract reasoning will have to overcome a good deal of suspicion and distrust. It is probable, however, that this timidity is chiefly the product of a foggy mental atmosphere which prevents many from thinking clearly and logically. To the majority of human beings who believe that their reasoning powers have been given them to use, it will become increasingly clear that in economic matters, in questions relating to government, property, and taxation, empirical methods must in the end give way to science.

Economic science has shown us in what way rates would fall if levied solely upon land values under conditions of perfectly free competition.

We have now to consider what modification must be made in the above theory in relation to our existing state of affairs.

In connection with the proposal to transfer rates from building values on to land values an important admission must be made,

which perhaps, at first sight, seems to take from the proposal much of the theoretic virtue claimed for it above. To understand this, consider the question which will first occur to the overburdened ratepayer on hearing the proposal. He will ask, "And if I am relieved of all my present rates and taxes, how am I to know that the landowner won't raise the rent upon me? And what is the good of a proposal which saves my pocket on the one side and takes as much from my pocket on the other side?" This is a question which must be fairly and squarely met, and in relation to all the circumstances of the case which might have important bearings on the situation. To delude the ratepayers into a false belief once, might have a disastrous effect upon the future of taxation reform, and cause them to withdraw their support from the experiment before it is fairly tried.

It is therefore necessary to explain that, under existing conditions, relief given to tenants in remission of rates and taxes on buildings and improvements *would* be followed by a rise in the rent of land. Why is this? We have seen that, under conditions of free competition, *it is impossible* for the landowner to raise rent on the imposition of a land value tax. But here the situation is modified, precisely because we have not got conditions of perfectly free competition. Our existing rates and taxes on the products of labour and capital operate to prevent those conditions. So far as they are levied upon the products and processes of industry, they restrict the volume of trade to an amount below its "free competition" volume. Hence they diminish the demand for land, and, in consequence, the values of land or rent.

Conversely it is evident that the remission of rates and taxes will tend proportionately to raise rent, since the fresh impetus given to trade in the removal of the burdens laid upon it will stimulate the demand for land. In this way the fears of the ratepayer about a rise in rent may be realised.

The truth is that, as long as rates and taxes upon industry and the products of industry continue to exist, land values must always be something less than true economic rent (which is land values under conditions of free competition).

It is therefore not strictly true to say that taxation of land values will tend to raise economic rents, for clearly it has no such effect. What *does* happen is that the *remission of taxation on other commodities* tends to bring land values up to the level of true economic rent.

This is not mere logic-chopping. The distinction is one of the utmost importance. For though a transfer of taxation from industry on to land values will to a certain extent tend to enhance land values, yet when once the transference is effected and industry is altogether freed from taxation, then will land values have become

true economic rent, and thenceforth landowners must bear the whole burden of the taxation levied upon them.

The moral is obvious. Taxation reformers must not be discouraged if they find their efforts to relieve the ratepayers are followed by a rise in rents. This effect will only be met with in the initial stages of the reform. They must persevere in this direction until the landowners are powerless to reconp themselves. And even in the initial stages their efforts will be productive of much good. For the impetus which trade will derive from the change, while tending to raise rents, will at the same time cause a rise in the rate of wages, which will be a clear gain to the wage-earners. Moreover, though a remission of taxation on industry will tend to raise rents, it by no means follows that it will raise them by exactly the amount of the relief obtained by the occupier. This difference will depend upon the nature of the industry relieved, since some industries require a less extent of land in order to enlarge themselves than others. In fact, the probability is that the relief obtained by the occupier will exceed the increase of his rent.

There is still another very important element to be taken into account, which will bear heavily upon the upward tendency of rents mentioned above.

In and about all our big cities there is a considerable amount of valuable land held idle or only partially used. This phenomenon is due to the speculative tendency of rents to rise beyond the point at which Labour and Capital may profitably engage, and is incidental to any growing community where land is held as private property. This holding of land idle, "waiting for a rise," of course enhances the rents of land already in use, since the supply is thereby restricted. The taxation of land values, falling upon all valuable land whether used or unused, will destroy this speculative tendency to hold land idle and force all valuable unused sites into the market. This will tend to bring about a lowering of rents all around.

The transference of taxation on to land values is thus found to operate in two ways. On the one hand it will tend, through the remission of other taxation, to raise rents; while on the other hand it will tend, through the check to speculative holding of idle land, to lower rents. The relative strength of these two tendencies cannot be accurately ascertained.

The whole result of the proposed change in its relation to the incidence of taxation may be summed up as follows: rates and taxes which are levied upon land values cannot be shifted by the landowner; but the remission of other rates and taxes (incidental to the first stages of the scheme) will have a tendency to raise rents, this tendency being mitigated by the influx of land hitherto "held" by speculators; when the transference of all other rates and taxes on to land values is finally completed, no further rise of rents can occur

as resulting from fresh taxation of land values. Rents might and would rise, of course, but they would rise as a result of the growth of the community, and *not* as a result of alteration of taxation.

On the economic and social benefits which would flow from such a proposal as that explained above it would be difficult to lay too much stress. For the concentration of all taxation upon the unimproved value of land (whether used or unused) is more than a mere fiscal change. As a basis for taxation, land values are almost ideally suitable; since such taxation would merely take from individuals in proportion as they receive benefits from either Nature or the community, leaving individual industry wholly unfettered. Indeed, in view of the fact that land values are created by the community as a whole, the appropriation of them by the community would merely mean the devoting of social wealth to social ends.

But there is more than this involved in the change. It is probable that the concentration of taxation upon land values would touch the springs of social distress as no previous legislation has been able to do. For though at first sight the social problem appears so intricate and many-sided, and the symptoms of poverty so varied and unassailable, yet, to those who look somewhat deeper beneath the surface, it becomes apparent that the whole problem really turns about the condition of the *lowest class*. It is the internecine struggle between the members of this lowest class to obtain the bare necessities of life which brings in its train nearly all the familiar symptoms of social disease. And as in the case of a physical malady, ill-understood by physicians, treatments and remedies are piled up at random upon the unhappy patient, so in the case of social maladies, philanthropists pile up the agony of social remedies in the vague hope that in the multiplicity of schemes salvation may somehow be found.

But as long as we have in our midst a lowest class who can scarcely obtain employment at all, or perhaps can only obtain it under hopeless and degrading conditions, any legislation which fails to grapple with this state of things can have no radical or permanent effect upon general social conditions.

To give relief the total volume of employment *must* be increased.

In this direction the land value tax is, as we have seen, doubly operative. First, in the removal of all the existing taxes and burdens on industry, the volume of trade will be augmented. Secondly, through the check to the holding of land idle, fresh opportunities for the employment of Labour and Capital will be opened out. In fact all the valuable land, which it pays best at present to keep idle with a view to its fetching a higher price, later on will be forced into the market at *fair* instead of speculative rents, thus tending to lower rents elsewhere and to absorb the surplus Labour and Capital at present unable to find remunerative employ-

ment. For the landowner who under existing circumstances finds it worth his while to temporarily withhold valuable vacant sites from Labour and Capital, could no longer afford to do so if he had to pay tax on its value. He would have to let it to a tenant at a "fair" price.

The claims of the general public for the concentration of rates and taxes upon land values are thus seen to be strongly reinforced from various points of view. The general improvement in trade, the raising of wages, the mitigation of the evils of overcrowding and sweating, not to mention other considerations which would flow in its train, certainly afford a powerful case for land value taxation.

How far and with what rapidity the movement for taking over economic rent for public purposes will go remains to be seen. But it will be surprising if, with the increasing growth of local needs, public opinion does not sanction ever larger and larger calls upon this common fund.

HARRY LLEWELYN DAVIES.

GUSTAVE FLAUBERT.¹

ALL who look on literature as a precious thing, which is debased by utilitarian considerations, just as gold is by the admixture of alloy, should honour the memory of Gustave Flaubert. In him we must recognise the typical artist, whose ideal is perfection of form, thoroughness of workmanship, and unflinching devotion to truth. The English admirers of Flaubert—and amongst them we may include all persons of culture who possess in addition what may be described as the literary passion—will welcome the publication of Mr. J. C. Tarver's admirable *Life of this great French writer*, who, if we except his short posthumous works, produced nothing but masterpieces. Mr. Tarver has given us the history of Flaubert's intellectual development, judiciously avoiding the idle gossip to which some biographers attach such undue importance. The chief authorities relied on are the novelist's own works and letters; but the introduction of Madame Comanville to her uncle's correspondence has been made use of very freely, and the critical and personal notice written by Guy de Maupassant, and printed with the volume of letters addressed to George Sand, has supplied Mr. Tarver with valuable materials. The work is, in fact, as complete as the biographer could make it—and that is saying a great deal. Mr. Tarver has apparently become so familiar with the literature of France that he occasionally renders French idioms too literally for English readers; but, as he frankly admits this in his preface, we need not quarrel with him about such a trifle.

Gustave Flaubert was the son of Achille Cleophas Flaubert, surgeon-in-chief of the infirmary at Rouen. His mother was the daughter of a country doctor, who married a Mademoiselle Cambremer, a lady of aristocratic lineage.

Up to the age of nine, Gustave had not learned to read. We gather from his biography that, "while his sister easily acquired the art, he remained confused and stupefied in the presence of the mysterious forms of letters." Curiously enough, he could write with apparent ease before he was able to decipher printed characters. His nurse, who was an accomplished story-teller, and Père Mignot,

¹ *Gustave Flaubert; as seen in his Works and Correspondence.* By John Charles Tarver. Westminster: A. Constable & Co. 1895.

a priest who lived opposite to the infirmary, supplied abundant fuel for the boy's imagination. In January 1831, while still a mere lad, he wrote a letter to his friend Ernest Chevalier intimating, in "the doubtful orthography of extreme youth," that he had written "comedies," and that he intended to commit to writing some of the "silly things" uttered by a lady who visited his father's house at Rouen. Just as Pope "lisped in numbers," Flaubert was an author as soon as he could use the pen.

He was sent in his ninth year to a boarding-school, returning home each Saturday and going back to school on the following Monday. The inflexible discipline of this establishment and the system of espionage practised by the ushers proved extremely irksome to young Flaubert. Amongst his schoolmates were, in addition to Ernest Chevalier, Alfred le Poittevin, whose sister was afterwards the mother of Guy de Maupassant, Louis Bouilhet, who gained some reputation as a poet, and Ernest le Marié, a romantic youth who sympathised with Gustave's dreams and aspirations. The life of the school was not without its element of tragedy, for one of Flaubert's companions hanged himself. By leading a healthy existence in which physical exercise was not neglected, the future novelist escaped the morbid excesses into which some of his school-fellows unhappily drifted.

His parents indirectly encouraged his taste for artistic pursuits by allowing his brother and sister and their young friends to make a stage of the billiard-table, and from that elevation to declaim tragedies and comedies. A letter written to Ernest Chevalier in April 1832 shows with what zest Flaubert entered into those juvenile theatricals. He informs Chevalier that, when somebody told him his friend Ernest was not coming to see the play, he "was in a horrible rage." In the same letter he says he would "go a thousand miles, if it were necessary, to meet the best of his friends," adding: "Nothing is so sweet as friendship—oh! sweet friendship! how much has been seen to be done by this sentiment! Without that tie how should we live?"

Truly "the child is father to the man," for in the breast of Gustave Flaubert artistic enthusiasm and sincerity in friendship had all the strength of unconquerable passions up to the very close of his life. Even two months before his death he wrote in this strain to Guy de Maupassant, who was, of course, much younger than himself:

"My young man, you are right to love me, for your old fellow is very fond of you. I at once read your volume, three parts of which, for that matter, I already knew. We will go over it again together. . . . Your dedication has stirred a world of reminiscences in me—your uncle Alfred—your grandmother—your mother—and the old

chap had for some moments a swelling heart and a tear in his eyelids."

Flaubert was a passionate lover of books, but he was no pale æsthete, no decadent. His friendships were based, to some extent, on literary sympathy; but he was not a vain pedant or a dreamer, body as well as mind he developed rapidly, and grew so tall that he was looked upon as a giant. In this respect he differed from the Goncourts, whom some one has described as persons quite content to spend all their lives gazing through drawing-room windows into the street. His personal appearance is thus described by Mrs. Tennant, daughter of Admiral Collier, who, while still a young girl, met him at Trouville:

"Gustave Flaubert was then like a young Greek. In the flower of his youth, he was tall and slender, supple and graceful as an athlete, unconscious of the gifts which he possessed morally and physically, caring little for the impression that he produced, and entirely indifferent to accepted forms. His dress consisted of a red flannel shirt, a scarf of the same colour tightly bound around his waist, and a hat placed anyhow on his head, which was as often as not bare."

In a letter to his friend Chevalier, long before his twentieth year, he mentioned that he was engaged in writing a romance, of which Isabella of Bavaria was the heroine, and added that "if he had not a Queen of France of the fifteenth century in his head and at the end of his pen, he should be completely sick of existence, and long ago a bullet would have delivered him from the ridiculous farce which is called life."

Strange pessimistic words, but mark the force of them! Life would be unbearable were it not for literature: such was the faith of Gustave Flaubert.

Before he was seventeen he had, in spite of the restrictions then placed on French students, read Victor Hugo, Byron, Shakespeare, Rabelais, and Montaigne, and had satisfied himself that there was no indecency in true literature. The only political feeling displayed in his youth by Flaubert was his indignation at the establishment of a regular stage censorship, and at the interference by the French Government with the liberty of the press. This is the way in which he writes about the subject:

"Yes, this law will pass, for the representatives of the people are nothing but a foul heap of mercenaries. Their aim is self-interest, turpitude is their hobby, a brute pride their honour, their souls a mud-heap; but, one day, a day that will soon come, the people will begin the third revolution; then take care of your head, look out for rivers of blood. It is of his conscience that the man of letters is now being robbed, of his artist's conscience."

These words are not so preposterous as at first sight they may

appear. Perhaps they are prophetic. The battle for freedom of conscience has certainly not ended yet!

According to Mr. Tarver the germ of *La Tentation de Saint Antoine* is to be found in a manuscript written by Flaubert in his eighteenth year, though the work did not appear in its present form till 1874. From the sketch given in the biography, it is hard to see the characteristics of what some critics regard as Flaubert's greatest work in the legend of Smar, the man led to debauchery and despair by Satan and Yuk, "the god of the grotesque." It appears also rather overstrained to say that Yuk, in some form, plays a part in all the works of Flaubert. Criticism of this kind is too fantastic, and its effect, if it were taken seriously, would be to degrade the genius of Flaubert to the rank of artists like Alexandre Dumas the Elder or M. Victorien Sardou in France, or, to take an English example, the joint producers of *H.M.S. Pinafore* and *Patience*. The man who wrote *Salammbo* never repeated himself. Each of his works is independent of the others. He wrote little; but what he wrote was monumental.

We find some very strong passages in Flaubert's early correspondence, showing that he was, at any rate, no "male prude." Among the curious things collected by this somewhat saturnine man of genius for the unfinished portion of his posthumous work, *Bouvard et Pécuchet*, which, in spite of Mr. Tarver's praise, I consider an inferior production, is the statement of Monseigneur Dupanloup that "the study of mathematics, by repressing sentiment and imagination, sometimes renders the explosion of the passions terrible." A disquisition on square roots seems to have been the genesis of the following remarks on the part of Flaubert:

"O, what a lot of money I would give to be either more stupid or less intellectual! Atheist or mystic! but, at any rate, something complete and whole, an identity, in a word, something."

In 1839, having left school, and gone on a short journey to the South of France and Corsica, Flaubert went to Paris to study law, like his friend Chevalier. At twenty-one he was, according to Maxime Du Camp, "of heroic beauty," with white skin, long fine floating hair, broad shoulders, abundant golden beard, and enormous eyes, "the colour of the green of the sea," veiled under black eye-lashes. In very truth a most remarkable figure.

Gustave's letters to his sister at this period show a spirit of mocking gaiety savouring slightly of buffoonery. Here is an odd passage for example:

"Keep a brave heart, dear old mouse, for next Saturday! Come up now! Assurance! Thunder and lightning! There we are—one, two—not too quick, close the shakes, brrr—the little runs, don't let us lose our head!

"Since you are doing geometry and trigonometry, I will give you a problem: A ship is on the sea, it left Boston laden with cotton, it is of 200 tons burden, it sails towards Havre, the mainmast is broken, there is a cabin-boy in the fore-peak, the passengers are twelve in number, the wind blows N.E.E., the chronometer reads a quarter-past three in the afternoon, the month is May. Required—the captain's age."

Law and Flaubert did not agree, as may well be imagined, and we find him giving this advice to his friend, Ernest Chevalier:

"Take it easy, my fine fellow, take it easy! Instead of reading so much law do a little philosophy; read Rabelais, Montaigne, Horace, or some other old chap, who has seen life under a less stormy sky, and learn, once for all, that you must not ask apple-trees for oranges, France for sunshine, women for love, life for happiness. Up with you! think of soup, of meat, of *pâtés de foie gras*, of Champertin. How can you complain of life when there are still beds wherein a man may console himself with love, and a bottle of wine to lose his senses withal! Pluck up your courage, confound it! take to a severe course of life, play larks at night, break the gas-lamps, have rows with cabmen, smoke like a chimney, go to *cafés*, bolt without paying, smash in hats, belch in people's faces, disperse your melancholy, and thank Providence."

In other words, be a Mohawk! Surely this has about it a touch of the wild life of the last century!

Flaubert candidly told his friend that the study of jurisprudence filled him with "profound disgust." He was getting sick of Paris and longed to "walk with his own feet in the sands of Syria." He associated with a band of students, whose riotousness "bored him infinitely." His pleasures were entirely literary, though he could talk of other things. In a letter to his sister he quoted Montaigne's words: "We must *embeast* ourselves to be wise." Of the *Code Civile* he said: "I don't understand a word of it; it's raving nonsense."

He was extravagant and penurious by turns. His first meeting with Victor Hugo was an event in his life, for, as he puts it, "this was the man who made my heart beat the most since I was born." When he presented himself before the examiners, Flaubert was rejected. He went back to Rouen and abandoned his legal studies. So much the better for literature. About this period he got an attack of epilepsy. His father, who believed apparently in "heroic remedies," bled and starved him vigorously. A temporary cure was effected, but during the closing years of his life the attacks returned.

From this time, as he told George Sand, he was "afraid of life," and no doubt the dreadful disease of which he was a victim overshadowed his existence. His intellectual powers were not affected,

for the form of epilepsy from which he suffered only impaired his physical energy. In a letter to Louis de Cormenin, in June 1844, he complains of the leeches applied to him, and the medicine he was forced to take. "When I am better," he says, "I shall take up my Homer and Shakespeare again. Homer and Shakespeare!—everything is there! The other poets, even the greatest, seem small beside them."

In 1849 he went to travel in the East, his father having died three years before, to the great grief of Gustave, who was a most affectionate son. In a letter to Maxime du Camp he gives expression to a gloomy sentiment: "It is strange with how little faith in happiness I was born."

Here is the note of pessimism; but let us remember how much Flaubert suffered before we reproach him with misanthropy. His noble qualities could not be extinguished by disease. He adored his mother, never left her, and lived with her and for her. His love for a certain married woman living apart from her husband is revealed in a number of letters given in Mr. Tarver's volume. Even as a lover Flaubert exhibited a tinge of sombreness which would have satisfied the Puritan imagination of Nathaniel Hawthorne. For example: "Since we have told one another that we love, you ask me whence comes my reservation, that I do not add 'for ever.' Why? The reason is that I divine the future; that the antithesis continually arises before my eyes. I have never seen a child without thinking that he will become an old man, nor a cradle without thinking of a grave. The contemplation of a woman makes me dream of her skeleton." In another letter he says: "I have the infirmity of having been born with a special language, to which I alone have the key." He speaks disdainfully of Béranger, for having solaced the loves of students and the sensual dreams of bagmen.

It is evident that, like his own Antony, Flaubert was one of those great lonely souls who must live and die alone. He never married. Literature, indeed, was his bride. He died on May 8, 1880.

To discuss the merits of the novelist's different works is not the object of the present article. That has already been admirably done by Mr. George Saintsbury. That charming and accomplished critic is not without "preferences," in which I do not altogether share. He considers *Salammbô* "an esoteric book requiring initiation, training, preliminary ceremonies, and efforts." That may be so, no doubt; but Flaubert did not write for the ignorant. The true test of the value of the book is its fidelity to the facts which the author sought to represent, and its completeness as a historic picture. From this point of view *Salammbô* is a masterpiece. Even the "hideous" incidents and "barbaric" details, with their impression of "gorgeousness and horror," are necessary to produce the *tout ensemble*, and to exhibit old Carthage as it was.

L'Education Sentimentale is the ~~most~~ ^{most} ~~perfect~~ ^{perfect} of failure—a marvellous work for those who know how to enter into the spirit of the writer. Frederic Moreau is a real human being, and not a puppet, only made to be joked and cuffed by his creator, like Thackeray's George Osborne. Madame Arnoux is a curious study—a sphinx-like type of matron; and only a writer of Flaubert's impersonal mould could have drawn Mademoiselle Rosanette, who, courtesan though she might be, was still a woman, and in many respects a thoroughly good woman. Arnoux, the husband, is a typical Frenchman of the *bourgeois* class; and how different he is from M. Zola's clumsy portraits! In the author of *L'Assommoir* and *La Joie de Vivre* we find much strength; but ah! how little art.

Madame Bovary is a greater study of female character than *Manon Lescaut*; and that is the highest praise I can give it. Emma Bovary is a romantic sensualist; while Manon Lescaut is a lover of the beautiful who needs wealth and luxury to satiate her artistic instincts. The weak point in the book is the invertebrate character of Emma's husband, Charles Bovary. The country doctor is too stupid, and I am afraid that in this case there is a touch of exaggeration. However, Flaubert is so unerring an observer as a rule that it is hard to say he had not solid fact to go upon even in his delineation of this unattractive medical blockhead.

La Tentation de Saint Antoine is a work unknown to those who do not read French. It is a unique and, indeed, startling reconstruction of the Pagan and early Christian world. Let us hope that an English translation of it will soon see the light, for Mr. Saintsbury is right in describing it as "the best example of dream-literature" that can be found in any language. The successive assaults upon the anchorite's virtue by various forms of temptation are described with a power which belongs only to genius. Wonderful, indeed, is the passage where Death and Lust wrangle for the conquest of Saint Antony's soul.

In *Hérodias* and *La Légende de Saint Julien* Flaubert exhibits the same power of realising in a literary form the mystical and the supernatural. In such productions he soars above mere "realism." And yet the spiritual wrestlings of saints and enthusiasts are not less real than the wild pranks of drunkards and the intrigues of sensual women. If Flaubert had written the lives of the saints, such a book would be well worth reading, for it would be full of psychological truth, and not a rehash of superstitious legends. We can only call such a writer a "realist" if by the ambiguous word "realism" we embrace the entire domain of human history, including not only man's external life, but also his mental and moral evolution.

The correspondence between Flaubert and George Sand enables us to see how repulsive to his mind was the absurd idea of what is

called "purpose" in fiction. "Je éprouve," he writes, "une repulsion invincible à mettre sur le papier quelque chose de mon cœur; je trouve même qu'un romancier n'a pas le droit d'exprimer son opinion sur quoi que ce soit." Would not the author of *Hamlet* have said much the same thing? To Flaubert the silly idea of Dickens that a novel might be useful for exposing the mismanagement of schools and workhouses would have been the best proof that the man who wrote *Oliver Twist* and *Nicholas Nickleby* was a sorry botch, for whom literature was not an art, but an ignoble trade.

Two great principles are embodied in the literary life of Gustave Flaubert. The first is art for art's sake; the second is impersonality. He puts the latter idea so clearly in his letters that I must quote his words: "Je crois que le grand art doit être scientifique et impersonnel. Il faut, par un effort d'esprit, se transporter dans les personnages et non pas les attirer à soi: voilà du moins la méthode."

It is unnecessary to point out that this view has been strenuously opposed by writers whose principal characteristic is what M. Zola calls "lyrisme." Indeed, George Sand's reply, that by refusing to let a reader know what he thinks about his characters the author causes disgust, shows how little she appreciated the doctrine of literary impersonality. Even Goethe would have refused to assent to Flaubert's proposition, for he was personal to a fault in all his works, except *Faust*. However, sound criticism will uphold the idea that the artist should not obtrude his personality on the reader. If he portrays himself he should do so without egoism, dramatically—in fact, as if he were dealing with a separate individual. Flaubert adhered strictly to his theory in practice. The greatest artists have acted on the same principle. The English dramatist whose name is the most famous in our literature, and the queen of English fiction, George Eliot, are purely impersonal artists. To them irresponsible gush all about the "ego" was impossible. Time will show that the so-called romanticists, including even Rousseau and Victor Hugo, lack the quality of permanence. The great personality of Byron has long since ceased to interest the public, and his poetry excites very little enthusiasm at the present time. *Othello* will be acted when *Locksley Hall* is only read by a few sentimental school-girls. *Adam Bede* will hold its own as a novel when the name of Marie Bashkirtseff will only excite curious speculation; and *Madame Bovary* will be admired when *Mon Frère Yves* is put into the same category as the pantomimic romances of Ouida.

When that astute French critic, M. Ferdinand Brunetière, pointed out¹ that Flaubert was, "above everything else, an artist, nothing but an artist, and one of those artists in whom certain faculties pre-

¹ *Histoire et Littérature*. Par F. Brunetière. Vol. II. (*Correspondence de Gustave Flaubert*). Paris: Calmann Lévy.

dominate so as to narrow, absorb, and literally annihilate the other faculties," he scarcely realised that he was paying a high compliment to the author of *Salammô*. Flaubert took no interest in politics, in society, in fashion, save in so far as they affected literature. He never strove for popularity, and, in one of his letters to George Sand, said that "he only wrote for ten or twelve persons." This stoical scorn of the illiterate and inartistic multitude is one of his most remarkable characteristics. It is hard for us in England, with our system of writing to order and our log-rolling propensities, to understand the single-minded devotion of this Frenchman to art, and to art alone.

If it be true, as M. Brunetière contended, that Flaubert had only one ideal of art, and that he regarded with contempt every work which failed to correspond with that ideal, does not this prove the intensity of his convictions and his utter freedom from what I may call literary Laodiceanism? To Flaubert indeed art was a religion, and from this point of view all true lovers of art, using the word in its widest sense, must recognise in him an apostle and a martyr. He was faithful to his great creed in spite of the failure of the public to appreciate his genius at its real value; and though he was the victim all his life of an incurable malady, he did not cease from his labours until death struck him down.

To all literary men he has shown a noble example of loyalty to the cause of artistic truth and disregard of the *ignobile vulgus*. In this respect he is a contrast to M. Émile Zola, his professed follower, who really does not understand him at all. Amongst French writers he most resembles Beyle (better known under his assumed name of Stendhal), though the carelessness of that gifted author's style makes a comparison of their works impossible. They were certainly alike in one thing—their realisation of the fact that high literary qualities can only be appreciated by a limited number of cultivated persons, whom Beyle refers to as "the happy few." This gave them an intellectual independence which no doubt tended to make both of them unpopular. In this respect one English writer may be compared to them, Mr. George Meredith.

As there is a law of progress in the world of mind as well as in the world of matter, we may be sure that the day will come when Flaubert's genius will be recognised by all readers who can lay claim to taste or critical acumen. In the literature of France he will rank next to Balzac as a writer of fiction. Posterity will place him even above Balzac as a master of style. His great historical novel, *Salammô*, will be read by all persons of culture with delight when Scott's "plaster-of-Paris romances" have become mere lumber. If form be essential to literary perfection, Flaubert is entitled to the first rank amongst prose writers. Moreover, his knowledge of life and character is profound. He studied human nature both in its superficial and

its esoteric aspects. His observation is far keener than that of Thackeray, and his analysis is more searching than that of George Eliot, though it lacks the delicacy and sympathy which we find in Hawthorne. In his impersonality he is like Shakespeare. He is wholly free from the *bourgeois* prejudices of the author of *Vanity Fair* in favour of certain characters and against others. Perhaps for that very reason he will scarcely ever be read by the average subscriber to a circulating library. But he will be studied by novelists and by critics, and by them--and only by the best of them--will he be thoroughly appreciated. Already he has been the literary parent of Guy de Maupassant, who next to him is the greatest artist amongst the French "naturalist" school. And the novelists of the future—I mean those worthy of the name, and not mere constructors of puerile romances—will look upon Flaubert as their master.

D. F. HANNIGAN.

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION *versus* EVOLUTION.

"THE British Constitution is a growth," forms one of the common-places of modern politics, easily verified by the study of Hallam, Stubbs, Freeman, May, and Green, and yet how many members of the Houses of Lords and Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland could pass an examination on the genesis and growth of the British Constitution? One thing we do know at any rate is, that the door of the House of Lords is open to hereditary peers, whilst a secret ballot decides the admission of members of Parliament to the House of Commons. But as the law of probabilities (chance or accident) dominates the "natural selection" of our political governors, the "burning question" has arisen: How shall we secure the strongest and fittest assembly of wise men (witenagemot) in the reconstruction of the British Constitution?

We say assembly of wise men, which has exhibited three successive phases since its foundation: first, during the Anglo-Saxon or Tribal period (A.D. 400–1066); second, during the Norman or Feudal period (A.D. 1066–1485); and third, during the Constitutional period since the Protestant Renaissance and Reformation (A.D. 1485–1895).

All our historians are agreed that our Teuton ancestors—Engles, Jutes, Frisians, Saxons, Danes, and Northmen—brought their village, shire, and witenagemotes along with them into Britain; and the members of these political assemblies were drawn from the *Earlas* and *Ceorlas*, Ealdermen and Freemen. The crowning event of the first 600 years was the introduction of Roman Christianity by Abbot Augustin and forty monks in A.D. 597, one of the great social forces which played an important part in the evolution of British thought and character. Here we only remark that the tribal struggle for over-lordship in the British Isles forms the striking characteristic of the incipient period of national life—corresponding to the Regal (B.C. 752–504), Consular (B.C. 504–A.D. 1), and Imperial periods of the Roman Empire—our national progenitor (A.D. 1–476).

Thanks to the social drill which the Northmen received under the Frankish successors of the Romans, William the Conqueror quashed all the petty rivalries of the Anglo-Saxon tribes, and

Kinglets, and raised the superstructure of the Feudal System on the primitive foundations of the hundred, shire, and national witenagemotes. All the Feudal barons, bishops, abbots, and priors of the Norman Church, swore fealty and service to the Norman King of England. Castles, cathedrals, and monasteries studded the land, Norman barons, bishops, abbots, and priors assembled under one roof originally; but the clerical convocation finally met in a separate house, and offered their own share to the national revenue.

Our modern House of Commons sprung into existence under Simon de Montfort, who summoned the knights of the shire, the citizens of towns and burgesses in boroughs in 1265. Further details are unnecessary for our present purpose. Suffice it to say, that Norman, Plantagenet, Lancastrian, and Yorkist dynasties pass across the political stage of England; and the suicidal Civil Wars of the Roses nearly exhausted the descendants of the conquering barons: only fifty families survived. The successive struggles of the Feudal Houses for supremacy form the distinctive characteristics of mediæval England.

When Henry VIII. came to the throne, the Protestant Reformation was rampant throughout European Christendom. "Reformation in the head and members" was the universal cry, and Henry revolted against the tiresome tergiversation of the Father of Christendom, on the divorce of his queen, Catherine of Aragon; declared his own supremacy in Church and State; carried out the suppression of the monasteries, confiscated their property, nearly one-third of the land of England, and the mediæval abbots and priors lost their standing in the House of Lords.

At the decease of	Elizabeth	the Peers were	56
" "	James	" "	105
" "	Charles I.	" "	135
" "	Charles II.	" "	176
" "	William	" "	192
" "	Anne	" "	209
" "	George I.	" "	216
" "	George II.	" "	229
" "	George III.	" "	339
" "	George IV.	" "	396
" "	William IV.	" "	456
During the reign of Victoria		" "	554

Having thus given a *coup d'œil* of the historic evolution of the British Constitution, we are now presented with materials to answer the question—(1) Who are the members of the present House of Lords? With a few exceptions, a "natural selection" of the famous men who have been honoured with titles for services rendered to the State, by our British monarchs and premiers, during the last four centuries since the commencement of the Protestant era and Reformation: a notorious fact, which disposes of the Radical assertion

that the House of Lords is composed of the descendants of the primitive "barbarians," who seized the land of England at the Conquest. But even if the allegation was founded on good grounds, who forsooth are the modern Radicals, if not the hereditary descendants of the barbarians, freemen and serfs of early England? A truce, then, to these class-recriminations founded on total ignorance of social evolution. *De facto* we are all indebted to our Teuton and Norman ancestors for our national territory, political and ecclesiastical institutions. And if the "Mother Country" only adopted a Thanksgiving Day, like our national offspring across the Atlantic, tardy justice might be done to our royal, feudal and constitutional legislators, philosophers, theologians, dramatists, poets, discoverers, and industrial inventors and engineers, who have co-operated in raising our Anglo-Saxon Parliament and people to the lofty position they occupy throughout the community of nations on the face of the earth.

No attempt can be made within our limits to offer an analysis of *Burke's Peerage* for the purpose of classifying the origin and position of the modern families belonging to the House of Lords. In fact, both Burke and Dod are defective on the point, and omit the Conservative, Liberal, and Radical parties to which they belong. According to the Reformers' Almanac, the seats are nearly evenly balanced between Conservatives and Liberals; but we cannot arrive at exactness in the presence of extinct peerages, minors, and secessionists.

Here is the statement of our latest historian, Green, on the subject:

"What was with the King a mere means of corruption, became with Pitt a settled purpose of transferring the Peerage from a narrow and exclusive caste into a large representation of the wealth of England. As he defined his aim, it was to use the House of Lords as a means of rewarding merit, to bring the Peerage into closer relations with the landowning and opulent classes, and to render the Crown independent of factious combinations amongst the existing peers. While himself, therefore, disdainful of hereditary honours, he lavished them as no Minister had lavished them before.

"In his first five years of rule he created fifty new peers. In two later years alone, 1796-7, he created thirty-five. By 1801 the peerages which were the price of the union with Ireland had helped to raise his creations to 141. So busily was his example followed by his successor that at the end of George III.'s reign the number of hereditary peers had become double what it was at his accession. Nor was the change in the peerage merely one of numbers. The whole character of the House of Lords was changed. Up to this time it had been a small assembly of great nobles bound together by family or party ties into a distinct power in the State. By

pouring into it members of the middle and commercial class who formed the basis of his political power, small landowners, bankers, merchants, nabobs, army contractors, lawyers, soldiers and seamen, Pitt revolutionised the Upper House. It became the stronghold not of blood but of property, the representative of the great estates and great fortunes, which the vast increase of English wealth was building up. For the first time too in our history, it became a strictly Conservative element in our Constitution. The full import of Pitt's changes has still to be revealed, but in some ways their results have been very different from the end at which he aimed. The larger numbers of the peerage, though due to the will of the Crown, has practically freed the House from any influence which the Crown can exert by the distribution of honours. This change, since the power of the Crown has been practically wielded by the House of Commons, has rendered it far harder to reconcile the free action of the Lords with the regular working of constitutional government. On the other hand, the larger number of its members has rendered the House more responsive to public opinion, when public opinion is strongly pronounced; and the political tact which is inherent in great aristocratic assemblies has hitherto prevented any collision with the Lower House from being pushed to an irreconcilable quarrel. Perhaps the most direct result of the change is seen in the undoubted popularity of the House of Lords with the mass of the people. The large number of its members and the constant additions to these from almost every class of the community, has secured it as yet from the suspicion and ill-will which in almost every other constitutional country have hampered the effective working of a second legislative chamber."

We find Lord Salisbury corroborating Green's statement in his speech delivered on the reform of the House of Lords, 1869 :

"The House of Lords, though not an elective, is strictly a representative assembly, and it does, in fact, represent very large classes in the country. But if you wish this representation to be effective, you must take care that it is sufficiently wide. And it is undoubtedly true that, for one reason or another, those classes whose wealth and power depend on commerce and mercantile industry do not find their representation in this House so large or so adequate as do those whose wealth and power depend upon the agricultural interest and landed property. We want, if possible, more representation of divers views, more antagonism."

Before leaving this branch of our subject we must now refer to the constitutional amendment of the House of Lords proposed by Lord John Russell in 1869, by Lord Rosebery in 1884 and 1888, and by Lord Salisbury in 1888, involving the creation of life peers, and the representation of the separate interests of the social organism. If we could select representative experts of the leading interests of

our social system—land, army, navy, education, medicine, literature, science, art, commerce, shipping, railways, industry, and agriculture—we might found an ideal House of Lords, to co-operate with the House of Commons, and revise their proposed measures of legislation. But we are not founding a novel constitution, but only amending and adapting an integral portion of the British Constitution to the demands and necessities of our political environment. Nominations are out of date. The creation of life peers would practically fall into the hands of a temporary Premier. Our counties and boroughs are already represented in the national councils. Why not then empower our County Councils to select two or three members of any class they deem competent to sit in the Upper House during the existence of Parliament?¹ According to this scheme, suggested by Lord Rosebery, we could obtain a House of 230 or 345 members. Simplicity, at any rate, ought to recommend it, based nearly on the same system as the American Senate. Doubtless, “comparative politics” will supply us with no end of plans of reconstruction. We add the number of members belonging to a few of the first and second chambers of modern nations:—English House of Lords 554, House of Commons 670; French Senate 300, Deputies 584; German Bundesrath 581, Reichstag 397; Prussian Herrenhaus 310, Deputies 432; American Senate 88, Congress 386.²

2. Who are the members of our modern House of Commons? As all the world knows, the House of Commons also forms a “natural selection” of all sorts and conditions of men, with a sprinkling of young lords, returned by secret ballot (chance or accident) as the representatives of all the boroughs and counties of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, for the purpose of British legislation. But the tendency of our modern democratic demagogue is to arrogate the claim of the House of Commons to be the sole and full representative of 38,000,000 of the British people, to the exclusion of the Crown and the House of Lords, the “natural” selection of the meritorious, wealthy, and cultured *élite* of constitutional royalty and premiers during the Protestant era, and the landed interest valued at £1,800,000,000, whilst the whole capital of the country is valued at £2,500,000,000.

Who does not smile at the ridiculous arrogance of the revolutionary spokesman of a loose political conglomerate of official Liberals, Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites, English, Scottish and Welsh Radicals, Local Optionists and Industrialists, with only a majority of forty on the side of Government? Can any one affect surprise that Liberal Lords are converted into Liberal Conservatives when the political medley of Gladstonian Liberals voted for the dismemberment of the United Kingdom, the disestablishment and

¹ Preference appears to be given to this plan in Sidgwick's *Politics*, p. 451.

² See article in the *Nineteenth Century*, November 1894, on Modern Parliaments.

disendowment of the National Church, and drove a coach and four through the laws which guarantee the security of person and property?

Bearing in mind the revolutionary, socialist and anarchic tendencies of the age, the Trade Unionist demands for the nationalisation of the land, resting on the same laws as all other property, and the possibility of the discussion of such measures in the House of Commons, is it not expedient, we ask, to introduce the self-executive check on constitutional amendments prescribed in the Constitution of the United States, Austria, Baden, Hesse, Wurtemberg, Bavaria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Roumania, Greece, Saxony, and Mexico?¹ France is satisfied with absolute majorities, whilst Germany provides several safeguards.

The following expression of opinion of Gouverneur Morris, quoted in a paper on the American Senate in the *Monist* (October 1894), is pat to our purpose: "But after all what does it signify that men should not have written constitutions, containing insignificant provisions and limitations? The legislative lion will not be entangled in the meshes of a logical net. The Legislature will always make the power which it wishes to exercise, unless it be so organised to contain within itself the sufficient check. Attempts to restrain it from outrage by other means will only render it more outrageous."

Here is the famous political check inserted in the Constitution of the United States, quoted by Lord Salisbury on a former occasion in the *National Review*. Article V.: "The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to the Constitution; or, on the application of the Legislature of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing amendments which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by three-fourths of the several States, or by Convention in three-fourths thereof, as the one or other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendments which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first Article; and that no State without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

Such are the exact words of the political check to hasty legislation, which has saved all collision between the President, Senate, and Congress of the United States from 1776 to 1895; allowed the harmonious passage of fifteen amendments, adopted by several European States and ready for appropriation by the British House of Commons. Had such a practice existed in the British Parliament Home Rule never would have blocked the way of social legislation

¹ See Report issued by the Foreign Office under Lord Rosebery.

during the last ten years, and the House of Lords would not have been blackballed for preventing the dismemberment and disintegration of the British Empire. Strange as it may appear to us, the powers and duties of the President alone are stated to be "to disagree with (*i.e.*, to send back for reconsideration) any Bill or resolution passed by Congress, but subject to the power of Congress to finally pass the same after reconsideration by a two-thirds majority of each House."

"If, however," remarks Dr. Bryce, "he disapproves of it, he returns it within ten days to the House in which it originated with a statement of its grounds of disapproval. If both Houses take up the Bill again, and pass it by a two-thirds majority in each House, it becomes law forthwith without requiring the President's signature. If it fails to obtain this majority it drops."

"The people regard him as a check," he adds, "an indispensable check, not only upon the haste and heedlessness of their representatives—the faults that the framers of the Constitution chiefly feared—but upon their tendency to yield either to pressure from any section of their constituents or to temptations of a private nature."

If we may rely upon the journalistic reports of his speech delivered in Scotland, Professor Bryce would surmount the present difficulty by the adoption of this practice.

All that the House of Commons, then, requires to do is to appoint a Committee, headed by Professors Bryce and Dicey, our leading political experts, and constitutional lawyers, to draft such a Bill, and we are much mistaken if the proposal is not hailed with satisfaction by both Houses as the simplest solution of the burning question of the day; for the House of Lords would never hesitate to pass a constitutional amendment approved by a three-fourths majority of the Lower House.

In conclusion, one word on a few collateral points. One of these is the suggestion that the honorary titles of Dukes, Marquises, Viscounts, and Lords might be reserved for the landed interest, and the Orders of the Garter, Bath, Thistle, &c., conferred for political, military, naval, and legal services, without a seat in the House of Lords. And the other is the foundation of some kind of Legion of Honour and Merit, to include the roll of illustrious poets, scientists, artists, industrial inventors and discoverers, who are out of place in a House of Lords and yet eligible for membership in the British Parliament, County and Parish Councils. But the most striking anomaly in the present House of Commons is the total exemption of our popular legislators and statesmen from any special education qualifying them for the discharge of their political functions in common with the members of the military, naval, medical, legal, educational, and Civil Service of the country. Political illiterates

are out of date. The sooner compulsory education in the history and Constitution of the British Empire, as well as of the Constitutions of the modern nations of Europe and the colonies, is enforced in our schools, colleges, academies, and universities, the better for the country, if we wish to preserve the dignity and prestige of the "Mother of Parliaments."¹

A HISTORICAL SCIENTIST.

¹ The author has much pleasure in referring to Sidney Low's article on "Amateur Legislation" in the August number of the *Fortnightly Review*.

GRADUATED TAXATION IN THE CANTON DE VAUD.

GRADUATED taxation, though it has for us the charm of novelty in execution, has been advocated as a specific for many years, and it has been in operation at various periods in the world's history in many lands and under diverse forms of government. It was not unknown in Ancient Greece, and was carried to a high state of perfection in the Florentine Republic, at a time, it is true, when that Republic was fast becoming a tyranny, and the great House, that soon was to absorb into itself all the functions of government, was acquiring the favour of the people at the expense of the wealthy merchant class from which it had itself risen. In 1427 Giovanni di Medici, being then the leader of the popular party, encouraged a reform in taxation, which was greatly needed owing to the oppressive and unequal system which then prevailed. A "Cadastre," or detailed register, was made of every citizen's possessions, from domestic animals to money in the funds, and all debts owing to him by solvent debtors were included. His income from land was calculated according to the average market price of produce. Rent of dwelling-house and place of business was deducted, and the surplus of income left over the sum required for the bare necessities of life was taxed, the rich paying three or four times as much as others, and at rates increasing with their wealth. No ingenuity on the part of a modern finance Minister is likely to better this scheme for a comprehensive income tax. In our own day the idea of graduated taxation has prevailed widely and has been carried into effect in many of the self-governing communities, which united make up the Swiss Confederation. In several of the cantons schemes of graduated taxation have been in force for some years, amongst others Zürich, Geneva, Basel-Stadt and Vaud. To argue from the case of any one of these small communities to Great Britain would of course lead, almost inevitably, to the most fallacious conclusions, but the consideration of the matter may not be altogether without some value. Every Swiss canton is a self-governing State within its own borders. Its inhabitants generally consist of hard-working, sensible people, not easily led away by vague promises and nebulous prospects of advantage to accept political changes. When we consider the orderly and dignified bearing of this small country, the

ease and rapidity with which it composes its own political differences, and the self-reliant but non-provocative attitude which it maintains in the midst of an armed continent, and the unostentatious but solid prosperity which distinguishes its citizens, it would be a rash thing to say that any political experiment attempted and carried out by the Swiss is unworthy of consideration or unlikely to afford some enlightenment on our own vexed questions. Of the different systems of graduated taxation in force in the cantons of Switzerland, that adopted by the Canton de Vaud best deserves attention, and not the less so on account of the fact that it came into force some years after other systems had been adopted in other cantons. Its authors were thus able to study their working, and, by avoiding the stumbling-blocks which existed in them, to create a more satisfactory method. The Canton of Vaud is a representative one. It lies on the bank of the Lake of Geneva and, along with some districts strictly mountainous, it contains a large percentage of agricultural land, and in the cultivation of the vine it stands second to the Canton Tessin alone. It is one of the largest as well as the most thickly populated of the cantons. Watchmaking is a considerable industry, and the scenery and associations of Lake Lemman have studded its banks with the residences of the wealthy from other parts of the country as well as from Vaud itself, including indeed many foreigners. Consequently the taxable community is composed of very diverse elements, and the incidence of a graduated taxation is, under the circumstances, likely to be very varied. There is an intense feeling of local patriotism throughout the canton, and there is no love of excessive expenditure for public objects among its inhabitants, for it did its best through its representatives in the Federal Diet to prevent the voting of a grant-in-aid to the St. Gothard Railway in 1879. In such a community one would not look for any wild schemes of legalised spoliation, and any plan of taxation must have commended itself to a class of people who had something to lose.

The system of graduated taxation now in force dates from 1886. In 1885 a large Radical majority revised the Constitution which had been in force since 1861, and this Constitutional revision was almost immediately followed by a revision of taxation. The scheme adopted was debated long and warmly in the Great Council of the canton on its proposal by the Council of State, but it was ultimately approved by an overwhelming majority. The principle put forward by the promoters of the change was that all property, whether real or personal, and whether inherited or the product of labour, should be taxed, and taxed according to a classification which the law was to define very specifically and particularly for all classes of property.

The corresponding amounts in the lowest category of real and

personal property were to be taxed in different proportions, real property being less heavily visited than personal. The actual amount of the assessment might vary every year according to the view taken by the Grand Council on the financial condition of the canton, but the categories into which all property was divided, once fixed by law, could not be interfered with, unless of course the law itself were altered. The framers of the law, in drawing up this classification of fortunes, adopted a widely different course from that which had been followed in Zürich. There the assessment did not vary. The same proportion was payable by every one, whatever the total amount of their fortune, on the first 20,000 francs: five-tenths of that sum was liable to be taxed, whatever the tax was fixed at year by year. On amounts beyond the first 20,000 francs the proportions taxable were as follows:

of	30,000	francs
of	50,000	
of	100,000	
of	200,000	

while fortunes above 200,000 francs pay tax on the whole. Aargau and Schaffhausen calculated the scale according to the amount of the proportional tax itself. Thus, on a person paying a tax of forty to seventy francs an additional tax of five per cent. was levied, forty to 100 francs, ten per cent., and so on till on a payer of 500 francs and above, thirty-three per cent. additional tax was levied. The legislators of Vaud adopted a widely different course to either of these. They classified all personal property (to deal with that first) under two heads: (a) Fortunes consisting of personal property alone. (b) Income arising from revenues or annuities, or the product of labour. (a) is divided as follows into seven categories and is assessed in the proportion indicated in the margin.

Amount of Fortune.				Proportion of Assessment.		
1.	1 franc	to	25,000 francs	.	.	1
2.	25,001 francs		50,000	„	.	1½
3.	50,001	„	100,000	„	.	2
4.	100,001	„	200,000	„	.	2½
5.	200,001	„	400,000	„	.	3¼
6.	400,001	„	800,000	„	.	3½
7.	800,001	„	and above	.	.	4

(b) is divided thus:

1.	1	„	1,250	„	.	.	1
2.	1,251	„	2,500	„	.	.	1½
3.	2,501	„	5,000	„	.	.	2
4.	5,001	„	10,000	„	.	.	2½
5.	10,001	„	20,000	„	.	.	3
6.	20,001	„	40,000	„	.	.	3½
7.	40,001	„	and above	.	.	.	4

Thus the tax in (a) is a property tax in its strictest form: the tax in (b) is an income tax on the income from property and on the income earned by labour. The different elements of personal property thus remain distinct, but the Legislature fixed their relation to one another with regard to the proportion in which they are to be burdened as:

- 1 per 1000 on personal property strictly so called.
- 8 per 1000 on the product of labour.
- 16 per 1000 on income derived from property where the receiver of the income has no control over the capital.

The income tax is therefore divided into two classes and bears the proportion of one to two, income coming from labour being taxed at only half the rate of income derived from funds not under the control of the usufructuary. It will be seen that this system means an income tax enormously heavy in comparison with the property tax and bearing with great severity on the larger incomes, *e.g.*, supposing the legislature fixes one franc in a thousand as the assessment of the year, the man who owns 25,000 francs of personal property pays twenty-five francs. Let us suppose that his income arising from capital of which he enjoys the interest is 25,000 francs, and his income from his profession is the same. On the latter he pays an income tax of 28 francs per 1000 francs, and on his income not earned he pays 56 francs per 1000—more than 1s. in the pound. This proportion, as we have pointed out, is larger in the case of larger fortunes.

Societies, as well as individuals, are subject to this tax. Industrial and financial corporations, parishes, brotherhoods, &c., and all outside associations which have any place of business in the canton are all the prey of the tax collector, but the bodies last mentioned are only taxed on so much of their property as forms the working capital for their industrial operations in the canton itself. With regard to the tax on usufructs and annuities it may be pointed out that an allowance received for purposes of maintenance, or indeed for any purpose (*e.g.*, an allowance such as a son might receive from his father), would be classed with them and be subject to a similar tax. The State, the hospitals, and the funds invested by public bodies for the benefit of the poor are alone exempted from taxation. With regard to foreigners not Swiss citizens, who reside in the canton, they are not liable to any property or income tax until they have resided in the canton at least two years, and then only on any property which they possess in the canton. And it takes ten full years' residence to put a foreigner on a taxable equality with a native. Now as to deductions allowed on personal property to all citizens. All the products of the soil, whether represented by crops, rent or interest, which came into existence during the year preced-

ing that for which the tax is in course of collection, are exempted, as well as the clothes and bedding necessary for a family, and kitchen utensils and tools up to the value of 5000 francs. From the gross product of labour the deductions permitted are the expenses necessary for carrying on the business or profession, whatever it may be, and all family charges to the amount of 400 francs per annum for every member of a family under age, and to the same amount for the head of the family himself and his wife. Debts are the subjects of deduction from this tax, when they cannot be deducted from the tax on real property. The personal property of husband, wife, and any children under age are all added together, and the amount of the total determines the category under which the taxation is to take place; they are not permitted to fall into a lower category by separate assessment. On the whole, a man with a small income and a large family escapes pretty easily, *v.g.*, one possessing £100 a year and five children escapes altogether, but is burdened in proportion as his income rises.

Such are the important provisions so far as taxes on personal property are concerned. There is one fact in connection with this piece of legislation which strikes an Englishman very forcibly—the logical accuracy with which the system is worked out. Once granted that a graduated scheme of taxation is desirable, there can be no doubt in this case of what every one has to pay on his capital and his income. The amount per thousand francs once fixed by the Legislature at the beginning of the year every one can calculate the amount he owes to the Revenue by the most simple arithmetical process. It is too much to conceive or to dare to hope that any simple or logical process of an analogous kind will ever be adopted in this country, as it seems useless to expect that any Government will ever venture to undertake the establishment of a decimal coinage or a similar standard of weights and measures; but, without saying a word as to the justice of such a system of taxation as the foregoing, one can only regretfully compare its simple, broad, and comprehensive outlines with the four closely printed pages of confused details and harassing injunctions, which render the correct filling up of our income tax paper a well-nigh impossible task.

The same Act, which contained the provisions for taxes on personal property, also sets out the manner in which taxation is to be levied on real estate. A principle of classification is also pursued here, but the categories are fewer and wider in their scope.

They are as follows :

1. Real property valued from 1 franc up to 25,000.
2. Real property valued from 25,001 francs to 100,000.
3. Real property over 100,001.

The proportional assessment is fixed at

- 1 for the first category.
- $1\frac{1}{2}$ for the second category.
- 2 for the third category.

The real property tax is imposed on the value fixed by the Government Survey on all the real property lying within the canton. Mortgage debts, so long as they are debts legally authorised, are deducted from the total before the tax is paid. As in the case of personal property, the real estate of husband, wife, and children under age, is all taken together and the value is assessed, not separately, but as a lump sum. Any real property, which the taxpayer has no control over, but enjoys the income of, is added to the realty he owns, and the total determines the category under which his realty is to be taxed, although of course that portion which he is not the owner of pays no tax. State property, churches, and cemeteries are exempted. There seems to have been some hesitation as to whether or no there should be any classification of real property for purposes of taxation, but the large majority of the Constituent Assembly, when the subject first came up for discussion, showed themselves to be in favour of it, though the feeling was strong that there should be a considerable distinction observed between the classification of real and personal property. An assessment of real property for taxation purposes would in such a country as the Canton de Vaud excite more criticism and be more keenly canvassed than in a country like our own, where the ownership of real estate is confined to a much smaller class and affects a far lower proportion of the whole population. Consequently the classification is much restricted as compared with that of the personal property, and the assessments never rise to more than half the highest assessment rate possible on the scale of personal property.

The regulations, which have to be observed and carried out by the authorities, for the purposes of enforcing the due payment of the taxes and the right returns by the taxpayers, are of the most stringent kind and make any evasion most difficult. Every year the Council of State (*i.e.*, the small executive body of seven elected by the Legislature) appoints a Central Commission for the whole canton, and a Commission for each district, whose business it is to see to the proper execution of the law. When the declaration forms have been filled up and submitted to the Commissioners they proceed to deal with those which they may consider to be unsatisfactory. They may inquire of the local authorities as to the position and resources of any person with whose declaration they are not satisfied, and on this information they proceed to tax his property.

This mode of action is really likely to be far less unjust than it would be in England, for, in his own neighbourhood, under the con-

ditions of life prevailing in Switzerland, a man's financial position is not as a rule a matter of mystery to his neighbours, and there is a right reserved to every one to appear before the Commissioners and dispute his assessment. The mode of proceeding in the case of those persons who will not make any declaration are very stringent, and the fines imposed are distinctly severe. When an individual refuses to make any return of his or her property for the year current, either the return of the year before, or the tax he then paid on every kind of movable property he was then possessed of, is raised 10 per cent., and, if year after year the same person refuses his return, the increase is 10 per cent. every year until 100 per cent. is reached. An inaccurate declaration to the damage of the Treasury exposes the guilty party to a fine amounting to ten times the amount of the taxation from which his insufficient declaration has saved him, and this is quite apart from the payment by him of the tax originally due had he made a complete return. If it is only after his death that the authorities come to know of the insufficiency of the declaration, they may visit the estate of the deceased person with the fine. Immediately on his decease the personal property of a citizen is visited by the *juge de paix* of the district, who places the official seal on the property, and, within the fortnight following, a full and correct inventory of all the property is made; but there are the same exemptions as in the case of the tax during a man's life on his personal property. All the personal property is included in this valuation—bonds, shares, &c., must be all set out in detail—and any concealment by interested parties is punished by a fine of ten times the amount which the property concealed should have paid in addition to that amount.

Such are the main features of the law regulating taxation in the Canton de Vaud. When it was first proposed it was received with a storm of denunciation on the part of the wealthy class of the community, fiercer than that which raged round the head of the Chancellor of the Exchequer last year. Such was the terror excited among the rich that a few left the canton altogether, but the vast majority have long since accepted the principle established by this law as a just one. Though a few still hold that it bears too heavily on the very wealthy, any such real or fancied injustice no longer disturbs the occupation of the great country seats which fringe the Lake of Geneva. There is, however, a general feeling that the taxation of real property is too heavy in proportion to that on personal, and this objection may be well-founded, when we remember how large a portion of the small industrial class own land and live on its produce. Objections have also been raised that the principle of a tax on capital is a wrong one, that it induces people to invest abroad at a high speculative rate of interest rather than at home in greater security at a lower rate; whereas, if the tax were on the

interest on capital, low interest and safe investments would be sought for. But these objections do not touch the principle of graduation, which is even carried out in six of the Communes in the canton (Lausanne being one) in their systems of local rating. The experience of eight years has established the principle of graduated taxation so firmly in the canton that no serious politician now thinks of attacking it.

W. B. DUFFIELD.

SOME THOUGHTS ON LANDSCAPE.

THE faculty of appreciating beauty in landscape is not bestowed indiscriminately upon every one. There are those who will derive exquisite pleasure from observing the trend of a cornfield to the horizon, from the titillations of its cloud-born light and shadow, from the obeisance of here a blade and there a blade to each subtle breeze that seeks a home; and there are others who can face the glory of glowing strands hard by a summer sea, who can imbibe the rich colour of the Tropics, who can view the vast plain losing itself in the distance—without emotion, and with no thought of aught beyond the prosaic side of Nature. For the individual to correctly appreciate the beautiful in landscape he must possess a power of translation, which, travelling beyond mere observation, grasps not merely the rural view, but its artistic and poetical equivalent in sensation; he must discover *character* in each tree, each hill, each field; nor forget that out of parts is made the whole, with its dominant tone of scenic harmony. The slope of a hill, the reach of a river, may help to interpret the feeling of a landscape to the refined; a ruined church, a solitary figure, may give the clue to a word-painter's vision of the country-side; and to the man of travel *en sympathie* with natural scenery there is doubtless a typical landscape for every country of his cosmopolitan experience.

Yet, withal, it is not every man's pleasure—this browsing on the woods and fields, this following with the eye the curves and dips of hill and valley. It is rare to meet with a man who appreciates rural scenery, wrote one of our great novelists; but the times have changed since he grasped a pen, and tons upon tons of brick and mortar have risen and grown smoky. And with the factory-chimney and the squalid flat there has come to many a longing for green fields; if not the reality of their calm, their verdure, at least their poetical expression as the journalist and the painter may bring them to their thirsty eyes. Hence the descriptive paragraph that speaks of spring, of autumn, of flowers, and birds; by this the eager crowd in front of the picture-gallery's presentment of woods, of brooks and placid cows. The times have changed since our novelist wrote with facile pen; life urges life to fiercer efforts, and the age has become more than ever an age on wheels. Our high pressure, our covetous greed of the minute, have placed the bicycle upon the

road in its thousands; and out of evil there has in this way come good, for it is to the green country that the fevered youth of the nation race, with rustling rubber and sharp-sounding bell. As they rush through the air and flash past village and field, there is borne in upon them the educational germ of a love for landscape; they see, and they cannot help noting, the contrast between smoke-grimed cities and "fresh woods and pastures new." And they miss scarcely unpleasantly the roar of the multitude in a woodland silence, especially if it be for so short a period as to give no opportunity for the development of that bovine dulness which rural peace is so apt to engender in the man not fully understood of its shy attractiveness. With so many on wheels, so much coming and going to the great cities of the land—again it is but natural that painters are kept busily engaged with pen and brush. And the success of these latter in literature and art will depend upon their due appreciation and technical handling of that which constitutes character and beauty in landscape.

To estimate the value of this assertion, consider the components of that form of Nature which they are called upon to reproduce. It may possess colour, form, distance, light, shadow, atmosphere; together with a varying potentiality for suggestion, dependent either in part or whole upon the receptive and imaginative power of the artist who surveys it. As an example in concrete form, from which to develop into a fuller light the aforesaid qualities of landscape, take the plain. Its broad extent will at once require from both word and brush a description of the details of its apparent simplicity; and, granted that the appearance of a *plane* is thus conjured into existence, it may yet be without that balance of colour and atmosphere which guides the reader or spectator to the horizon and on and beyond into the dreamy realms of imagination. The solitary and withered tree, the bird brooding on outstretched pinions above its level surface, may have been omitted, or not sufficiently accentuated, and thus the effect of a sad and dreary hue—otherwise faithfully rendered—destroyed. Or the expression of the whole scene may have been dolefully perverted by an execution that, informed of naught but monotony, effaces every meaning light and shadow in a voiceless atmosphere.

The expression of the plain, therefore, is not so simple as might have been anticipated, and should compel the attention of the landscape gardener to those signs and tokens of character which are to be found in the lowest as well as the most complex types of scenery. His art will lie in forming a correct estimate of the value of the realities—in wood, field, water, colour, form, and distance—with which he has to deal; and in his appreciation, manipulation, and manufacture of the rustic suggestions that they offer, or may be induced to offer. He may be a professional gardener, a landed

proprietor, a member of a corporation, or a cottager; he may be of affluent means, or he may be poor; but in any case it lies within his power to improve the attractions of our English landscape, though it should be but by the planting of a tree or the training of a honeysuckle. We do not yet awhile require the horticultural edict of a Charlemagne; nevertheless the English landscape is ready to receive a yet fuller measure of beauty from willing hands.

Jean Jacques Rousseau gives a charming description in his *Julie* of a garden, wherein Nature is not permitted by Madame Wolmar to run absolutely wild, yet is the art which maintains her within due bounds so skilfully concealed that Monsieur Saint-Preux is lost in astonishment at the means by which it has been effected, that there should exist only a few paces distant from a large household all the appearance of a "desert isle." The peace, the beauty, of this oasis, with its trees and bubbling springs, is an enigma to him, till the benevolent Monsieur Wolmar, with the aid of Madame his wife, exposes the principles which have produced it, and which find a clear exposition in Pope's lines :

"To build, to plant, whatever you intend,
To rear the column, or the arch to bend;
To swell the terrace, or to sink the grot,
In all, let Nature never be forgot;
But treat the goddess like a modest fair,
Nor over-dress, nor leave her wholly bare."

So lovingly does Rousseau linger over the imaginary scene, at such length does he expatiate upon the details of its production, that the reader is perforce led to the conclusion that Rousseau himself would never have agreed that Nature is, "when unadorn'd, adorn'd the most." The which, if it were true when applied to English landscape, would appear to cut the ground from under the improver's feet. That it does not do so, is due to the fact of man's presence on the scene—man, who when confronted with Nature develops a utilitarian bent that alters the surface of a country from its original complexion. Thus it has come about that in England the natural scenery that is left to us has always something of the artificial in it, which may or may not be in harmony with the canons of refined taste. By this arrives the landscape-gardener's opportunities: he may cloak the artificial with the natural, as when he conceals a wall with ivy; he may improve the natural by the artificial, as when he develops from a stream the full bosom of a lake. And his art will admit of such a rough classification as can be suggested by the words, Destruction and Creation. Between a spectator and a view—a vista, imagine an obstacle, whether a clump of trees or a few feet of earth; and the view may be entirely effaced, or its effect marred into insignificance. Evidently, the

destructive influence of the axe or the spade may here be exercised with most agreeable results, and yet scarcely a park in England, and at the present hour, but might have its scenery thus ameliorated. Elsewhere, the individual judgment could as readily determine the propriety of calling into existence a copse, a hedge, or some mound of grass-clad earth, that, in drawing a veil over the prosaic or ugly, would yet offer no bar to the flight of an imagination desirous of viewing in its course only that which is agreeable and beautiful.

But a more technical knowledge is required to enlarge the scope of a naturally contracted landscape, whose limited horizon is brought painfully close to the observer by, it may be, a colour effect, a hill-side, or a building. A higher region of art is reached here, and one that will again require a concrete example or more in illustration of its application. Should it be desirable to remove the horizon to a greater distance away from the spectator, it can be done in appearance, with the aid of a law that rules colour. In the immediate vicinity of the spectator's standpoint, let trees and shrubs of dark foliage be planted—beyond these, those of lighter tint; and by this arrangement of colour the distant effect will be increased. But reverse this order of planting, and the converse will hold good. This is very evident to the eye in an avenue, which in its initiatory planting may thus be increased or diminished in length. And the distance of an horizon may be still further regulated by a cunning adjustment and creation of terraces and hedges. The eye gazing across many boundaries, sundry enclosures, becomes agreeably deceived in its reckoning, gathers in a sensation of space, and for every acre will see two. Or, imagine a heavy-coloured wood of pines sweeping down in dense array to one side of a park. They bring with them a gloom, a massive solidity, that in some cases may be too powerful for the eye to bear with comfort. A little coaxing, in the shape of a thin fringe of verdant larch, of independent-tinted oak, and their gloom or stolidity vanishes amidst a pleasant contrast of colour and form. It may be objected that it is not every one's soil which suits the larch or the oak, and the objection will doubtless stand good in arboreous law. But there are ways of avoiding the law without coming into collision with it. And if the larch or the oak with their convenient foliage will not take kindly to the position designed for them, what simpler than to search the neighbourhood for those trees with suitable foliage and character which show by their free growth that the soil of the locality suits them? This is done every day by the planters of new orchards, who are guided to a wise selection of their fruit-trees by a local prevalence of the crab-apple, the sloe, or, it may be, the wild cherry; and it is a sidelight upon the choice of trees for landscape adornment that should never be carelessly ignored.

But to turn again from the particular to the general in landscape. The eye having grasped fully the potentialities for beauty which lie in its length and breadth, and having been duly informed by reflection that it is necessary to avoid that naked form of scenery which, by disclosing all to view, leaves naught to the imagination, should next turn its attention to the development of those "lines of beauty" which are to be found in all land that is not a dead level. This will not of necessity entail an army of navvies with spade and pick. The removal of a little silt from the trough of a valley, the prolongation and heightening of the curve of a hillside by a plantation or shrubbery, will in many cases effect an improvement out of all proportion to the expense involved in carrying it out. And where a brook babbles in and out of dell and dale, a dam here and there may bring the pond or miniature lake to the refreshment of the eye. Strips of white cloth picketed out beforehand in the form of these sheets of water will enable the effect which they will introduce into the landscape to be judged of before they are determined upon; and a similar attention to the erection of rods upon the summit of slopes will enable the height of the trees or shrubs required to improve their curves to be accurately gauged. In treating level land there is a vast fund of improvement to be drawn upon in the careful selection, planting, and grouping of certain trees, to be presently specified. The erection of artificial and shrub-covered mounds to break the monotony of the surface generally fails of its object, and fails because its human origin is in nine cases out of ten but too apparent. Their intention is so evident that such beauty as may thereby be created proclaims a laborious effort, argues a weak or inartistic execution, which is always offensive to taste. They are improvements (?) that should be rarely entered upon except when they perform their proper functions as blinds to some feature that *must not* be seen. The clue to the nature of the trees to be utilised in breaking up a vast expanse can be readily interpreted by considering for the moment the character pertaining to every *field*, even though it be a flat one. The principal factors of this character are: soil, barren or clothed with vegetation; and soil-colour, inherent or acquired from plant life. A stiff clay, a poor and moisture-soddened herbage, will suggest melancholy; but a warm loam, or a rich pasture! The "feeling" of level ground must be developed, therefore, by a sympathetic foliage; or there must be an artistic mitigation of the crude features that pertain to rock or "heavy" land. This can only be done by accurately observing and defining the inherent individuality of tree and shrub—an individuality which depends for its very existence upon a sympathetic soil. Are there no chords of harmony to be drawn from the majestic strength and steadiness of the oak? Is the grace of the silver birch, the larch, a myth? Is

the gloom of the yew and the cypress of the same calibre of grief as the melancholy of the weeping willow? Is the mellifluous lime, with its cheerful servants of the hive, to be confounded with the gay and semi-transparent foliage of the walnut bathed in welcome sunshine?

And on, and beyond, are there not lofty, medium, and low trees? Will not the English elm, ash, Polish poplar, and larch, belong to the first category; the maple, pine, and birch to the second; the mountain ash, evergreen oak, and laburnum, to the third? Surely! there is scope for the improvement of a monotonous landscape with such arboreous aid to hand; even were there no pleasing effects to be obtained by a judicious employment of the sundry forms and breadths of trees such as the slender Lombardy poplar, the broad Spanish chestnut, and the quivering aspen. That this gamut of form and colour is susceptible to the variations introduced by the passage of the seasons—*cela va sans dire*. But the changes rung upon it by this agency need never of necessity fall below the level of the harmonious. In the evergreen tree, or the evergreen shrub, is to be found the solvent of an adaptation that absorbs the barren and the dissonant; and the yellow and crimson glories of autumn, abased by the wintry blast into sad decay, should draw the curtain from before a green life bedded in white snows.

The far-reaching effect produced upon a landscape by the colorific transformation of the seasons is the most striking commentary upon the value of colour in detail and in mass, when considered in relation to the same. A solitary scarlet poppy placed against a background of close-clipped box or green lawn—and its colour burns with a brilliancy out of all proportion to its extent! In good sooth, it becomes a very lamp, capable of lighting into life even the formality of a Dutch garden. The dark box, the emerald lawn, betake to themselves a fresh vitality of colour; and so on, and so through the various tints of verdure that lie within its vicinity—the blue green, the grey green, the yellow green. The English landscape, with its sober hues, will continually respond thus to the influence of scarlet or crimson. A regiment of red-coated soldiers, the “pink”-clad members of a hunt, will always add a *life* to English scenery that no other garb could be induced to lend to it; and similarly, the warm tones of a copper-coloured beech or still more powerful filbert, will, in a minor degree, suggest that scarlet and its modifications are, of all colours, the most potent in landscape. Yet it is but rarely used: here and there in a village a scarlet-cloaked little Red Riding Hood of a schoolgirl; but for posts, gates, or even green-houses. No! It must be white, or black, or green, of which we have (almost) a superfluity. A “strong” colour is always sure of its effect in an English landscape, and chance carelessly witnesses to the proof of this assertion, by every field of

yellow turnip flower, by every seed-grower's field of sweet peas, and, lastly, by every orchard when in blossom. And it is in the orchard, with its combination of utility and adornment, that the landscape gardener sees his opportunity for the spring and autumn of the year. With colours of fruit and flower he may sow park and hedgerow, with the same facility as he may deck the bosoms of the grassy meads with crocus, daffodil, and tulip. In either case, with possible profit and certain beauty.

Thus to adorn the landscape in detail is within the power of many; but it is for the wealthy few to anticipate the possibilities of adornment that lie in colour "mass," when properly developed. The gorgeous—though limited to a season—may be reached even in England. The chestnut avenue in full blossom is a grand sight. Does not Bushey Park show it? And cannot the lilac, laburnum, tulip-tree, bird-cherry, silver birch, rhododendron, rose, laurel, broom, and furze be made to yield a glory of colour when severally concentrated? Is there no richness of colour in the foliage of the copper-coloured filbert, that glows as with concealed fire? and if massed in sufficient force, could it not, so to say, burn up the rest of a landscape into insignificance? But no! it is easier to be conventional; to thrust into what is technically known as a "mixed shrubbery" a heterogeneous collection of trees and shrubs; to gaze at the piteous confusion, the struggle for life, which ensues; to be distracted out of all admiration by the convulsive attempts of colour and form to assert an individuality; to be shocked at the ruin which overtakes the weak in an unnatural struggle for root and air-room. It is easier to do this, for it requires no exercise of taste, and scarcely a public park of our towns but demonstrates the fact. There is, then, in the discreet massing of colour a powerful instrument for the striking of a keynote in landscape, and, without further demonstration of the fact, the attention may be directed to the value of tinted washes, when applied to walls, outbuildings, and the like. In Greece, in Italy, the cottage walls are, with the cheap aid of lime, dyed blue, pink, green, or white; and the landscape is amazingly enlivened thereby. There is no valid reason why many an ugly park wall should not be treated in the same way in England; or, in default, clothed with the enormous and handsome leaves of the Irish ivy, rich and glossy green.

But from the improvements of which English landscape is capable let the thought be turned to its growing cancer—a cancer which, whatever our political and agricultural opinions may be, is still a cancer when viewed simply in its scenic influence over landscape. Not a journey along our lines of railway but will disclose its hideous ramifications, its painful incongruity of cabbage, wheat, old tins, and sheds; its eccentric boundaries of rotten stave and worm-eaten board; its prosaic utility, unrelieved by even the raising of a gilly-

flower, or the permission to exist accorded to a dandelion. What can be done here? Cabbages must be raised. The poor man must live before he cultivates the beautiful. Allotments are allotments, and it is preposterous to expect——

But is it? Turn to the South. View sunny Greece, with its colour and atmosphere, its poverty and its languorous laziness. Stroll into one of its village gardens, cultivated in careless disorder, and pressed in upon by crops from all sides. Examine carefully such a garden and its environment; there are the same elements of untidiness and confusion as in its English congener—the allotment-ground. Yet, as a whole, its effect is good from a scenic point of view. And it is by this that it comes about that the one is beautiful within limits, and the other ugly to deformity; here and there in the Grecian garden, by the side of its paths, is a fruit-tree, such as a quince, a pear, or a plum. In its dilapidated hedges there is a slender poplar or more, that, robbing no crop of its vitalising light, is yet a tree of grace and character. Up the walls of its sheds climbs the vine or the ivy. By its stream is a fringe of rushes. And perchance a solitary cypress clenches home that variety which has been introduced, with or without design, into yet another diversity, that without its presence would be as ugly as a tree shorn of its branches.

NEIL WYNN WILLIAMS.

FACTION-FIGHTING IN MUNSTER.

ONE of the oddest forms of amusement or recreation which can well be imagined is faction-fighting, a gentle pastime once much in vogue among the peasantry of the South of Ireland. As an outlet for exuberant spirits, a genuine Tipperary faction-fight had much to commend it, but, considering the enormous risks to life and limb involved in the exercise, I am disposed to think that even the most enthusiastic votary of football would look askance at it. The prize-fighter displays a certain amount of brute courage in allowing himself to be battered beyond recognition, and there is something in the stolid manner in which he suffers pain which extorts admiration. But after all it is the man's trade, he is paid to take and give hard knocks, and he is, if successful, petted and pampered and regarded as a hero. Your faction-fighter wins neither gold nor applause, he cares not for one nor the other; the exquisite pleasure afforded in laying an adversary "kicking" with a well-aimed blow of a neat bit of a blackthorn is ample reward. The good old national custom is now almost extinct, though occasionally an unexpected but brilliant "flare up" shows that the embers still smoulder and need little encouragement to kindle into a blaze.

Were it not for the pestilent policeman, who appears to be omniscient and ubiquitous, the thoroughly Irish institution of faction-fighting would still be in a flourishing and healthy condition; still, the older generation can revel in the contemplation of their exploits in the past, fight their battles over again in imagination, and depict in glowing terms to open-mouthed youngsters how they won the day at the fair of Pallas Green.

When faction-fighting was in the zenith of its popularity County Limerick and County Tipperary tied for the enviable position of premier county; they were the most quarrelsome and pugnacious, and were looked up to accordingly.

In those halcyon days when the Ballot Act was unknown and when Home Rule and the Land League were not dreamt of, no fair, races, or hurling match was complete without, what was called, a beautiful fight to wind up with, where skulls were cracked like egg-shells and blood flowed like water. That fatalities were common goes without saying, but that was only looked upon as the fortune

of war, gave zest to the contest, and supplied fresh motives for a sanguinary engagement at the next fair or market. When the opposing factions got what they called fair-play, in other words, when no sport-spoiling "peelers" were about, or when the parish priest was on a sick call or at a "conference" in a distant town, it frequently happened that these fights lasted till sheer exhaustion and weakness compelled even the "hottest" to desist.

The origin of these senseless, brutal, and cruel conflicts is more or less shrouded in obscurity. It is abundantly clear that neither politics nor religion had anything to say to the matter. They probably originated in "hurling matches," a species of hockey, once a favourite amusement among the youth of Munster on Sundays and holidays after "last mass." These matches were generally played between neighbouring parishes or counties, in some large convenient field or on a bit of "commonage." The matches naturally caused a good deal of rivalry and jealousy; disputes of course were inevitable, and it was only natural that a hot-blooded Tipperary *gorsoon*, finding himself getting the worst of an argument with a Limerick logician, should have recourse to the unanswerable and readier argument of the stick. The "hurley," "common" or crooked stick, used in the game was specially adapted for this species of argument; and, judiciously applied, as a rule immediately silenced an opponent. A ponderous "shillelagh" waved aloft, a piercing "whoop," a dull thud and a groan was the signal for a general scrimmage. In a twinkling, the whole field was a seething, yelling mass of ferocious, wild-eyed, skull-cracking demons. Such contests took tremendously and grew rapidly in popularity. By degrees a petty quarrel became a matter of well-nigh national importance, and whole parishes and baronies took it up and vindicated their champion's honour whenever opportunity permitted and the fates were propitious. Every young male and, indeed, many old ones too, were members of some faction or another, and thus year after year and generation after generation the feud grew and throve, and not a man knew what on earth he was fighting for. The leading factions in County Limerick were the "Three Year Olds" and the "Four Year Olds," so called because of a petty dispute as to the age of a bull in the remote past. In County Waterford the factions were called the "Shawnavests" and the "Corrawats," while in County Tipperary the "Magpies" and the "Blackhens" were the most notorious. Although, of course, the women were non-combatants, nevertheless they belonged to one faction or another, and, did an opportunity present itself for wreaking vengeance, neither age nor sex afforded the least protection. Chivalry, sad to relate, was conspicuous by its absence. So bitter, so intense was the hatred between the "Three Year Olds" and the "Four Year Olds," until a comparatively recent date, that they would not attend the same place of worship, would not intermarry,

would hold no intercourse whatever. The following well-authenticated instance of cowardly brutality will illustrate my meaning. The scene was a public-house in New Pallas, County Limerick. A member of one of the factions was going to America and had been seen off by his friends. Three of these, a man, a woman, and a young girl named Ryan, on their way home entered the bar-room of the public-house and called for drinks; the young woman had a glass of sherry. In the kitchen of the public-house there happened to be a member of a faction opposed to the one to which Miss Ryan's friends belonged, a man named Lonergan. Seeing who was in the bar-room, he stealthily approached; Miss Ryan, hearing the footsteps, turned round with the wineglass just raised to her lips; Lonergan instantly raised his clenched hand, and with all his force struck the glass into the wretched girl's mouth, tearing it from ear to ear and covering her with blood. Next moment Lonergan was off at full speed, but fortunately two members of the Royal Irish Constabulary had seen what had occurred, and at once gave chase. The ruffian, like most young Irishmen, was fleet of foot and soon out-distanced his pursuers. After a mile had been covered capture seemed hopeless, as the fugitive had reached a railway cutting, down which he ran; too tired for further pursuit, the constables were at the top of the cutting when Lonergan had nearly gained the bottom; one of them as a last resort lifted a large stone and hurled it at the retreating figure with such accuracy that it struck the back of his head, rolling him over like a log. Next moment the pursuers were upon him; to their dismay he gave no signs of life, while the blood poured from a terrible wound in the back of his head. A bandage was hastily improvised, the bleeding was stopped, and a doctor sent for; before he came Lonergan had recovered consciousness and subsequently recovered. He was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to five years' penal servitude at the following Limerick Assizes.

Miss Ryan, who had been a very handsome girl, was disfigured for life; the doctor put in five stitches in each cheek, not perhaps very carefully, with the result that when the wounds healed the marks were quite apparent, and large wheals remained for life. To such an extent did faction-fighting flourish in County Tipperary, more especially in the neighbourhood of the villages of Cappawhite, Upperchurch, and Borrisoleigh, that scarcely a man in or near those localities could show an unblemished head. Sooth to say, such immunity from scars was by no means a matter to be proud of. In the churchyards of the district named it was taken for granted that every skull that bore no marks of violence belonged to the gentler sex.

Borrisoleigh, the centre of the most troublesome area, is a very fair specimen of the average Munster village. It consists of one

street, of varying width, long and straggling. The houses lack uniformity, and are of every shape, size, and condition.

The great majority are shops, or what are so called for want of a better description. Nearly all have some kind of a signboard bearing the legend, "licensed to sell" something or other. Behind the grimy window-panes of one, whisky bottles, petroleum lamps, "sugar-stick," woollen socks, and perchance a hank of onions are impartially displayed. In an adjoining shop or store half a "fitch" of rusty American bacon holds the field undisturbed, the gloomy prospect being frequently enlivened by a quaint collection of irrelevant show-cards, almanacs two or three years old, and highly-coloured oleographs of the late Mr. C. S. Parnell. A constabulary barrack, scrupulously clean, is the principal building on one side of the street; on the opposite side a *soi-disant* hotel, the leading village "pub," in other words, tries to look dignified under difficulties. Rising with a certain grim majesty over Borrisoleigh is the "Devil's Bit" mountain, with its huge semicircular gap at the top, caused, according to local tradition, by the teeth of the Prince of Darkness in his flight from his former abode to his present dominions after his expulsion—for particulars see *Paradise Lost*. Borrisoleigh is situated at the head of a narrow pass or gorge, which runs northwards for some distance between steep bluffs or cliffs, and leads towards Nenagh, the assize town of the North Riding. The southern end of the village street bifurcates, the road to the south-east being the Templemore road, and that to the south leading to Thurles and the South Riding of the county.

The pass alluded to, especially towards dusk, wears a sombre, solitary air; it is a piece of road that people hurry through, and feel happier when they have cleared it. A neighbour's company is always most acceptable on the way, though a very brave or a very tipsy man would never pause before venturing through it. Thade Ryan (long) the captain of the "Magpies," some five-and-twenty years ago had to journey through this pass one evening on his way home from Borrisoleigh. Thade was always brave, and frequently tipsy. He had spent some time in the nondescript hotel, and was what people would call "hearty," nothing worse. Thade, under the circumstances, rather enjoyed a solitary walk on this lonely bit of road. He was unarmed, save for a well-seasoned blackthorn, his constant companion. Careless of danger, nay, rather courting it, he went on his way humming a popular refrain. He had reached the middle and gloomiest part of the pass when he suddenly became aware of the presence of a party of men in front of him. The song ceased abruptly, and he halted to reconnoitre, for experience had taught him caution. After a moment's scrutiny of the group, he exclaimed, "Mother o' God, I'm done for! they're the dhirty Black-hens begob! shure they'll be afther 'massacreying' me when they

see me." The locality afforded no means for concealment or escape; not that the valiant Magpie chief would have availed himself of such under the circumstances, for he scorned the whole crowd. "Is it me run away from a 'mangy' crew of Blackhens! never, be jabers!" and, grasping his "shillelagh" firmly in his right hand, he strode boldly on. The enemy, hearing him approach, turned round to see who was coming, and, as they recognised him, Thade could see them spit on their hands and balance their *kippeens*, while they drew across the road. They were a dangerous lot; there was Pat Fogarty, Mike Gleeson, Ned O'Brien, Jerry Dwyer, and Black Dan Delaney, the "head divil" in North Tipperary. Following the usages of faction warfare, the Magpie captain "wheeled" for fight; in other words, he hurled defiance at his foes by shouting his faction's war-cry. Of course, the others answered him back with an ear-splitting yell, delighted at such a grand opportunity to wreak their vengeance. At once the battle was knit. For a while, by astonishing agility and superhuman strength, the Magpie leader kept his foes hopping about pretty lively, and the dull thud that followed every swing of his "shillelagh" showed that he rigidly complied with the well-known maxim, "Wherever you see a head, hit it." For a while he held his own, but, like many another hero, he was overborne by numbers, and in rapid succession five heavy, well-directed blows rained down with a sickening sound on his already bloody head. Covered with gore, he dropped to his knees; another shower of blows and he lay prone and motionless on the blood-stained road. With fiendish pleasure his assailants battered his face and head into a horrid red pulp. "Hurroo!" screamed Fogarty, giving a leap in the air, "he's as dead as a door nail;" but Dan Delaney was not quite satisfied, and he gave his prostrate foe a hearty kick, without eliciting a groan. "Come home, boys," said another, "we've cooked Thady's goose this time; he'll never 'wheel' for a Blackhen in Thurles fair any more." "He looks like dead, but he may be only *desavin'* us," muttered Black Dan, as he lifted a weighty, sharp-edged slate or flag from the ditch, "but I'll put the matter beyond all doubt." "Why, Dan, what are you going to do with the flag?" asked the other, not quite following the idea. "I'm just goin' to chop his d——d head off, and then we'll *know* Thade Ryan is a corpse." He had raised the flag over the prostrate figure of Ryan, lying stark, stiff, and bloody, when an old hag, who had calmly watched the fight from her cabin door, rushed out, shrieking, "What! ye haythen villain, are you goin' to disfigure the corpse? As sure as you do, I'll inform on the lot of yez." Such a proceeding would not harmonise with Dan's sentiments, so, with a sullen oath, he threw down the flag. "All right, mother, keep your corpse safe, but I have as good a plan," and, going into the hovel, he brought out on the end of a stick a "live coal," as a piece of burning turf is

called. "Pull off his boot," he said, and soon Thade's bare foot was exposed; then Dan Delaney, with the ingenuity of a Red Indian, applied the burning sod of peat to the hollow of the foot, and kept it pressed there until a sickly smell of roasted flesh filled the air, but never a quiver from the victim. "Begorra," quoth he, with a laugh, throwing down the "coal," he's dead now, anyway, and the devil's cure to him;" with which prayer Dan and his companions went off shouting. Immediately the old woman began busying herself to make a "handsome" corpse of poor Ryan, and a nice job she had of it. Among the Irish a peculiar respect is shown towards the dead, and, while many would stand by unmoved and see a fatal blow given, none but the vilest and most brutal would dream of ill-treating a dead body. When a person dies it is the ambition of his or her friends to make the corpse presentable, and worthy of general admiration. When Thady had been laid out on the old woman's bed, and the blood removed from his face and head, he lay perfectly still for some minutes, then, slowly opening his eyes, he uttered a low moan. "Lord betune us and harm, what's that?" ejaculated the old woman; then, seeing the corpse staring at her, she continued in disappointed tones, "Aren't yez dead after all?" "Divil a bit," groaned Thade. "Are they gone yet? Bad luck to them." "Aye, are they, the dirty blackguards. Will I be going for Darcy, the bone-setter, for you, or will you go home?" "Bedad, it's getting home I'll be, as quick as I can. Och, murder! the foot is burned off me entirely; I'll never be able to use it; oh, sweet bad luck to you, Black Dan; but it's you will have to pay dear for this. I thought I'd scream when the skin began to peel off." "Will you try a dhrop of sperrits?" "Will I, indeed; will a duck swim?" and the panacea for all ills was brought forth from a small cupboard, and produced a marked effect. Bidding his hostess "good-night," Thady, half walking, half crawling, managed to struggle painfully home without further mishap. There he lay in great agony for several weeks, but never by word or look revealed how he got the injuries.

"Well," said the person to whom Thade related the foregoing adventure very reluctantly, "did you know all your assailants?" "Av course, I knew every mother's son of 'em." "Then naturally you at once gave information to the police?" "Is it me tell the peelers you *none*?" he asked indignantly; "Arra, thin, do you take me for an informer?" "But surely you did not let this terrible crime go unpunished?" Thade looked up with a peculiar smile. "No, then," he answered simply, "I did *not*." "Well, what did you do?" "Is it what did I do you'd be wantin' to know? Faix, maybe I oughtn't to tell you, but I know I can trust you; *you'll* never let on? Well, sorr, two of the five were *found dead* on the road home from 'Thurles June fair. Jerry Dwyer, another of the

'blackguards,' died a month later from a *tip* of a stick one market night in Templemore. I *settled* Pat Fogarty *myself* at Nenagh races, and, *plaze* God, before I die, I'll finish off the last of them, Black Dan Delaney, 'the devil's own boy.'"

Luckily for Black Dan, warned, no doubt, by the *singular* fate of his comrades, he took the precaution of putting the broad Atlantic between himself and Thade.

Since that shocking affray on the lonesome Borrissleigh road and its ghastly sequel, faction-fighting has become a thing of the past in County Tipperary. The same remark applies to other parts of the South of Ireland, where the custom once flourished. Occasionally, however, some of the "boys" get "blue mouldy" for the want of a "batin'," and invite the parish generally, friend and foe, with charming impartiality, to "thread on the tails of their coats," an invitation which is generally accepted with alacrity, to the intense delight of the neighbours and to their own entire satisfaction.

JAMES F. MACNAMARA, R.I.C.

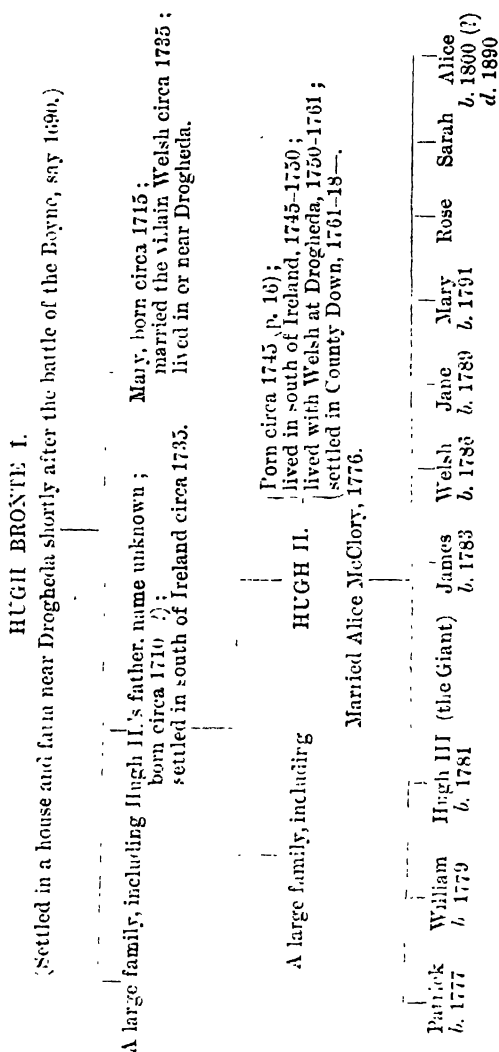
A CROP OF BRONTË MYTHS.

MORE than a year ago Dr. William Wright issued a book¹ in which he professed not only to trace the history of four generations of Irish Brontës, but to prove that the plot of *Wuthering Heights* was founded on family history, and that the other Brontë novels had likewise an Irish origin. As a Brontë enthusiast I was naturally interested; but when review after review came to hand, all speaking of Dr. Wright's book in laudatory terms, and declaring that he had established his thesis, my curiosity died down, and I accepted this verdict as final. Recently I procured his volume for the purpose of keeping my Brontë knowledge up to date. Imagine my surprise to find it a mass of absurdities and inconsistencies, bearing its own refutation on every page for any reader who, with adequate knowledge, would examine its statements. It reminds me of nothing so much as of that prophetic literature which once undertook to prove that Napoleon III. was Antichrist, and which still is prepared to fix the date of the end of the world. There is the same absence of all critical faculty, the same unreasoning acceptance of every alleged fact which can serve the end in view, the same substitution of faith for proof. I can only account for the favourable reception of the book by supposing that the reviewers have put Dr. Wright's great reputation as an Arabic scholar to his credit as an English critic, and that they have been too busy to do more than to read his book as one would read a novel. It is not a pleasant task to upset a favourable verdict; but if Dr. Wright's theories are accepted, the whole broadening stream of Brontë bibliography will be deflected and made turbid. In the interests, then, of truth and of the Brontë fame the absurdities of the book must be exposed.

As a first step I must give, with dates, a genealogical table of the characters who appear in Dr. Wright's pages; and this is the more necessary as our author is as muddled in his account of the family relationships as in most else—for example, on page 19, the grandfather of Hugh Brontë II. is called his father, and on page 49, Hugh I. is described as the great-great-great-grandfather of the novelists, where there is a "great" too much. Once we grasp the relationships, a mere comparison of dates will be enough to bring

¹ *The Brontës in Ireland; or, Facts Stranger than Fiction.* By Dr. William Wright. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

the whole story toppling down like a house of cards. I will ask the reader, then, to refer, when need be, to the following sketch, remembering always that Hugh II. is the important character upon which all else turns, the hero of the whole romance :



The novelists,
born between 1813 and 1820.

Let us glance first at the opening chapter of the romance, relating chiefly to Hugh I. and Welsh. Hugh I. settled on his farm—given, it is supposed, for services rendered to William III.—about 1690, and was a cattle-dealer as well as farmer. He became rich and prosperous. His sons were brought up in comparative luxury, were well educated, and had been much in England. Then one day Hugh I. (the Mr. Earnshaw of *Wuthering Heights*) finds on a Liverpool boat a Lascar baby and adopts it. This boy, Welsh (the Heathcliff of *Wuthering Heights*), makes himself very useful to

Hugh I., and gradually gets the management of the whole business into his own hands. He uses as tools a hypocrite named Gallagher (the Joseph of *Wuthering Heights*), and a woman, Meg, whose chief business apparently was to murder illegitimate children. At last Hugh I. goes over to Liverpool with the largest consignment of cattle he had ever taken, and on the way back he dies—murdered, we are led to suppose, by Welsh. What has become of the money received for the cattle no one knows; all the business-books have disappeared, and the capital is in Welsh's pocket. The villain succeeds after a time in driving his foster-brothers out of the farm to which they cling, and, with Meg's help, he compels Mary, the youngest sister, to marry him. So the curtain falls, with Welsh rich and prosperous, married to his master's daughter, and living in the Brontë's ancestral farm, while the Brontë sons are beggared and homeless.

Now to begin with, it is somewhat startling to find Dr. Wright describing so minutely events which happened nearly two hundred years ago, when he has nothing but oral tradition to rely upon. And it becomes more than startling when we are told that these events, known in such detail to Dr. Wright and his informants, *were unknown to most of the Irish Brontës themselves.* The *font et origo* of this history, and of much else to follow, is Hugh II., who is represented as a perfect genius, and who told the story in a most graphic fashion to many persons. We may be quite sure that the persons most interested in the story would be his ten children, all of them most remarkable characters according to Dr. Wright, and living nearly a century nearer the alleged events than we. One of these, Alice, was living as late as 1890. If they and their children knew not of this story it will appear to most persons that it cannot be true, and further that it cannot really have originated with Hugh II. Let me then quote Dr. Wright's own words on page 50 :

"With the exception of Alice none of the Irish Brontës knew anything of the early history of the family. I visited most of them, and the vague information they had to communicate was merely an echo from English biographies. Even Alice mixed up different events in a way sometimes that made it difficult to disentangle them."

What Alice's evidence amounted to we shall have occasion to see later on.

Further, the story itself is surely incredible. Even at the beginning of last century an interloper could not murder his foster-father and embezzle the whole of a rich man's capital without being criminally prosecuted. If Welsh had had to do with helpless children the improbabilities would have been less, but he had to do with a number of young men "brought up in comparative luxury" and "well educated," and when we realise the circumstances the story becomes absurd.

Moreover, if Hugh II. was indeed responsible for this piece of

family history it will be well to know with what sort of an historian we are dealing. He tells us repeatedly (p. 148) that his grandfather, Hugh I., was unjustly dealt with by means of legal documents issued under George III.'s authority. It will be seen that Hugh I. would have been about 100 years old when George III. ascended the throne in 1760, and as he left a young family behind him when he died he must have begun the begetting of his numerous offspring when he was about eighty! Wonderful men, truly, these Irish Brontës!

But it is time we passed on to review the next stage of this romance. When the curtain again rises "many years" have elapsed (p. 32). I calculate these years as fifteen at the least; nothing less will meet the demands of the history. Welsh, whom we left in possession of all the fortune of a "rich and prosperous" man, has fallen into abject poverty. His foster-brothers and sisters, with one exception, have all disappeared for ever. But the exception, the unnamed father of Hugh II., though he had not a penny when we last saw him, is now "a man in prosperous circumstances" (p. 18). He is married and has a large family and his children live in luxury (pp. 111 and 154). Farming in those days appears to have resembled stock-broking in these from the rapidity with which fortunes were made and lost. One of the younger members of this family was the famous Hugh II., at this time aged five. Suddenly appears on the scene the infamous Welsh, who represents himself as a rich but childless man pining to adopt a little boy. He succeeds, of course, in his nefarious scheme and carries off little Hugh II., having first exchanged a melodramatic oath with the father—Welsh and his wife swearing that they will never let Hugh II. know where his family live, and the little boy's father swearing that he will never inquire about him. Then they drive off, and before the lights of home have disappeared Welsh begins to beat the child brutally. Then follow eleven years of the most cruel oppression, and at last, when aged sixteen, Hugh II. runs away and begins life for himself. He never succeeds, however, in discovering any trace of his father or his family.

Surely nothing but the improbabilities are necessary to expose the falsity of this so-called history. Hugh II.'s father, in common with all the family, knew Welsh to be an unmitigated scoundrel of the deepest dye; why then should he and his wife give up to him a son to whom they were tenderly attached? The plea of poverty does not come in, for they were rich and prosperous. Again, what possible object could Welsh, too poor to support himself, have in burdening himself with a little child? Later on it is stated that Welsh was promised £50 with the child, which he did not receive. But Welsh, in his feigned character of a rich man, could not have asked for money, and if he had, that at least would have opened the father's eyes to his real motives. Again, how are we to suppose

that his wife, the excellent Mary, could have lent herself to the diabolical scheme? And the way in which the story is told is at least as ridiculous as the plot. The child, if he had been Prince Alexander of Battenberg, could not have been carried off with greater precautions against recovery: they travelled only by night, and slept during the day, and for four nights the journey was continued. In chapter vi. we have a minutely detailed account of all that happened during that fearful journey, and a highly coloured description of the scenery, interspersed with metaphysical reflections, and all based on the recollections of a child of five! With a remarkable want of humour the story makes Welsh address this infant at the journey's end thus:

"This is the only home you shall ever know, and you are beholden to me for it. No airs here, my fine fellow! Your father was glad to be rid of you, and this is the gratitude you show me for taking you to be my heir. Go to bed out of my way, and I'll find you something to do in the morning to keep you from becoming too great for the position."

To complete the absurdity of the story Welsh becomes a father for the first time the year before Hugh II. runs away, or about thirty years after his marriage with Mary!

Before leaving this part of the alleged history it is necessary to point out that the scenes where these two earlier parts of the drama were enacted—like nearly all the other evidence—are lost. As to the house and farm, probably given in return for services during the political troubles of William III.'s reign, Dr. Wright fears "that the tradition has now faded out of the district." He says that this is not to be wondered at, since few families of the rank of the Brontës can trace their pedigrees to the sixth or seventh generation. But this excuse will not do. Alice lived till 1890, and her grandfather had lived on the ancestral farm till he was a young man of twenty-five or so; moreover, her father, Hugh II., had lived in the immediate neighbourhood till his sixteenth year. Alice indeed is quoted to the effect that an aunt Mary, who visited her when a child, then still lived near Drogheda, and Dr. Wright would have us believe that this was no other than Mrs. Welsh. But when we examine the evidence it is of a piece with all the rest, and is indeed not a little ludicrous. A reference to our genealogical table will show that I have put Mary Welsh's birth at 1715. That it could not be later than that, supposing the history a true one, I will now show beyond all reasonable doubt. Hugh II. was born, Dr. Wright tells us, about 1745 (p. 16), and if his grandfather was a farmer in 1690, and his father married early, as the history tells, certainly the date could not be much later. It was therefore about 1750 that he was taken off by Welsh. Welsh had been married "many years" (p. 33), and as I have already shown, fifteen years at least must be allowed for

the events which intervene. This gives us 1735 as the year when Welsh married Mary. As he had tried for some years in vain to make her marry him, we cannot be far wrong in supposing her to be twenty in 1735, and if so she must have been born about 1715. Now old Alice Brontë, who was born in 1800, said she remembered her Aunt Mary coming from Drogheda to visit her when a child. Even supposing Alice to have been then only five years old, Aunt Mary must have been about ninety. How then did old Alice describe this nonagenarian? "Terrible purty she was. *A shop-keeper in Rathfriland courted her. . . . After she went home he sent after her, but she would not take him*"!¹ Dr. Wright suggests Alice may have alluded to a daughter of Aunt Mary's, but though he was in correspondence with Alice Brontë "directly and indirectly till her death," she made no such admission. It is clear that there is no Brontë evidence, and nothing beyond late and loose tradition to show that the Drogheda farm and house "given for imperial services" ever existed.

Again, as regards the home of Hugh II.'s father in the south of Ireland there is the same absence of all evidence. Dr. Wright, when a young man, once spent two months disguised as a peasant trying to find some trace of it, but in vain. Brontë is a very unusual name, and the father of Hugh II. was a prosperous man with a large family when the curtain drops on him in 1750; but no trace of him or his survives. Why, one asks, did not Aunt Mary tell the secret to her nephew or her grandnephews and grandnieces in after years, when there could be no further reason for concealment? Dr. Wright asks us to believe that her silence is accounted for by her melodramatic oath, but I fancy this will seem to most persons an utterly insufficient reason, especially when it is remembered that Mary was not an ignorant peasant, but a person who had received a good education. The disappearance of the family in the south of Ireland is thus even more difficult to account for than the loss of all trace of the ancestral farm near Drogheda.

If we follow the career of Hugh II. a little further, when it becomes a mixture of myth and history, there is still much to marvel at. While serving at a lime-kiln he falls in love with the sister of a young man evidently of his own class. Difficulties arising on the part of the lady's Roman Catholic relations, he leaves the kiln and secretly takes service in her neighbourhood as a farm servant; and then we hear that this peasant girl "was permitted to ride about the neighbourhood quite alone. She enjoyed horse exercise greatly," and she always rides "her own mare." She is, in fact, suddenly transformed into a squire's daughter—but to read Dr. Wright's book is like being in a dream, nothing surprises. Hugh II. at last secures her, of course in the most romantic way and under the most

¹ The italics here and throughout are mine.—A. M. M.

extraordinary circumstances; and Dr. Wright is able to tell us exactly what they had to eat at that wedding breakfast in 1776—it has been handed down orally for a century and a quarter—viz., a great pudding of flour and potatoes, two large turkeys in melted butter, and a huge roast of beef, &c. Wonderful! I am afraid I cannot tell what my great-great-grandfather had to eat at his wedding; but were I a genius, and had I an enthusiastic professor to make investigations, who knows what might be discovered!

Even when we part with Hugh II. and come to the next generation, the aunts and uncles of Charlotte and Emily, the mythical air is not all dispersed. Dr. Wright gives a description of these most remarkable persons. It was given him when a boy by his teacher, the Rev. Mr. McAllister, and Mr. McAllister received it in turn from a young cousin; but although this tradition is the best part of a century old, and has been handed down through three generations, Dr. Wright is able to give it *apparently word for word to the length of eight pages!* The scene described (chapter xviii.) is the *al fresco* concert, dance, and sports, in which the young men and maidens of the Brontë family indulged every favourable afternoon on the “Brontë dancing green.” The whole is like a scene from Spenser’s *Fairy Queen*, and shows these Brontës to have been extraordinary and unique indeed, moving habitually in “the light that never was on land or sea.” The observers whose words Dr. Wright records were “very young at the time”—and so we should have supposed from their language—but apparently they were old enough to be struck, not only by the beauty and stateliness of form of the Brontës, and the poetry of their movements, but also by the originality of their conversation. We are told of their “quaint conceptions,” “glowing thoughts,” and their “expressions far from commonplace”; they used language which “literally made the flesh creep and the hair stand on end,” and they uttered their thoughts “with a pent-up and concentrated energy never equalled in rugged force by the novelists.” Dr. Wright assures us that they were looked upon as uncanny by the common people, and “held themselves carefully aloof” from their neighbours. Unfortunately this generation of Brontës lived so near our own time that it is impossible to keep off from them altogether “the light of common day,” and with Dr. Wright’s aid we get the historical view of these aunts and uncles of the novelists side by side with the semi-mythical. Welsh opened a public-house, which became a meeting-place for the fast youth of the district. Later, William kept a shebeen which became a source of degradation both to the neighbourhood and himself. James was a shoemaker, and his sister Alice describes him as one who “took a hand at everything, and was very smart and active with his tongue. He was a great favourite with children.” Hugh III. and Welsh the same sister describes as very industrious, and making a great

deal of money by macadamising roads. In fact, the brothers and sisters belonged to a capable type of Irish peasant, but were by no means the awesome and ideal figures of the myth. Nor did they always drop pearls and diamonds when they opened their mouths, as the Spenserian chapter xviii. would have us believe. There are several of their sayings scattered through the book, and all of the most ordinary description. I have already given Alice's account of her Aunt Mary. Then there is James's account of Charlotte on his return from a visit to Haworth: "Charlotte is terrible sharp and inquisitive." It is admitted that they were unable to understand their nieces' novels. They took them, we are told, to the Rev. Mr. McKee, and were delighted when he pronounced them "gran'," so that they could tell their neighbours, "Mr. McKee thinks Charlotte very cliver." It is interesting to compare in this manner the real characters with the ideal. We thus learn that as the sun can make a gorgeous sunset out of mist and smoke, so a beautiful myth can be evolved out of most commonplace elements, provided a succession of enthusiastic imaginations be set to work upon them. That the *al fresco* chapter, apart from its want of harmony with other accounts of these Brontës, is inconsistent in itself, any careful reader will discover who will keep in mind the dates recorded in our genealogical chart and remember that the scene described in that chapter took place in 1812.

When we come to the latest narrative in the book, which brings us nearly to the year 1850, the reader will suppose that here, at least, we must reach solid ground. But it is not so. Every one has heard how Hugh III. (the Giant) set out, shillelagh in hand, on what Dr. Wright calls "one of the strangest undertakings within the whole range of literary adventure"—viz., to find and chastise the Quarterly Reviewer who had traduced his niece. The story has found its way, I believe, into almost every newspaper in Great Britain, and will probably continue to be told as fact for many a long year to come. Yet it contains as little truth as the other parts of the book. My suspicions were aroused by the inconsistencies and peculiarities of the narrative itself, and by Dr. Wright's admissions that he could never induce Hugh III. to acknowledge its truth, nor could the daughter of the gentleman to whom Hugh is alleged to have told it, and that it was unknown to some, if not to all, of Hugh's brothers and sisters. I resolved, therefore, to institute inquiries. The story tells that Hugh III. called again and again at Murray's, and inquired for the reviewer; they gave him no information, but, instead, tried to find out from him the name of the anonymous author of *Jane Eyre*; and at last, seeing his truculent character, forbade him the house. A piquant anecdote such as this, I said to myself, relating to so famous a person as Charlotte Brontë, is sure to be treasured among the literary reminiscences of the firm

of Murray. Accordingly I wrote to them on the subject. Mr. John Murray says in his reply that he is unable to believe a word of the story, and adds, "There is no record here of such a visit having taken place, and I never heard my father allude to it as a fact." Dr. Wright proceeds to tell us that when the avenger was baffled at Murray's he went to Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co., and told them his errand; they received him civilly and procured for him admission into the British Museum reading-room, where he might perchance find out the name of the offending reviewer. Now every one knows that the relations between Charlotte Brontë and her publishers were of the most friendly character; they took the warmest interest in all that concerned her literary work, and they knew how deeply she had been hurt by the review in the *Quarterly*. If this extraordinary incident had taken place, then, it would have made a great impression. The member of the firm, with whom Charlotte corresponded, and at whose house she visited, is fortunately yet with us, and could confirm the story if true. But, in reply to my inquiries, the firm write that they have "no recollection" of any such incident. Finally, Dr. Wright tells us that Hugh III. haunted the British Museum reading-room, and met there a rich old gentleman who several times invited him to his house, drank his health at dinner, examined his shillelagh, and so forth. Now it so happens that an accurate and classified list is kept of all who are admitted to the reading-room of the British Museum. One of the officials has kindly made a careful search for me, and no Hugh Brontë visited the room as stated in Dr. Wright's veracious history. The story is plainly apocryphal. Either Dr. Wright's informant or Hugh III. himself was romancing. And if we cannot trust our author's investigations when they relate to events alleged to have happened only half a century since, what credit can we give to his two-hundred-year-old records?

It is time, however, that we passed from an examination of the improbabilities, inconsistencies, and proved inaccuracies of Dr. Wright's book to an investigation of the nature of the testimony he adduces in support of his theories. Dr. Wright tells us, in his second chapter, of the opportunities he had when a lad of talking to those who knew something of the Irish Brontës, and he tells us this, he says, that he may not be obliged to interrupt the narrative by quoting authorities as he proceeds. If, then, space allows him only a limited appeal to authorities, we may naturally assume that the evidence he does quote will be the strongest he can adduce. Yet in most cases the authorities to whom he appeals not only do not support him, their testimony is generally of a nature to weaken his case. Let me now give an instance or two of this, and in doing so I shall incidentally give a very good example of Dr. Wright's qualities as a critic.

A Crop of Brontë Myths.

Dr. Wright claims for Hugh II. that he was the author of the modern theory of tenant-right. He makes much of this claim and foreshadows it early in his book. In describing the eviction of Hugh I.'s family by Welsh, which must have taken place about the year 1730, or fifteen years before the birth of Hugh II., he says: "This sordid transaction was fraught with far-reaching consequences to landlordism. It gave birth to a tenant-right theory of which we shall hear something in a subsequent chapter." Subsequent chapters inform us that Hugh II. derived from this eviction his views upon the land question, and that with these views he revolutionised Ireland. Some years after his flight from Welsh, he became, we are told, farm labourer to a country gentleman named Harshaw. The children of this country gentleman conceived a liking for Hugh II., now a grown man, and taught him to read, as Catherine taught Hareton Earnshaw in *Wuthering Heights*—an interesting fact if it can be established, but no proof is vouchsafed. The chain of evidence is then continued in the following extraordinary fashion. Jane Harshaw, who taught Hugh II. to read, *may* have imbibed as a child his theory of tenant-right. She afterwards married a neighbouring gentleman, Samuel Martin, and had a son John. Jane Martin *may* have instilled into her son John the tenant-right notions she had adopted as a child from the farm-servant. John Martin met at school the famous John Mitchell, and *may* have communicated to him the ideas he had imbibed from his mother. After mentioning these possibilities and suppositions, Dr. Wright sums up, "*I think there is no doubt that John Martin's belief and principles grew from seeds sown by Hugh Brontë the servant boy in the sympathetic mind of his mother.*"

Well, but the proof? Surely all this will not be put forward without some evidence? Yes, a witness is called, and one only, but his testimony is rather upsetting. Of course, if Hugh II. had produced such an impression on the Harshaw family, had been taught by the children, and was the indirect means of sending one of the grandchildren to penal servitude for ten years (p. 98), his memory would have survived among the Harshaws or nowhere. But what says the present representative of the family? "The probability is that Hugh Brontë hired with my grandfather, whose land touched the Lough; but I fear it is too true that he passed through my grandfather's service and left no permanent record behind him" (p. 96).

But we have not disclosed the whole of the debt which the Irish tenants of to-day owe to Hugh II. For Hugh II. was a tenant on an estate which belonged to Sharman Crawford, "a landlord who first took up the cause of tenant-right, and after spending a long life in its advocacy bequeathed its defence to his sons and daughters;" and it seems to Dr. Wright "*not only probably but morally certain*" that the words of Brontë II., dropped into the

justice-loving minds of the Crawfords, were the primary seeds of all the recent land legislation in Ireland. But again we ask, What evidence is there? Dr. Wright replies: "I knew the late W. Sharman Crawford, M.P., well; and I once talked with him of Hugh Brontë's tenant-right theories, of which he was thoroughly aware. *I did not ask him if his father had got his views from Brontë, as I had no doubt of the fact*" (p. 153). However, he apparently did ask another member of the family, Miss M. Sharman Crawford, and she sent the following very sensible reply: "My father certainly originated tenant-right as a public question, though, no doubt, long before the period when he strove to amend the position of Irish tenants, many thoughtful minds like his must have protested against the legalised injustice to which they were subject" (p. 153). She admits, that is, that Hugh Brontë, like many others, may have proclaimed the injustice under which tenants in Ireland were groaning, but about Dr. Wright's little story she evidently knew nothing. No doubt, thousands of men of every rank, even earlier than Hugh II.'s time, must have given utterance to just such sentiments as are attributed to him in Dr. Wright's book.¹ But there is not a shred of evidence to connect our mythical hero with them, or to show that the course of recent Irish legislation is due to the eviction of the novelist's ancestors at the beginning of last century. I have examined this part of Dr. Wright's book at some length because it is typical of the rest, being a mass of illogical assumptions unsupported by even the semblance of proof.

The real source, no doubt, of this strange volume is indicated in our author's second chapter. It is founded upon the tittle-tattle of a few Presbyterian manse in County Down thirty or forty years ago, unwittingly distorted, it may be, by the lapse of time since. All Dr. Wright's geese are swans, and accordingly the Rev. Mr. McAllister of Finard, the Rev. Mr. McKee of Ballynaskeagh, and the rest are marvels of erudition and literary acumen. Mr. McKee in particular is represented as an intellectual giant as well as a moral paragon. He may have seemed so to Dr. Wright when a boy; but of his critical faculty we are enabled to judge for ourselves by an anecdote that our author has preserved. When a copy of *Jane Eyre* was brought to Mr. McKee by Hugh III., the uncle of the novelists, his criticism, after reading it, was this: "The child, Jane Eyre, is your father in petticoats, and Mrs. Reed is the wicked uncle by the Boyne"! A more ridiculous comparison it is impossible to imagine. The melodramatic villain Welsh—a murderer and embezzler—bears not the slightest resemblance to

¹ They are given apparently almost verbatim, and occupy nearly ten pages. We are not told whose prodigious memory has preserved for us these century-old records.

the narrow, hard, evangelical lady whose severity is so distressing to little Jane; and the history of the boy, stolen from home and suffering for ten years the physical torments and brutalities of his father's enemy, is totally unlike the history of the little orphan girl at Gateshead Hall and Lowood School. But this anecdote gives us the key to the myths. One who could see resemblances between Welsh and Mrs. Reed, Hugh II. and Jane Eyre, could see resemblances at will everywhere. Doubtless, as the fame of the Brontës grew, the ministers became proud of their knowledge of the Brontë ancestry, and gradually from tracing imaginary resemblances, such as those just given, they proceeded unconsciously to colour "old Hugh's yarns," as Mrs. McKee calls them, with what they read in *Wuthering Heights*. Time and uncritical enthusiasm have done the rest.

That Dr. Wright himself may unwittingly have helped the growth of these myths is rendered possible by an extraordinary statement which he makes in the second chapter of his book. He tells us that when he was a boy his old schoolmaster, the Rev. Mr. McAllister, used to dictate to him some of Hugh II.'s tales, as well as the story of his life, as themes for composition; and then Dr. Wright proceeds:

"It thus happens that I wrote screeds of the Brontë novels before a line of them had been penned at Haworth . . . I read the Brontë novels with the feeling that I had already known what was coming, and I was chiefly interested in the wording and skilful manipulation of details" (p. 8).

There cannot be a doubt that Dr. Wright's memory is playing strange pranks with him here. If we accepted the history contained in this book as true, it would show that *Wuthering Heights* was based on facts, but it would not account for a single line of the other novels. True, Hugh II. is said, when a boy, to have had a dog called Keeper, and there is a Keeper in *Shirley*; but the Keeper of the novel, it is well known, is Emily's own dog, and has nothing to do with the shadowy animal of a century earlier. What possible excuse, then, can Dr. Wright give for saying, as he plainly does in the above passage, that all the novels of Charlotte, Emily, and Anne Brontë were founded either on Hugh II.'s life or his stories?¹ It will not do to take refuge in the latter. *Wuthering Heights* is a work of pure imagination, and it is easy to shape a myth so as to resemble it. But the stories in the other books deal with places and conditions which were altogether beyond the horizon of Hugh II.'s experiences. *Jane Eyre* treats of life in a girl's charity school, and then of the history of an English governess. The plots of *Villette* and *The Professor* are both laid in Belgian schools. The characters in *Shirley* are Yorkshire girls, Yorkshire parsons, and Yorkshire manufacturers. *Agnes Grey* records the experiences and

¹ He repeats the assertion on p. 139: "The stories are all Brontë stories, an echo of the thrilling narratives related by old Hugh."

trials of a private governess in various families. *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* deals with the history of a besotted drunkard, and Charlotte tells us distinctly that it was founded minutely on observation. Indeed, the whole of the Brontë novels, with the exception of *Wuthering Heights*, are the result of the play of a creative imagination on personal experiences, and those who are familiar with both the lives of the Brontës and their novels can identify almost every character of importance in them. It is therefore utterly impossible that Dr. Wright could have known what was coming as he read the Brontë novels for the first time, and he may be challenged to point out any plot in Charlotte or Anne's books which could by any possibility have been borrowed from the stories of an Irish peasant in Hugh's circumstances.¹

And the claim that *Wuthering Heights* is based upon this Hugh's history is as unfounded as that the other novels are founded upon his stories. The improbabilities, the anachronisms, the inconsistencies of that history, as told by Dr. Wright, I have already exposed. I have shown that not a scrap of evidence worthy the name is adduced in its favour; and I have recalled the fact that those remarkable sons and daughters of Hugh II. were confessedly ignorant of the story which yet we are led to believe was ever on his lips. But even if the evidence were as strong as it is weak we should still have to reject Dr. Wright's theory. The truth-loving Charlotte's account of the matter must necessarily be final. She might blamelessly have kept silence about the origin of *Wuthering Heights*, but she would never have deliberately misled us; and she tells us distinctly in her preface to her sister's book that the materials of *Wuthering Heights* were gathered in Yorkshire. Speaking of Emily's aloofness from all her neighbours she says: "Yet she knew them; knew their ways, their language, their family histories; she could hear of them with interest, and talk of them with detail, minute, graphic, and accurate; but *with them* she rarely exchanged a word. Hence it ensued that what her mind had gathered of the real concerning them was too exclusively confined to those tragic and terrible traits of which, in listening to the secret annals of every rude vicinage, the memory is sometimes compelled to receive the impress. Her imagination, which was a spirit more sombre than sunny, more powerful than sportive, found in such traits material whence it wrought creations like *Heathcliff*, like *Earnshaw*, like

¹ A very famous critic once wrote a depreciatory article on the Brontës, in which he stated that he had only read *Jane Eyre*, and could never get through *Villette*. On writing to point out certain inaccuracies, I asked him how he could venture to criticise or condemn books he had never read. His characteristic reply was that, although he had never read the books, *he had read all that had been written about them*. It would be treason to hint that Dr. Wright is a critic of this kind; but how any one who is familiar with the plots of Charlotte's and Anne's books can advance the theory that they are based on the yarns of an Irish peasant it passes the imagination of man to conceive.

Catherine." To all who really know Charlotte's character this is conclusive and final. Had both plot and characters been derived from the history of an ancestor these words would never have been written.

How then, asks the puzzled reader, did Dr. Wright come to write his book? This can only be explained on the theory with which I set out. Our author, I imagine, has a mind of the Prophet Baxter type. He is first possessed by a theory, and then he finds in every testimony he comes across "confirmation strong as Holy Writ," even when it is testimony distinctly unfavourable. Unfortunately, in dealing with a mind of this type, we are apt to mistrust every statement; and when we find our author introducing a myth element even into the account of Patrick Brontë's brothers and sisters we know not what is to be believed. But doubtless some new facts and dates we owe to Dr. Wright's enthusiasm, and for these let us be grateful. As to his main theory, however, there is nothing of it left, and the genius of Emily Brontë remains as inscrutable as ever.

ANGUS M. MACKAY.

THE LABOUR WAR.

ONE of the greatest problems of our times is the one of Capital and Labour.

By a persistent obstinacy on both sides, a real and genuine attempt to remedy by mutual discussion and effort, the existing causes of strife, is never attempted.

The greed for gold is so great that consciences are deadened and what is called human nature asserts itself.

The mercenary spirit is painfully apparent and crushes man to such an extent that dealings are no longer as man to man, but as a grovelling something which, to satisfy its appetite for wealth, resorts to practices which establish the belief that,

“ If life were merchandise that
Men could buy,
The rich would live, the poor
Alone would die.”

It is honourable to get wealth and success if obtained by fair and honest means; but it is a crime to make the lives of fellow-beings stepping-stones to fame and fortune.

How many men now living in luxury at the expense of other people's happiness, would blush for shame if some of their actions—termed business transactions—were exposed to the judgment of public opinion?

It is easy to dream of an Utopia where man would deal with man as he would be dealt by. No Socialistic theory would help to bring that dream into practice. The cry of the future demands an effort worthy of the generation in which we live. Some labour leaders rush madly to Socialism as a solution of the difficulty; but the enforcement of Socialism would coerce temperance, sobriety and duty. Force being no remedy, that solution is as impracticable as it is impossible. The majority of politicians look to Acts of Parliament for the uplifting of the masses: but as the Members of Parliament at the present time are practically all capitalists, the fear of diminishing their luxuries deadens their efforts and spoils their attempts. I use the term “capitalist” as a distinction between the wealthy and their less fortunate brethren.

As it is no crime to be rich such a distinction should not exist if it were not for the huge handicap of life, which places many grand

and noble characters off such a mark that it is only by almost superhuman effort they are enabled to occupy the position worthy of them.

What is life? A lottery to a certain extent in which the prize tickets seem to go to the least deserving and in its stern reality we often shudder for the future.

The cry of labour necessitates an answer. To be dealt honestly by. A fair day's pay for a fair day's work. A reasonable minimum wage; because with this generation of sweaters there seems to be no minimum.

Will the fixing of a minimum rate of wage tend to lift the toilers?

In a great measure, yes; but there are two terrible enemies of the working man—viz.: Intemperance and Improvidence. I once heard a celebrated labour leader say, "That the prime cause of poverty was neither Intemperance nor Improvidence, but the selfish greed of the capitalist." That is a fallacy. For years I have been brought into daily contact with working men and their homes, and from experience can safely say the greatest cause of misery is ignorance, mentally, physically and morally.

One of the first temptations of a working youth is to get married and thus needlessly taking family cares, which hang like a millstone round his neck. There are thousands of cases of young men, with small prospects and uncertain incomes, getting married, and it is not until they are weighed down with the cares of a large family that they realise their position. That is ignorance. Lack of parental guidance, proper training and home comforts cause hasty marriages.

Intemperance is a great drawback to the welfare of the masses. Legislation is completely annulled by that curse.

I know a journeyman who offered to divide the earnings of the shop equally with all over twenty-one on one condition—although he was not a total abstainer—viz.: That they should, himself included, sign the pledge. The men refused.

A leading trades-union delegate told me that it grieved him to see the selfishness even of the working man. He said: "It is an easy matter to call a large meeting together and advocate an advance, when every hand will be held up in favour; but, if we ask for increased funds and suggest adding an extra halfpenny or penny a week to their contributions, we are met with a storm of disapproval."

Such examples as these make the future a chaos. Self first. Self second. Self third; before any one else. Where is the light and the power that will guide and lift mankind so that duty shall come before self? There is only one solution, and that remedy has already commenced its Herculean task; within the grasp of all Education comes as the salvation of the future. There is now no

necessity to go to the liquor-shop to obtain the news of the day. Newspapers are within the reach of all. Literature is now obtainable by every one. The light of the future begins to show itself.

The Post Office Savings Bank gets more popular. Friendly societies now assist the poor man, so that he gets less afraid of the future.

Educate the masses and you lift them, give them confidence in themselves, make better sons, husbands and fathers. It gives them the power of discrimination and a will of their own.

Chaos will give way to law and order. Unity of feeling will take the place of discord. The standard of citizenship is raised. Man will then know what is his duty and will do it, and what coercion will *never* accomplish, the tutored mind will, because it is right and just.

HAROLD THOMAS.

THE DAWN OF THE TRINITY.

PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER, using as his pick and spade the Science of Language, has unearthed many a fact of primary interest from the lower strata of the history of religion; has brought to light many further proofs of the road that the thought of mankind has travelled in its effort to solve the mysteries of the universe. Thus, in the word *Deva*, whence are derived the modern *Deus*, *Dieu*, *Dios*, and our own *Divine*, we learn that, in its turn, it came from the root *Div*, to shine, and, in its original use, it signified "shining" or "bright"; pointing, we may surely say, to its origin amid a people who worshipped the sun, and saw in its refulgence the first conception of the Divinity. Whether we accept Mr. Spencer's theory of the rise of religion and its gradual evolution from the fancies of dreamland and the worship of ancestors, or whether we follow Professor Max Müller and see its source in the dawning idea of the Infinite, as it is borne in on the mind of prehistoric man, treading, it may be, the shore of some ocean which, for him, has "no shore beyond it, set in all the sea," we cannot escape from the fact brought home to us once more by the derivation of our words *Deity* and *Divinity*, that in the past our religious progenitors have been worshippers of the sun, that, indeed, many of their ideas have lingered on until the present day.

This conception of brightness, as an attribute of *Jehovah*, is shown in such crude legends as are found in the *Pentateuch*, where he is represented as saying to *Moses*, "Thou canst not see my face and live," and turning, therefore, his back towards the leader of the *Israelites*. Again, through the "clouded glory" of *Mount Sinai* pierces the same idea; nor could it be expected that the *Hebrews* emanating from *Chaldea*, where the sun was worshipped, passing through *Egypt*, where he was supreme, should fail in their turn to clothe their *Deity* with the same qualities.

It is, too, remarkable that the sole first-hand evidence of the resurrection of *Jesus*, the only eye-witness whose testimony has reached us, who speaks not from hearsay, but from experience, testifies, if we may believe the accounts given in the *Acts of the Apostles*, not to any bodily appearance, but to a bright and shining light.

The same idea of light and brilliancy derived from the solar disc,

as an attribute of the Divine nature, is later transferred to those whose lives seem to resemble most nearly the Divinity in their saintliness, and we find their purity symbolised by the solar disc itself, the nimbus that surrounds their heads in so many of the pictures of the Old Masters.

Even in the present year we learn that Mrs. Besant, in her visions of the Mahatma, sees him in a room pulsing with electrical waves, and that he appears to her as a "radiant figure."

Thus we see how an attribute of a natural object, which has once been the subject of worship, lingers on and remains an attribute of fresh subjects of worship long after the original source of the idea has faded from the hierarchy of gods.

But this is by no means the only indication of the sun-worship of our remote religious past. The building of cathedrals and churches with the altar to the east, the turning towards the east when the Creed is recited, the custom of burying that still persists with the feet of the body towards the same quarter, and the belief that, at his second coming, Jesus will appear from the east, are all remnants of a past cult, preserved long after their original signification has lost all sanctity for us. Its influence is even still found and felt, though unconsciously, as we pass the wine at dinner the way of the sun, and talk of the reverse method as unlucky.

If this be so with characteristics of minor importance, may it not prove a clue to the source of some, if not all, of those more important characteristics which are still by many regarded as more or less essential truths of our religion.

It is, therefore, as has been long recognised, amongst the annals of those nations for whom the sun has been the centre of adoration, that we must look for light on the early steps in the evolution of those ideals which have long since crystallised into the dogmas of our present creed.

At an early stage, the religion of the Egyptians centred in the sun, and it was doubtless from observations, consciously or unconsciously based upon the ways of this luminary, that their earliest recognition of a future life may, in part at least, be traced. The sun, as the source of life, must ever have been deemed of paramount importance; and the least careful observer would be struck with its apparent characteristics, its three stages of daily development, its rise at dawn, its noonday splendour, and its setting, possibly a help in the early steps of a metaphysical conception of a triune god; so, indeed, we find the sun not only the centre of their worship, but revered under its three forms. Dr. Birch tells us, "As Har, or Harmachis, he represented the rising sun, as Ra the midday sun, and as Tum the setting sun." In Chaldea also there were three secondary sun-gods—Merodach, Ninib, and Nergal—each representing but a portion of the sun, whilst the whole orb was Shamash.

So, too,* from his daily journey, must have sprung those attributes of omnipresence and omniscience still ascribed to all deities.

To these ancient Egyptians there had been a time, long prior to the date of Menes, 5000 B.C., when their country was ruled by gods, when the great god Ra, the sun, reigned supreme, taking his daily round, visiting every part of his kingdom, his eye ever over the whole, and returning to his home at eventide, having settled during the day the disputes and differences of his people.

The religion, or it might be said the religions, of Egypt, since in a sense the plural more clearly indicates a system that allowed to each nome, each town and village, even to each family, its own particular gods—gods all powerful in their own provinces, demanding and receiving special cults, and granting their favours in accordance with the measure of scrupulosity kept in the observances of the rites due to them—this religion has for the student an interest it is difficult to overrate. Here he can see, unbiassed by the considerations that must weigh with him in the contemplation of his own belief, the gradual growth of ideas of ritual and ceremony, and here he can recognise the germ of many a conception attributed to later times and to later creeds.

It is indeed with theologies as with the various geological formations; each seems at first sight so different from its predecessors that we give it a different name and treat it as something entirely apart; yet on investigation we find abundant proof of its derivation from an older rock.

Perhaps one chief source of interest about the Egyptian religion is the fact that it is seen to spring from what may be termed a *natural* origin, using the term in the sense to distinguish it from those religions that are more generally looked upon as finding their source in some special and divine revelation. We are here speaking of the national religion, the religion to the solidifying force of which were due the power and the glory of the older Egyptian dynasties—a power and a glory that faded from the pages of its history, as this national religion dwindled and decayed.

It must, however, be remembered that before the Egyptians became the nation with whose history each year is making us more familiar, the inhabitants, un-united by the bonds of worship and of civilisation, were in the tribal state, living under conditions that bring them into line with the savage races of other countries. As Mr. Andrew Lang points out, "each of these tribes preserved its own peculiar religion," and he finds in the animal forms which, in the eyes of the Egyptian theologians, were symbols of the various attributes of the various deities, the remnants of the savage totemism and fetichism persisting side by side with the later and higher developments, just as he tells us, in the ancient cemetery of Thebes were found flint-headed arrows close to and contemporary with the

jewelled hairpins and trinkets of an Egyptian lady. Certainly this view has in its support the evidence of what has, and does, occur in and among savage tribes of to-day; and knowing, as we do, that the conditions of the primitive inhabitants of Egypt were those of savage races, it is difficult to make for them an exception in the process of mental development, an exception which becomes more difficult when it is remembered that the earliest representations of their national gods are in animal form.

On the other hand, M. de Rougé believed that, far back in its primitive age, the religion of Egypt was of a purely monotheistic character, a belief for which there appears to be little foundation; whilst M. le Page Renouf seems to occupy a half-way position, holding that polytheistic and monotheistic ideas existed side by side.

However this may be, it is certain that, from the earliest days of the nation, the ancient Egyptian drew his inspiration from the natural objects surrounding him; from his reading into these, the ideas of powers more than human, ruling the affairs of mortals and capable of being influenced by them.

For though the Egyptologist meets with what M. Maspero terms a "rabble of Gods"—every function and almost every minute in the life of man and of the universe having its special deity, ranging from the great Ra to some unofficial God or Spirit, animating, it might be, a palm-tree of unwonted height, or an animal of uncommon form—yet, as he assures us, all can be traced back to certain primordial gods and goddesses, deifications of the sky, the earth, the stars, the sun, and the Nile, revered as so many living thinking beings "whose lives were manifest in the life of the universe. They were worshipped from one end of the valley to the other, and the whole nation agreed in proclaiming their sovereign power." But here the unanimity ceased, different places giving them different attributes representing them in different forms, and worshipping them in different manners.

Wherever a marked difference was noted in the natural object, there we find it worshipped under a different name and form, but the root idea was in all cases the same; these forms were all incarnations of the natural object to which divine powers were attributed.

Thus, the Nile was incarnated as Osiris when its delta was concerned, Khnûmû where the cataract, and Harshafitu at Heracleopolis.

The primordial or original character of this religion was "clearly recognised by Champollion," and, as he pointed out, they formed what may be termed the feudal gods of the country, Egypt and Nubia being subdivided between them.

Professor Maspero unhesitatingly confirms this view. M. le

Page Renouf likewise holds that the tangled skein of the religion of Egypt, with its droves of gods at first sight so mingled and apparently inextricable, may yet be unravelled, and when thus unravelled they may all be traced back to the personification of a few natural forces, and that all or nearly all the mythology of Egypt is of solar origin. He says of the nome gods, "Every one of these gods represents a fixed and unalterable law;" that is, they were incarnations of "the phenomena of Nature which are conspicuously the result of fixed law, such as the rising and setting of the sun, moon, and stars."

There is, therefore, no escape from the conclusion that the Egyptian religion sprang from the interpretations of Nature; nor is it to be wondered at that in his endeavours to solve the mystery of life, the primitive inhabitant should see in the sun its source, in the Nile its sustenance, and should accord to these his worship and his adoration.

How great a part in the world's religion has been played by the marvelling of man at life and its sources, real and apparent, becomes more and more evident.

Yet, though its rise may be traced to the deification of natural objects and forces, though it must be regarded as a natural religion, it is seen to follow the usual lines of development of all religions; and as civilisation advances all the signs often looked upon as proofs of revelation are found—temples, priesthoods, sacrifices, rites innumerable, sacerdotal colleges, schools of theology, metaphysical disquisitions, a high moral code, all the outward and visible signs of a highly advanced cult, gradually growing up with a belief so practical and vivid that no system has since surpassed it, the religious spirit so deeply rooted that its manifestation formed the most important part of life.

Through it all, however, pierce these feudal or nome gods; all centres in them and, as we have seen, all may be reduced to them.

Referring to this reduction of the innumerable gods, M. le Page Renouf, in his *Hibbert Lectures*, says, "Such a process of reduction is actually suggested to us by documents of indisputable authority, which show that the same god is often known under different names. In the litanies of the god Ra, which are inscribed on the walls of the royal tombs at Biban-el-moluk, the god is invoked under seventy-five different names;" again, "the *Book of the Dead* has a chapter entirely consisting of the names of Osiris;" again, "the inscriptions of the Temple of Denderah give a long list of the names of the goddess Hathor; she is identified not only with Isis, but with Sechet at Memphis, Neith at Sais, Saosis at Heliopolis, Nehemaut at Hermopolis, Bast at Bubastis, Sothis at Elephantine, and many other goddesses. These authorities alone are sufficient

almost at a glance to convince us that not only are some inferior deities mere aspects of the greater gods, but that several at least of the greater gods themselves are but different aspects of one and the same."

These incarnations of Nature were at first worshipped alone, but reverence for the source of life, the advantages in early times of numerous families, the incompleteness of the life outside the family, were all very real to this people of the East; and making, as man has ever made, God in his own image, or it may be capable only of drawing near to the Divine ideal through his own characteristics, or such of them as seem most worthy of admiration, he felt that these gods dwelling alone were imperfect, incomplete, and, in due course, among the divine attributes figured that of the family.

With the addition of this attribute *entered the germ of the Trinity*. These deified families were the local triads which, dating from primitive times, became general throughout the country, usually taking the form of what may be looked upon as the perfect family—viz., the father and the mother, with the son to carry on the succession. Thus, at Memphis they were: Ptah the father, Neferatum the son, and Nerenptah the mother; at Abydos it is Osiris the father, Horus the son, and Isis the mother; at Elephantine it was Khnum the father, Hak the son, and Anuka the mother.

Speaking of these nome gods, Professor Maspero says, "They began their lives in solitary grandeur, apart from, and often hostile to, their neighbours; families were assigned to them later. Each appropriated two companions, and formed a trinity or triad."

At first these triads were of different kinds, but generally, as before mentioned, they consisted of father, mother, and son; indeed, where they were originally two goddesses and one god, they were, as a rule, converted into two triads, both taking the family type.

Starting with three separate beings so closely connected with each other, it was evident that in time their individualities would be merged, and this is precisely what we find occurred.

The principal personage in any triad was always the one who had been patron of the nome—*i.e.*, the nome god or goddess—prior to the introduction of the triad. The son in all these triads occupied the lowest place. "Generally," says Professor Maspero, "he was not considered as having office or marked individuality; his being was but a feeble reflection of his father's, and possessed neither life nor power except as derived from him. Two such contiguous personalities must needs have been confused, and, as a matter of fact, were so confused as to become at length nothing more than two aspects of the same god, who united in his own person degrees of relationship mutually exclusive of each other in the human family:

father, inasmuch as he was the first member of the triad; son, by virtue of being its third member; identical with himself in both capacities, he was at once his own father, his own son, and the husband of his mother." This quotation gives us the first step in the fusion of the persons of the triad.

Nor was the fusing of the father and the son the only combination that took place in these triads; for, as we learn in a later passage, not only did "the father and the son become one and the same personage wherever it was thought desirable. We also know that *one of the two parents always so far predominated as almost to efface the other*," so that it was not long before these parents were "defined as being two phases, the masculine and feminine aspects of a single being. On the one hand, the father was one with the son, and on the other he was one with the mother. Hence the mother was one with the son, as with the father, and the three gods of the triad were resolved into one god in THREE PERSONS."

This complete fusion was further solidified by the general acceptance of the doctrine of creation of the Heliopolitan theologians, known as the doctrine of the Heliopolitan Ennead.

This doctrine "recognised three principal events in the creation of the universe: the dualisation of the supreme god (Ra, the sun) and the breaking forth of life, the raising of the sky and the laying bare of the earth, the birth of the Nile and the allotment of the soil of Egypt—all expressed as the manifestations of successive deities."

Atûmû-Ra, the incarnation of the sun both before and after the creation, stood alone as the head and source of all things. To Shu, his son, was allotted the task of separating his own children, Sibû and Nuit, incarnations of the earth and the sky; their mother was Taf-Nuit, the twin sister of Shu, and, like him, the result of the spontaneous generation of their father, the supreme Atûmû-Ra. Taf-Nuit was really the fiction of the theologians, and was but "the pale reflex of her husband." On her and Shu devolved the duty of upholding the sky. M. le Page Renouf considers them to have been incarnations of the dawn and sunset—the earth and the sky, confounded in the darkness, being separated by the dawn.

The other descendants of Atûmû-Ra were Osiris and Sit, being incarnations of the Nile and of the arid sandy desert.

These four gods were united to goddesses, Taf-Nuit, Nuit, Isis, and Nephthys, thus bringing the number of beings to whom was due the creation and organisation of the universe up to NINE, known by "the collective name of the Ennead, the NINE GODS."

This doctrine soon gained universal acceptance, the various schools slightly varying it, to the glory of their particular local deity, by placing him at the head of the Ennead, as "god of the first time," creator of heaven and earth, sovereign ruler of men, and lord of all

action." Thus, though at Heliopolis Atûmû was the head, at Thihis and Sebennytos it was Anhuri, at Coptos and Panopolis it was Minu, whilst at Thebes, Amen reigned supreme.

Even where goddesses were the nome gods the same rôle was assigned to each.

At Hermopolis, Thot, a lunar deity, was at the head of the Ennead, but there was a marked advance in the conception of the manner of the creation which is worth noting. According to the Heliopolitan theologians, the source or cause of creation was muscular effort; the Hermopolitan theologians however, made the voice alone the source of being.

But the system of trinities or triads was, as we have seen, universal; each nome and town had its local triad forming the centre of its worship—as, for example, at Abydos, where Osiris, Isis, and Ilorus where its three persons. It became, therefore, necessary not only to place the one deity at the head of the Ennead, but to include the other members of the triad. Thus, the Theban Ennead consisted of the triad Amon, Maut, and Khonsu, who, it being necessary to keep to the number nine, were ranked as *one god only*, and counted but as one in the different Enneads of the different localities. *

Thus, though thousands of years have elapsed, we are now able to trace with no hesitating hand or uncertain result, the rise of the doctrine of the Trinity from its germ as the type of the ideal family, consisting of three separate members, to its later phases of the one God of three persons, the one God under three aspects.

As the different gods and goddesses of the triads were fused into one, forming a perfect trinity, so another kind of fusion went forward and side by side with the former. The different places associated the first, second, and third persons of their particular trinity with the corresponding persons of the Heliopolitan Ennead. Thus, as M. Maspero tells us, "we find that Horus, the son of Isis, at Buto; Arianhosnafir, the son of Nit, at Sais; Khnumû, the son of Hathor, at Esneh, were each in turn identified with Shu, the son of Atûmû (of the Heliopolitan Ennead) and lost their individualities in his."

It was, therefore, but a question of time to change the ideas of these many different gods into the higher conception of one supreme and sole God; and though the Egyptians never entirely reached this ideal, the germ, and even considerably more than the germ, is there—a germ which must have borne fruit long ere it did, had it not been of such vital importance to the different priesthoods to keep alive the supremacy of their special deities in their own localities.

It is easy to conceive how, amid the polytheistic worship of Egypt and Chaldea, amid these innumerable triads, specially selected by

special places, and believed to have special powers in those localities, there should arise the idea of degrees of power; that, in fact, certain gods had sway not only over the affairs of men, but over other gods, if not generally, at least in their own particular localities; if not on behalf of all men, at least on behalf of those who were their special adherents. In spite, therefore, of its national polytheism, each locality was fast tending to monotheism by the elevation of its triune god above all others. Thus it was at Thebes with the god Amen, who, as M. Maspero tells us, was at first "only a poor provincial god, less esteemed and less popular than his neighbours, Mentu of Hermonthis, or Minou of Coptos." His fame, however, increased, and "when the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty drove out the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings, and reigned over the world without a rival, Amen acquired the sovereignty over the gods of the other cities, Egyptian and foreign." Until the time of Ramses II., the date of whose reign is about 1400 B.C., Amen was supreme above all other gods.

It must, indeed, be prejudice only that can deny to the Egyptian the early evolution of the monotheistic ideal. The language on the point is unmistakable. Thus, in a hymn to Amen Ra we read: "Thou one, thou only one, whose arms are many; all men and all creatures adore thee, and praises come unto thee from the height of heaven, from earth's widest space, and from the deepest depth of the sea. Thou one, thou only one, who hast NO SECOND, whose names are manifold and innumerable."

The expression "Thou only one, who hast no second," as Mr. Budge points out in his Introduction to the *Book of the Dead*, is really only capable of the same interpretation as the later Hebrew ideal of the one God, beside whom there is no other.

If, then, the monotheistic idea was taking root in Egypt, in spite of its previous polytheism, in spite of its sacerdotal colleges and its schools of theology, it is evident that its fullest realisation was far easier for the Hebrews, who, leaving Egypt at a date after this thought of an all-powerful God had entered into the mind of that country, went forth into the desert not with a host of local triads and deities, but under the special protection of their tribal god.

No reader of the Old Testament can fail to be impressed by the gradual evolution of the idea of one supreme God from the earlier conception of a deity who watched only over a small portion of the human race. The god of the earlier books is a god of war, as far removed from the sublime ideal of the Father of all Mankind as from the later Hebrew conception of a god who loved mercy and justice better than sacrifice. He was a god of wrath, of indiscriminate slaughterings; a god who showed his power by cruelty, his favour by temporal blessings.

Nor was the polytheistic conception at first denounced as false. The existence of other gods seems not to have been denied, but the worshipping of these is forbidden on grounds of jealousy on the part of their tribal Jehovah, and under fear of temporal losses if this jealousy were aroused. Thus even in the Decalogue it is no denial of other gods that we find, but almost an affirmation of their existence in the words, "Thou shalt have none other gods BEFORE Me," and the opening words distinctly show the *tribal* nature of the Deity, "I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt," &c.

But if no other gods were to rank before Jehovah if he were supreme, the idea of other deities became superfluous, and in time we find the language becoming more affirmative on the point.

But apart from the ideas of polytheism, the Old Testament abounds with indications of the extent to which the Hebrews drew their religion not from any special revelation, but from the religions of the countries through which they had passed. Thus the whole of their cosmogony, and their early legendary history, were transplanted almost bodily from the polytheistic legends of Chaldea, and but imperfectly revised at a comparatively late post-exilic date, from a monotheistic point of view, by their Hebrew editors, leaving in their carelessness those plurals and other details which theologians have been apt to twist into arguments for the Christian Trinity. The wrath and severity of their Jehovah is more easily understood when we recollect that the gods of Chaldea were of a far more implacable nature, and more hostile to man than those of Egypt.

So, also, we see the prototype of the Ark of the Covenant in the arks of the Egyptian gods; of much of their ritual in those of the priests of Amen and of the Chaldean gods. The provisions for the priests and their families, the insistence on the most scrupulous cleanliness, on the fitness of the animal to be sacrificed, and many other similarities, all pointing to the evolution of the Hebrew religion from its predecessors.

The Egyptian moral code was undeniably far in advance of that of the Hebrews as it is depicted in the earlier portions of the Old Testament. Speaking of the moral code of the Egyptians, M. le Page Renouf says, "We cannot resist the conviction that the recognised Egyptian code of morality was a very noble and refined one." "None of the Christian virtues," M. Chabas says, "is forgotten in it; piety, charity, gentleness, self-command in word and action, chastity, the protection of the weak, benevolence towards the humble, deference to superiors, respect for property in its minutest details—all is expressed there, and in extremely good language." In confirmation of this, I will add that the translators of the Bible and of the early Christian literature, who were so often compelled to

retain Greek words for which they could discover no Egyptian equivalent, found the native vocabulary amply sufficient for the expression of the most delicate notions of Christian ethics."

But whilst the Hebrews were working out for themselves their ideal of the one God, the idea of many gods of trinities and triads was persisting in other countries and amid other peoples.

In Chaldea, where, as in Egypt, the religion centred in the forces of Nature, the theologians of Uruk had conceived a double triad, the first being the triad of the great gods Anu, Bel, and Ea, the Heaven, the Earth, and the Waters; whilst the secondary triad was composed of Sin, Shamash, and Ramman, who were the children of the members of the first triad, and represented respectively the Moon, the Sun, and the Atmosphere. Originally, Ramman, or the Rimmon of the Bible, was not one of them, his place being taken by the goddess Ishtar. These two triads of Chaldea were not based on the family type as in Egypt, nor were the triads numerous and general as in that country. To each of these six gods was allotted a wife, but the triads were male; they were pure triads, not trinities. Professor Sayce says on this point, in his *Hilbert Lectures* (p. 193), "The only genuine tinity that can be discovered in the religious faith of early Chaldea was that old Acadian system which conceived of a divine father and mother by the side of their son, the sun-god."

This is a fact which corroborates the rise of the trinitarian idea from the type of the ideal human family.

There seems no possible room for doubting the great influence that Egypt exerted not only on the Hebrews, but on the Greeks and partly through them, and partly in a more direct way by its action through the converts to Christianity on our own creed. Professor Max Müller says, "That Egypt influenced not only Palestine from the days of Moses, but likewise Babylon and Nineveh, as in later times, Greece, can no longer be doubted. With every year new rays of light from the land of the pyramids help us to see how much in our most familiar thoughts comes from Egypt."

This is admitted on all hands in a greater or less degree. M. le Page Renouf, who seems to tend to minimise this influence, says, "No one will deny that Isis and Amon were Egyptian divinities, and that they were worshipped by Greeks of the later period. But when the Greeks adopted foreign gods they Hellenised them."

Side by side with the Egyptian trinities of gods there was amongst their priests, in later times, a growth of metaphysical speculation and mysticism, which, taking the idea of the Trinity from their triads, soon caused them to apply it to all matters, and so they held that all that possessed perfection must be of three parts,

dividing, for example, the Being of Man into Animal, Intellectual, and Spiritual.

Plato, who was strongly imbued with Egyptian ideas, virtually adopted this metaphysical trinity with its consequences, and to him was due its acclimatisation, under a slightly modified form, in the realm of Greek thought and philosophy. Applying it to the Divine nature, he considered this as existing in the three manifestations of—the First Cause, the Reason or Logos, and the Spirit or Soul of the Universe.

When Christianity, some hundreds of years after, began to take root in these different countries, it was a combination of the Egyptian trinity of gods and the Græco-Egyptian metaphysical trinity that it adopted, reading into these something of its own ideas, and, as was to be expected from so mixed an origin, rendering it as time went on less and less intelligible, until its very incomprehensibility has been cited as a proof of its truth. Thus, Mr. Balfour, in his recent work (which might have been more aptly entitled, “A Guide to Universal Agnosticism,” since its main object seems to be to prove that the foundations of belief are laid in those loosest of shifting sands, the products of introspection), speaking of the Councils of the Church and their controversies on the Trinity, says, “The decisions at which the Church arrived on the doctrine of the Trinity were not in the nature of explanations; they were, in fact, precisely the reverse. They were the negations of explanations. The various heresies which they combated were, broadly speaking, all endeavours to bring the mystery into harmony with contemporary speculations. The Church held that all such explanations, or partial explanations, inflicted irremediable impoverishment on the idea of the Godhead. They insisted on preserving the idea in ALL ITS INEXPLICABLE FULNESS.”

So the doctrine has lingered on, each reading mentally into it the ideas that seem to him most compatible, and the mass of those professing it never dreaming of its true origin.

Just as the Egyptian trinities were, in part, the outcome of the ponderings of the Egyptian priests of Heliopolis, just as the Chaldean triads were due to the theologians of Uruk, so the re-introduction of the idea in a Christian dress was due to the endeavour of the Christian theologians to build upon the various floating fancies of their followers, and crystallise them into dogmas.

So soon as the pagan idea of His Divinity had been mooted as an explanation of the beauty of the life and the intense personality of Jesus; so soon as He had been ranked with the Gods—a natural and a fitting tribute in those days, a tribute paid to many of the heroes of all countries, that has its counterpart in most religions—so soon was the door thrown open for the re-introduction of that other pagan

conception of the Trinity that had flourished and still lived in the religion of the Egyptians.

The Christian Trinity, the naturally evolved product of its predecessors, as might have been expected, is really an embodiment not only of the mystic forms of Platonic philosophy and Egyptian metaphysics, but of the more physical side of the conception, the old god-family. Jesus, the Son, speedily became identified with the second manifestation, the Logos; the Holy Ghost united in its person the third degree of manifestation, the Soul or Spirit of the Universe, and the Spouse of the Family Trinity; whilst God the Father was already the First Cause.

Apart from the great influence of Greek ideas, the change of the Third Person in the Trinity from the mother to the Holy Ghost carries its cause on its face. The parentage of Jesus on the maternal side was a matter of incontrovertible knowledge. It was, therefore, impossible to adopt the idea of the Trinity in its primitive material form.

Yet in the other religions of the world, what may be regarded as the feminine aspect of things held a place, and the feminine in the universe is most frequently denoted by the symbol of the dove. This symbol with its meaning was therefore attached to the Third Person of the Christian Trinity, and we find the Holy Ghost descending at the baptism of Jesus in the form of a dove, a description of immense significance, and one that cannot be disposed of as a mere coincidence.

Referring to this symbol, a symbol which clearly indicates the process of metamorphosis which gradually, and probably unconsciously, took place in the Christianising of the idea of the Trinity, M. Schuré says, “*Du temps des apôtres et dans les premiers siècles du Christianisme les initiés chrétiens révéraient le principe féminin de la nature visible et invisible, sous le nom du Saint Esprit, représenté par une colombe, signe de la puissance féminine dans tous les temples d’Asie et d’Europe. Si depuis l’église a caché et perdu la clef de ses mystères, leur sens est encore écrite dans ses symboles.*”

Nor is this similarity in the symbolic representation of the Third Person of the Christian Trinity, to which M. Schuré thus draws attention, forcible as it is, the only indication of the change effected by the Christian theologians; the very lack of definiteness, the vagueness, and, one may say, the neglect, that has always been the lot of the Third Person, all recall the relative position of the female person of many of the Egyptian trinities and the wives of the gods of other religions. These latter were often but the creation of the theologians to supply a consort, and their artificial origin is shown in their names, and in their frequent failure to obtain the

popular adherence and enthusiasm. Thus, M. Maspero points out how Taf-Nuit, the wife of the god Shu, was the creation of the Heliopolitan theologians, and that she was but the pale reflex of her husband; so, too, Professor Sayce tells us of the artificial character of the wives allotted to each of the six gods forming the two triads of the Chaldean religion. So also was it in numerous other instances, and so, it must be admitted, it is in the case of the Third Person of the Christian Trinity, who can only be considered as the "pale reflex" of God the Father, and who though taking place in the Trinity, yet like the female person of so many Egyptian trinities never attained to any marked degree of what may be termed vitality, never gained the popular adherence either of the early Christians or of the present day.

The Holy Ghost is really an imperfectly metamorphosed goddess. Bearing this female aspect of the Third Person of the Trinity in mind, it throws a new light upon the original meaning of the Creeds, in all of which we find the Holy Ghost closely connected and coupled with the Virgin Mary on the feminine side of the parentage of Jesus.

Thus, if we take the words of the old Roman Creed, which Harnack looks upon as the source of our present Apostles' Creed, we find the act of begetting reserved to God the Father, whilst the act of birth is, as it were, shared between the Third Person and the Virgin Mary, the words being, "I believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ, his only BEGOTTEN SON, our Lord, who was BORN of the HOLY GHOST and the Virgin Mary." This creed took its rise about the middle of the second century. Again, in the Apostles' Creed we read a still more forcible expression—viz., "*Conceived by the Holy Ghost*," accentuating the femininity of the Third Person, who is again coupled with the Virgin Mary in the Nicene Creed, where the fatherhood of God the Father is as distinctly insisted on as in the other beliefs.

That the reintroduction and full fusion of the persons of the Christian Trinity was not the work of the earlier Christian ages alone is clear from a simple perusal of the Creeds in the order of their composition. Thus, in the Apostles' Creed we read a less defined statement of the merging and equality of the Trinity than in the Nicene Creed; whilst it reaches its fullest development in that popularly attributed to the hand of St. Athanasius.

Yet, as we listen to this last, it is no longer possible to doubt that, in the ancient conception of the perfect family, the Father, the Mother, and the Son to carry on the succession, coupled with the metaphysical ideas that were its mental progeny, is the source of our doctrine of the Trinity, sprung not from any Divine revelation, but from the natural ideal of a natural man.

The more we ponder on these things, the clearer becomes the

truth that is daily being brought home to the world with increasing force as our knowledge of other and older religions than our own grows more complete, that religion is a growth as gradual as any other, and that, whatever may be its first cause, special revelations are as untenable as are special creations.

CLARENCE WATERER.

NOTE.—In the foregoing article, I have quoted in the main from the translation of M. Maspero's *Les Origines*, recently published under the title of *The Dawn of Civilisation — Egypt and Chaldea* by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, first because there is no greater authority on matters Egyptological than M. Maspero, and secondly because, having been introduced in its English dress under the wing of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, the work cannot be suspected of having any unnecessarily heterodox bias. I am also indebted to the works of the other writers named in the article, and to Mr. Laing's *Human Origins*.

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

[Under the above title a limited portion of THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW is occasionally set apart for the reception of able Articles, which, though harmonising with the general spirit and aims of the Review, may contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object of the Editors in introducing this department is to facilitate the expression of opinion by writers of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editors and from each other.]

THE PROSPECTS OF HOME RULE.

THE General Election is at last over. For this century at any rate the prospects of Home Rule for Ireland are apparently *nil*. The question we have now to address ourselves to, is what chance there is of getting a modified measure from the Tories. If we were to take their leaders at their word—if, in fact, we were to ignore their history—we would say there was no chance; but because we believe in the adage which says that “History repeats itself” we are not despondent. Already the *Times* suggests the establishment of a central body in Ireland to deal with private Bills, and the extension of local government on a generous scale to the country. These proposals constitute in themselves a modified scheme of Home Rule; and as England is the land of compromise, we should not feel at all surprised if Ireland had conceded to it a modified scheme which need not necessarily be a final settlement. By this time we are accustomed to the Tories’ attitude on all questions of reform. A determined stand as long as possible, and then an endeavour to reap where they have not sown by carrying the reform, rather mutilated perhaps, but still a concession to the progressive spirit. Few people would, we dare say, assert that Home Rule was mainly responsible for the crushing Liberal defeat at the General Election. In our opinion, the cry raised about robbing the poor man of his beer was mainly responsible for that disaster. Whatever may be the opinion in this country as to Home Rule, there is no doubt that the sister isle has again declared emphatically that she wants local self-government. With a steadily diminishing population, she has captured two seats in “Loyal Ulster” that had fallen into the hands of the enemy. In the greater number of the constituencies in that province Nationalist majorities have increased, and Tory majorities

decreased, a very significant fact indeed. Mr. T. W. Russell must congratulate himself on being returned by a diminished majority, which would very likely have vanished but for the miserable squabble in the ranks of the Nationalist party. What Lord Salisbury has to face now is the government of a people by methods which the vast majority of them protest against. True he can reduce Irish representation, but will he at the same time abolish the representation of Dublin University? We rather think not. Till the present generation Ireland has never been proportionately represented. Its representation in 1801 and 1848 was entirely disproportionate to its population, yet now, when misgovernment has reduced the population to the level of a hundred years ago, the number of members of Parliament guaranteed it by the Act of Union is to be seriously diminished, and those who profess such a horror of repeal wish to recede from the engagements entered into in 1800.

We think that even Lord Salisbury will tire of his resolute government long before the twenty years have expired, for surely he must be aware that eight centuries of very resolute government has not destroyed the nationality of the country. Ireland stands where it did in solemn protest against English misgovernment, and even a perpetual Coercion Act will not make its people recede or abate an iota in their demands. The methods of government which have found favour in several of our barbarous dependencies are not suited to a brave and high-spirited people. Lord Salisbury has now an opportunity, if he can only overcome his prejudices, to make himself a place in the foreground of English soldiers and statesmen. On the one hand, he must not be cowed by the intolerant Orangemen, who because they are themselves bigoted imagine that others are like them, thus bearing out what the poet says:

" All seems infected to the infected eye.
As all seems yellow that the jaundiced spy."

Nor, on the other hand, must he be afraid, because there are extremists in Ireland, that the Irish people will commit themselves to a policy of passion and despair unless forced to do so by continued misgovernment. Those of us who are Nationalists without being Separatists, Catholics without being bigots, and Imperialists without being Jingoists, earnestly hope that Lord Salisbury will see this great question clearly, and will act rightfully, and enable his fellow subjects to be sharers in an empire they would die to defend, if only their just claims were conceded.

We cannot finish this article without some plain speaking on the dissensions in the ranks of both wings of the Irish Home Rule party. We are very sorry to have to say that ever since the day that Mr. Parnell refused to bow to the decision of the Irish nation, Nationalist

politicians, scarcely without exception, have subordinated the interests of their country to their own private ends. At present we cannot detect any healthy symptoms in Irish political life, though we fain would. When Messrs. Redmond, Healy, O'Brien, Dillon, and other leading men become politically honest in their endeavours to serve their country, or when a long-suffering people sends them into retirement, then again the star of Ireland's future will be in the ascendant.

IRISHMAN.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

SCIENCE.

ONE of the most remarkable facts in geology is the occurrence in Arctic regions of fossil remains, which prove that at one time a sub-tropical heat prevailed in localities where the mean temperature is now below zero Fahrenheit. In our own climate and even much nearer the equator we find the records of extensive glacial action and other evidence that an Arctic climate existed for countless ages. Many theories have been propounded to explain these oscillations of temperature, and we now have before us an important contribution to the subject by Mr. E. Dubois.¹ The author considers that a fall of temperature of only a few degrees would suffice to bring about glaciation in what are now temperate climates; but that during pretertiary times a very much higher temperature than we now have prevailed. The favourite theory of a change in the position of the earth's axis is rejected by Mr. Dubois, who maintains that the palæontological evidence proves that the changes were universal and not partial. In fact, this evidence is considered sufficient to warrant the conclusion that the sun himself has passed through cycles during which the emission of heat has varied considerably. Apart from the gradual cooling in accordance with the Kant-Laplace theory Mr. Dubois holds that there have been periods during which the sun has emitted less heat than at present; while, on the other hand, palæontology proves that during certain periods the average temperature rose even higher than in more recent times. There appears to be certain biological evidence that the light issuing from the sun during the warm periods was richer in blue and violet rays than now; the sun was then a white star, while it has since cooled down to the yellow stage. That cycles of this kind can occur in the sun is proved by the existence of the eleven-year sun-spot periods; but we cannot accept the theory that these cycles are caused by the formation of chemical combinations. Mr. Dubois has much to say on the future duration of solar heat; and in common with most theorists, assumes a constant radiation of energy from the sun in the form of heat without any of that energy returning to its

¹ *The Climates of the Geological Past and their Relation to the Evolution of the Sun.* By E. Dubois. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1895.

source. It is more than probable that this assumption is erroneous for our whole theory of the conservation of energy indicates that part at least of that emanating from the sun should return to its source in one form or another. Our knowledge of interstellar space is still so scanty that we are unable at present to explain how this energy is returned: but recent discoveries in electricity may throw some light upon this important point.

Much has been written by evolutionists upon the skin-spotting of animals and many theories have been propounded to explain the origin of the peculiar marks displayed by some mammals. We have now a new explanation by Dr. Bonavia,¹ who considers that the spots on leopards, giraffes, horses and most other animals are derived from the bone-plates of glyptodontoid ancestors. There is certainly much resemblance between the shape of the spots on many kinds of animals and the plate-rosettes of the glyptodon; but may not this resemblance be due to a common cause without the one being derived from the other? The fundamental shape of the glyptodon plates is a hexagon, sometimes of great regularity, and this is precisely the shape which would result from the expansion and mutual deformation of a number of circular spots until their boundary lines touched throughout. It has resulted from the fusion of circles in a great variety of the most dissimilar cases, for instance the comb of the honey-bee, the eyes of various insects and the cells of many plants. The polygonal plates of the glyptodon may themselves have originated from the gradual expansion of bony knobs or scales, which were, in the first instance, probably round. To explain the shape of the rosettes of the leopard and jaguar we need seek no farther than their near relative, the hunting-leopard or cheetah. The spots on this latter animal are round and it would require but a slight growth of these to evolve from them the pattern of the leopard and many other cats. So long as any of the ground colour remains the spots are separated by a network; but complete fusion of the rosettes may occur and, as a matter of fact, black jaguars and leopards are known. We cannot therefore share Dr. Bonavia's opinion that the bony-carapaced glyptodons have been the fathers and mothers of *all* hairy mammals. There is no doubt that numerous hairy mammals existed before the glyptodons appeared and we have found remains of a fossil horse at a lower geological level than any glyptodon. Dr. Bonavia has a peculiar theory to account for the loss of the calcareous armour in mammals. Their skin is supposed to have become "rachitic" owing to a "lime famine" caused by the withdrawal of large quantities of carbonate of lime to form chalk and other limestone rocks. We are not informed why the endoskeleton did not become rachitic at the same time or how it happened

¹ *Studies in the Evolution of Animals*. By E. Bonavia, M.D. London: A Constable & Co. 1895.

that such animals as the mammoth and elephant have since found no difficulty in secreting the large quantities of the comparatively scarce phosphate of lime required for their skeletons. As a matter of fact the formation containing the remains of the glyptodons is rich in carbonate of lime, and we have found remains of glyptodon claripes so imbedded in argillaceous limestone that they could not be extracted. The deposits of limestone and chalk, far from being withdrawn, are in fact, readily available sources of that material which suffice for the building up of coral reefs more than a thousand miles in length and for the covering of the ocean bed with calcareous ooze over an area to be measured by thousands of square miles. While the river Plate alone carries daily to the sea more carbonate of lime than would suffice for a generation of glyptodons we must look upon the "lime famine" as a myth. Dr. Bonavia thinks he has detected an illustration of the transition from the armoured into the unarmoured state in the chlamyphorus only the back and tail of which are armoured. This may, however, really be a case of the partial acquisition of armour rather than the reverse. In a treeless region where hailstorms are severe and cause considerable mortality among small animals the possession of armour on the back would be a distinct advantage. The local name by which the chlamyphorus is known in Mendoza is not "pichiciago," but "bicho ciego," meaning a little blind animal. It lives underground and is nocturnal in its habits. Dr. Bonavia has collected a very large number of interesting facts bearing on evolution; but we do not quite agree with the use which is sometimes made of them. For instance, we are told that "in the embryo of the Pangolin the scales are nothing but matted hairs, and the intervening spaces are also covered with hairs, so that the substitute for bone and horn armour in mammals, seems to be hair or wool." Most evolutionists would draw from this fact the reverse conclusions, namely, that hair was the ancestral skin covering and that horny scales have been developed from it by matting or felting together. Space will not permit us to refer to the interesting chapters on "monstrosities," and the "callosities on the legs of the Equidæ." Although Dr. Bonavia remarks that "one cannot be expected to tackle the whole of creation at once," yet he seems to have "tackled" a fairly good slice of it.

Lovers of birds and bird life will greet with pleasure Mr. F. W. Headley's work on *The Structure and Life of Birds*.¹ Without too abundant a use of scientific terms the structure of birds is fully explained, and many interesting points of resemblance to reptiles are described and illustrated. Not the least interesting of these is the pineal gland which, there is every reason to believe, is the rem-

¹ *The Structure and Life of Birds*. By F. W. Headley. London: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

nant of a third eye. In reptiles the lens, retina, and nerves of this remarkable organ have been identified, and in some species there is even an aperture in the skull opposite to the gland; but in every case it is now functionless, at least so far as our knowledge of the subject goes. Mr. Headley appears to have devoted special attention to the flight of birds, and the chapter on that subject will do much towards dispelling many of the errors which have so long blocked the way towards the realisation of aerial navigation. Although the subject of the migration of birds is very fully discussed, the reason of this mysterious habit has yet to be found. Most observers agree that birds migrate in the night and at very high altitudes. Perhaps, in the higher regions of the atmosphere, favourable winds prevail at the periods of migration; in any case storms must be much less frequent there than upon the surface of the earth. Upon the colour and life of birds, their song, instinct, and reason, Mr. Headley discourses pleasantly, conveying much interesting information with a minimum of technical language.

The rapid and frequent intercourse which now takes place between most countries has so altered the distribution of animals and plants that it is even now in many cases difficult to decide which are indigenous, and which have been introduced through human agency. Many indefatigable workers have thrown much light upon the distribution of various groups, and we now have a small *Text-book of Zoogeography*,¹ in which the main facts have been plainly yet accurately stated. Some of the maps illustrating the geographical distribution of various groups are very striking. The edentata, for instance, appear to have been limited entirely to the southern hemisphere, while the occurrence of rhea in South America only, and of struthio in Africa, shows clearly how local the development of certain forms must have been. With an increase in our palaeontological knowledge many of the areas will no doubt be widened; but so many of the species are being exterminated by the progress of civilisation that it is of the utmost importance to science that the present distribution should be accurately recorded. Many species have already become extinct in the British Isles; some of them, such as the bear and wolf, are not perhaps much regretted; but the great auk, or the large copper butterfly, might well have been preserved, had it not been for the excessive zeal of collectors. No true naturalist should buy the eggs of a rare British bird. If there were no remunerative demand for their eggs many species that are now on the verge of extinction might again increase in numbers.

Another useful little text-book from the Cambridge University

¹ *A Text-book of Zoogeography*. By F. E. Beddard. Cambridge: University Press. 1895.

Press is Mr. Harker's *Petrology*.¹ The optical characters of rocks are well described and illustrated, especially by means of enlarged rock sections. We should have liked, however, to see a little more detail with regard to the chemical tests. In some cases these are of great use for the rapid identification of rocks while rock sections are slow and difficult of production. Even when made, the optical examination of such sections is not always sufficient for the identification of the rock and then chemical methods must be resorted to. Some description of the separation of the constituent minerals by means of their specific gravity, which has given such excellent results in the hands of German petrologists, might have been expected in a work on petrology.

The student of Greek classics is frequently at a loss to understand the names of birds and beasts alluded to by ancient writers and it is often a work of much difficulty to identify the various mammals, and especially birds, upon which the meanings of particular sentences depend. Mr. D'A. W. Thompson² approaches this difficult subject from a new point of view, with special reference to ornithology. The theory upon which many of his interpretations are based is that some at least of what appear to us as mystical fables were in reality allusions to the succession of one constellation to another. For instance, the statement that the eagle is hostile to the swan is an astronomic symbolism indicating that the constellation Aquila rises in the East immediately after Cygnus, which it apparently pursues. To those familiar with the extensive use of symbolism by the alchemists until a comparatively recent date, there will be nothing improbable in such a theory. Do we not even now see in the shop-windows of some chemists certain conspicuous bottles bearing the signs of the planets? These are nothing but the astronomic symbols of the metals which those bottles are supposed to contain in solution. Mr. Thompson's work, containing, as it does, very numerous references to ancient writers, will be found indispensable to all students of the classics.

Mycologists will welcome the fourth volume of Mr. G. Massee's *British Fungus-Flora*.³ About 120 genera are described, and many of them illustrated. The descriptions are concise, and although the illustrations are small they suffice in most cases for the identification of the species.

The ordinary inhabitant of the British Isles knows, as a rule, but little of the colonies which form so important a part of our empire. Australia, especially, with its enormous area of three million square miles is practically a *terra incognita* to most Englishmen. A very

¹ *Petrology for Students*. By A. Harker. Cambridge University Press. 1895.

² *A Glossary of Greek Birds*. By D'A. W. Thompson. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1895.

³ *British Fungus-Flora*. By G. Massee. Vol. IV. London: G. Bell & Sons. 1895.

good idea of the general features of that continent may be obtained by reading Mr. C. H. Barton's *Outlines of Australian Physiography*.¹ Originally based upon a series of six lectures delivered at Maryborough, Queensland, the present work is now made accessible to the general public, who will find in it much interesting information condensed within a moderate space. Not only in its fauna and flora but also in its geology Australia possesses many unique features. About one-half the area of the continent is occupied by sandstone which appears to belong to three distinct epochs. The "desert sandstone" which is peculiar to Australia is now said to belong to the mesozoic group, although previous observers considered it to be of more recent date. The subterranean rivers and remarkable mound springs are distinctive features of the Australian continent, the former being of great utility to the agriculturist who has learned to tap them by means of artesian wells. The water supply is, indeed, of paramount importance in most districts of Australia. The average rainfall may be taken as fifteen inches; but we can hardly agree with Mr. Barton's estimate that two-thirds of this goes underground. We think one-half would be a maximum estimate. Of the gigantic extinct marsupial monsters, including a kangaroo with a skull three feet in length, the elephantine diprotodon, and the nototherium, which equalled the rhinoceros in size, enough information is given to make the reader wish for more. No less than one hundred and ten different species of marsupials still exist, perhaps the most singular of these is the minute *tarsipes rostratus* which lives, like humming-birds and butterflies, upon the nectar of flowers which it extracts by means of its long, hairy tongue. Although the Australian aboriginal can, no doubt, lay claim to great antiquity, yet we must dissent from the opinion that we have in him an exemplar of pre-historic man as he existed contemporaneously with the reindeer and mammoth. The very presence of these animals indicates the prevalence of a climate so very different from that which appears to have prevailed in Australia from very remote times that there is little probability that the same type of man should have been developed. The enormous shell-mounds, sometimes attaining a height of twenty and a width of two hundred feet, show that man must have inhabited certain spots for many centuries, while the footprints of men, women, and children in the sandstone quarries of Warrnambool, at a depth of sixty feet below the post-tertiary limestone indicate an antiquity even greater than most of the palæolithic remains of Europe. Mr. Barton is an enthusiastic champion of the Australian aborigines, and finds in them many excellent qualities which appear to have escaped most other observers. We think few of the missionaries who have dwelt among them will agree that: "Intellectually the

¹ *Outlines of Australian Physiography*. By C. H. Barton. Maryborough, Queensland. Alston & Co. 1895.

Australians are in no wise inferior to the rest of mankind. The battle with nature has sharpened their wits through their senses, and the three Rs., fraught with such sorrow to the children of Europeans, are to the aboriginal infant, literally child's play." Even the origin of cannibalism is said to be a sign of affection for the dead ; but so intellectual a race ought surely to be capable of devising a better method of showing their regard than killing a man in order to demonstrate their love by eating him afterwards. The absence of an index detracts much from the value of the book as a work of reference.

PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

Der Geist der Neueren Philosophie,¹ by Robert Schellwien, is an able attempt to revive the metaphysics of Descartes and Spinoza. Notwithstanding the almost universal abandonment of the subjective method, which has been so successfully superseded by a scientific process of the investigation of all phenomena, Mr. Schellwien has not lost confidence in it, and boldly asserts that whoever would understand the spirit of the time must seek it in his own mind. Introspection, unchecked by wide and rigidly tested observation, is certain to be misleading, for we can spin out of our inner consciousness any theory we will. Mr. Schellwien's exposition of the leading ideas of Spinoza's philosophy, however, may have more than an historic interest, as they have had a powerful influence on the subsequent development of thought, and are still probably a factor, sometimes unregarded, in theology, if not in philosophy. Readers with a taste for metaphysics will find this work suggestive.

Mr. Noel Winter, the author of *Pan-Gnosticism*,² is at least a bold man. He undertakes to set up a new theory of knowledge, to dispose of Gnosticism and Agnosticism and some other theories in a small book of less than two hundred pages, many of which are blank and others nearly so. Part V., for instance, occupies six pages, of which three and three-quarters are vacant. Pan-Gnosticism appears to be the theory that all that is to be known can be known, and the remainder, if there is any remainder, is outside consideration. Once obtain a generalisation broad enough to embrace everything, and curiosity is satisfied. This generalisation, found by our author, he

¹ *Der Geist der Neueren Philosophie*. Von Robert Schellwien. Erster Theil. Leipzig: Alfred Janssen. 1895.

² *Pan-Gnosticism*. A Suggestion in Philosophy. By Noel Winter. London and New York: The Transatlantic Publishing Company.

calls "VOLUTION," by which we are to understand the evolution and dissolution of things in general, or "phenomena-at-large." That we have not exaggerated the aim of Mr. Winter may be gathered from the following sentences :

"It seems, in a word, unquestionable that the complete business of Philosophy is to co-ordinate the whole field of Thought, and to present, in this co-ordination, a definite formula having a beginning and an ending capable of conveying to the mind perfect satisfaction and repose. But this, Philosophy has never heretofore been made to do ; and this it is herein proposed to make Philosophy (though in a crude manner) for the first time accomplish." The crudeness we can vouch for.

Mr. R. N. Cust, a voluminous writer and accomplished linguist, Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, and ex-member of the Indian Civil Service, has used his learning and experience to good effect in a valuable essay on the common features of all forms of religion.¹ Considering the wide field to be surveyed and the limited space of this volume, the author has accomplished more than might have been expected, and the result is not altogether flattering to the pride of man. It appears from this review that the features which are common to all religions are in general those which we usually describe as superstitious, and all religions appear to be associated with ideas and practices which do not say much for the intelligence of the human race. Mr. Cust has not altogether overlooked the good that is to be found also in every religion, but, whether intentionally or not, the darker side occupies by far the larger space in this volume. As the writer draws a good deal upon a wide and varied personal experience and observation the essay is more than usually interesting, for compilations of the kind are usually made up from books. The essay is written in a liberal and generous spirit, and is prefaced by verses of a religious tone, and a striking "Exordium," in which we have, we presume, an idealised sketch of the author himself. The temper of the venerable essayist may be inferred from one sentence—"There he sat, like a statue of Armed Science, waiting for More Light : no scolding, no blasphemous word had ever passed his lips : he had thought kindly, even pityingly, of all, deeming them to be blind, or to be walking with intentionally closed eyes."

Mr. Boscawen, following somewhat upon the lines of Professor Sayce, has compiled a handy volume² upon the discoveries made in Assyria and Babylonia, and gathers together in a convenient form

¹ *Essay on the Common Features which appear in all Forms of Religious Belief.* By Robert Needham Cust, LL.D. London : Luzac & Co. 1895.

² *The Bible and the Monuments.* By W. St. Chad Boscawen. London, &c. . Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1895.

information that is not altogether new, but much of which is elsewhere scattered through various volumes. That the discoveries of monuments and tablets in the ancient cities of the East is valuable to students of the Bible everybody knows, and, in some measure, they have given confirmation to statements by Jewish historians, the accuracy of which was more or less doubted. But Mr. Boscawen admits that something more than the question of historical accuracy has to be settled by monumental evidence. "The discovery and decipherment of the buried literature of Assyria and Babylonia," he says, "have produced material which can be used also in the more difficult and delicate field of Biblical tradition, especially as to the *faithfulness* of these traditions, upon which the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion are based."

It is for this reason, we suppose, that Mr. Boscawen has given prominence to the legends which more or less correspond with those in the early chapters of Genesis, the Creation, the Serpent, and the Fall, the Beginning of Civilisation, and the Deluge. We fail to see, however, in what way these corresponding legends demonstrate the *faithfulness*, by which we presume is meant the truthfulness, of the Hebrew tradition.

If two or three related peoples are found to be in possession of similar legends it may prove that one derived them from another, or that they all derived them from some common source; it certainly does not prove the *faithfulness* of the tradition. We should require much more than this to induce us to believe in the Biblical stories of the Serpent and the Fall, and Noah and the Deluge. To our mind the effect is all the other way. The monuments having clearly disproved the originality and uniqueness of the Bible stories have also destroyed their special importance; and we can only regret that Mr. Boscawen has fallen into the vulgar error of assuming that the most fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion are based upon these untrustworthy legends.

Apart from this, we can have nothing but praise for the book, which, in a brief compass, will give the ordinary reader a fair idea of the importance of the discoveries described. There are inserted in the volume twenty well-executed reproductions of photographs, which add both to its interest and value.

A Russian Catholic sends us a pamphlet entitled *Il Dissidio Fra Il Genio Religioso Latino e Quello Slavo* (Roma: E. Perino), in which the writer very ingeniously shows that the differences between the Roman and the Greek churches spring from racial differences, and that if this were properly recognised a reunion of these churches on a natural basis might be brought about, while each might retain the features adapted to the genius of the people. The writer believes that the day will come when the religious genius of the Latins and the

Slavs will be united, without being confounded, in a beneficial and precious harmony, and that the liberal policy of His Holiness Leo XIII. is tending to that end.

*John Knox as Church Reformer*¹ was the theme chosen by Mr. P. J. Kromsight for the essay for the Doctorate of Theology conferred upon him by the University of Utrecht; and forms a substantial volume of from three to four hundred pages. Mr. Kromsight has evidently made a laborious study of the writings of the great reformer as well as of his times, and describes him and his work with unqualified admiration and sympathy. The writer is a disciple of Froude, and regards John Knox as the one man without whom Scotland, as the modern world has known it, would have had no existence. Mr. Kromsight evidently understands the great Presbyterian better than most Englishmen do.

The Dominion of Christ is the title of a series of discourses by the Rev. W. Pierce on "The claims of Foreign Missions in the light of modern religious thought and a century of experience." They are published as a contribution to the Centenary Celebrations of the London Missionary Society. Missionary institutions are upon their trial, and we doubt if they could find a better advocate than Mr. Pierce. He is not only eloquent, but his argument is always lofty in tone, if not convincing. His pictures of missionary labours strike us as being highly idealised; but when so much criticism is being bestowed upon a self-sacrificing, even if mistaken class of men and women, their friends may be excused if they defend them with warmth and vigour like Mr. Pierce.

After the ideal, the real. *A New Thing*² is a missionary book of a very different type from the above. After recent events in China we opened this work with an interest only to be disappointed. It is described as "for the young," which in a measure, perhaps, explains the puerility of its style. Expecting valuable information on China Missions, we find principally only personal gossip of no public interest, mixed with a good deal of sentimental Evangelical pietism, which is not at all to our taste, and which we should hope all robust Christians must admire as little as we do. There are a large number of illustrations, many from photographs, which are more interesting than the text.

¹ *John Knox als Kerkherreformer Door.* P. J. Kromsight. Utrecht: A. H. Ten Bokkel Huinink. 1895.

² *The Dominion of Christ.* By William Pierce. London: H. R. Allenson. 1895.

³ *A New Thing: Incidents of Missionary Life in China.* By F. M. Williams. London: S. W. Partridge & Co. 1895.

BELLES LETTRES.

IN *The Greater Victorian Poets*,¹ Professor Hugh Walker devotes himself to an elaborate study of the works of Tennyson, Browning, and Matthew Arnold; his justification for the inclusion of the last among the representatives of what is best in the poetry of the period with which he deals being that "Matthew Arnold, though inferior to Browning and Tennyson in compass, and perhaps in some respects in power, is so exquisite within his range that he can be placed nowhere except in the first rank." While endorsing the Professor's opinion as to Matthew Arnold being "exquisite within his range," we can scarcely accept it as an adequate justification for saying that "whether or not he be judged equal to Tennyson and Browning, he must be named along with them." There are, at least, two or three other poets of the period whom the same system of classification, by the merits of their work "within its range," would ensure being "named along" with the pre-eminent pair.

To use a homely illustration from topical events of the day, the fact of a local batsman achieving an "average" of sixty for the season in the village matches of his district would be proof conclusive of his abilities "within his own range;" but it would scarcely justify us in "naming him along with" Grace and MacLaren. So much more, negatively, in defence of those other poets who might have been "named along" by this system of classification, than, positively, in any derogation of Matthew Arnold's claim to be called one of the greater Victorian poets.

Professor Walker divides Tennyson's and Browning's work into three periods, and traces the changes and developments which attend the evolution of their literary powers and philosophical judgment, laying special stress on Tennyson's peculiar gift of ever improving on himself as years went by, almost to the end of his career, in contrast with the early fruition of Browning's genius. The high-water mark of Browning's powers is reached in *Paracelsus*, and "never surely did there issue from the head of a youth of twenty-three a poem so great. Had Browning subsequently advanced as Shakespeare did between the apprentice period, when he touched up the plays of older dramatists or produced his own first works, and the years when he wrote the great tragedies, it is not too much to say that the author of *Paracelsus* might have ranked as the first poet of all time." We have not the space to follow the author in his elaborate discussions on the actual and relative merits of the three poets' various works, scarcely one of which fails to receive at the Professor's hands

¹ *The Greater Victorian Poets*. By Hugh Miller. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

criticism, always useful and suggestive, and nearly always convincing. It is but natural that the Professor should at times attempt to draw somewhat fine distinctions, and lay down somewhat rigid limitations, in order to make the poems fit into the system of classification which he has adopted ; but, on the whole, he has steered clear of this temptation which ever besets the path of critic and commentator. The four last chapters deal with the poetry of Nature, the influence of science on the poets, their aspect towards the social and political questions of their time, and their views on faith and doubt. These are altogether excellent, and the optimism of Browning and Tennyson, springing from intellectual conviction in the one, from emotional faith in the other, is well contrasted with Matthew Arnold's pessimistic scepticism—"the melancholy acceptance of a stern, unwelcome intellectual necessity." No student of the literature of our day should miss adding this volume to his library.

The last word has long been said in relation to Miss Edgeworth's position as a writer of fiction, and posterity has endorsed the claim to be ranked among the English classics so enthusiastically maintained on her behalf by illustrious contemporaries of such diverse temperament as Sir Walter Scott, Lord Jeffrey, and Sir James Mackintosh. Amid the flood of erotic and neurotic fiction poured out on us, we turn with relief to voyage on a calm, strong current of moderation and sobriety, under the guidance of one whose tales Sir Walter Scott aptly described as being a "sort of essence of common-sense." For their capital illustrated edition of *Ormond*¹ Messrs. Macmillan & Co. deserve the thanks of all who refuse to bow the knee to modern false gods, and in matters literary adhere to the robust faith of their ancestors and refuse to class as "mamby-pamby" the writings of one who presents them with "no incredible adventures or inconceivable sentiments, no hyperbolical representation of uncommon character or monstrous exhibitions of exaggerated passion."

Quite one of the worst of these modern tales of "exaggerated passion" which we have yet come across has reached us this month in the shape of a volume entitled *Woman Regained*,² the story of an artist who, as the preface puts it, "in his passionate pursuit of artistic—which to him stands for moral—rapture sacrifices others ;" but, as most people would put it, in his passionate pursuit of immoral rapture, loses all sense and power of self-control, until he becomes incapable of looking on a pretty woman without desiring to possess her, and in the end develops into a mere erotomaniac. The world has heard quite enough lately of Art and artistic rapture flaunted as a cloak for immorality, and has rightly condemned the advocates of such principles to the oblivion which they deserve. Nor do

¹ *Ormond*. By Maria Edgeworth. London : Macmillan & Co.

² *Woman Regained*. By George Barlow. Roxburghe Press.

we see any reason why books which deal with such types of society pests—even though they point the moral by putting a bullet through the brain of their lecher-hero (“himself Art’s chiefest victim,” as he is dubbed) deserve any better fate.

“At last, discarded in a corner, lying amid broken fans and rusty blades, faded fringe and tinsel laces, we found a figure carved in ivory, yellow with age, without arms, without a cross.” In such wise was *The Crucifix*¹ discovered in an antiquary’s shop in Venice, and with much grace of literary style and word-painting is it made to disclose in a series of visions to its possessor some phases of its long and chequered career from the day of its birth in the carver’s attic workshop to the hour of its dismemberment at the hands of the child left alone with its plaything in the sunlit garden of the house where had passed the Angel of Death. That the satisfactory presentation of such literary tableaux-vivants, if we may so term them, demands no small powers of artistic grouping and sense of proportion goes without saying, and as purely pictorial-descriptive effects we have seen few things better than these visions of the history of a battered crucifix. That the writer’s *forte* lies in such group and scene painting with the pen is made obvious by the comparative failure of the other two sketches which go to make up the volume, wherein are essayed questions of motive and characterisation.

A welcome addition to the list of Turgénev’s novels, made accessible to the English readers, reaches us this month in a translation entitled *Spring Floods*,² and in none of his works does the Russian novelist better display his special powers of handling the subtle play and conflict of emotions in the minds of the everyday characters whom he loves to select as the actors in his pieces.

Helen Mathers doubtless knows her public well, and, evidently, determined to avoid either the praise or blame which is inevitably attached to the up-to-date novelist, continues to feast her admirers with her pictures of impossible figures, moving in an impossible Society (with a big S) of her own fancy. It is sufficient to say that *The Lovely Malincourt*³ takes the town by storm at her first coming out, and is finally mated with the hero of the season (who “almost single-handed kept a savage army at bay,” somewhere in South Africa) after the requisite impediments to their union have been duly placed in position and conveniently demolished; and that the grammar of the aristocrats introduced is not all that it should be. (“Who is she going to marry? said Lady de Salis.”) We often wonder what posterity will think of the generation which swallows so greedily productions of this kind.

¹ *The Crucifix*. By Laurence Alma Tadema. London: Osgood, McIlvaine & Co.

² *Spring Floods*. By Ivan Turgénev. Translated by Edward Richter. London: Lanley & Co.

³ *The Lovely Malincourt*. By Helen Mathers. London: Jarrold.

It is easy to pile up quite a long list of minor errors of omission and commission in a book like Mr. Smeaton's *By Adverse Winds*,¹ and yet to give a final judgment, after striking the balance between the good and the bad, very strongly in its favour. It may be pointed out that the story has been spun out beyond the limits which the simplicity of the plot warrants, that it should certainly have ended with chapter xxix. ("Had Kinross sat with M'Callum a little longer the after-part of this history would never have been written" (p. 365), and, we may add, an anti-climax would have been avoided); that the author indulges in the too frequent use of "asides" to his audience instead of allowing events to follow their natural course and point their own moral as the story unfolds; that there is a similar lack of restraint both in his descriptive and humorous passages and in his use of similes (e.g., "Like the Wandering Jew, he felt irresistibly compelled," &c. . . . "Like the Ancient Mariner also, he was subject," &c. . . . "Like the sting that maddened the hapless To," &c. . . . in three consecutive sentences!); that Mrs. Langton, as a character, is too direct a reproduction of Mrs. Jellyby (acknowledged though it be as a facsimile). But enough of fault-finding. The clear-cut and consistent characterisation (so natural and so loveable a heroine we have rarely seen better depicted), the wealth and aptness of allusion and illustration, the life-like rendering of the canny humour of the Scotch man-servant, the touch of reality which pervades the picture of life in the small society of Allensmuir, these, added to the well-sustained interest in the story as a whole with which the author infuses us (except, as pointed out above, at the very end) all combine to form a volume far above the average in itself as a piece of literary workmanship, full of rich promise for the future in the qualities which it proves its author to possess.

*Poppaea*² can lay claim, at any rate, to the merit of refreshing originality in the treatment of the old theme of blighted love. The scene is laid in New York and Paris, and Poppaea, the heroine, does not belie the quaintness of her name in 'the vagaries of her conduct. The picture of New York millionaire society is not exhilarating in the pettiness of the aims which it discloses.

W. E. Norris is responsible for the *The Spectre of Strathkunnan*,³ which, with four or five other very short sketches, makes up the latest volume of the Autonym Library. They are bright and crisp, and well worthy of the reputation both of the author and the Series.

In her *Professional Women upon their Professions*,⁴ Margaret

¹ *By Adverse Winds*. By Oliphant Smeaton. London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier.

² *Poppaea*. By Julien Gordon. London: Geo. Routledge & Sons.

³ *The Spectre of Strathkunnan*. By W. E. Norris. London: T. Fisher Unwin & Co.

⁴ *Professional Women upon their Professions*. By Margaret Eatson. London: Horace Cox.

Bateson has collected a series of interviews originally published in *The Queen* with the view of showing what possibilities for happy labour women may expect to find in some of the professions now open to them, and of helping young girls at the outset of their career in making a suitable choice of the occupation most likely to prove congenial to their tastes and talents. The volume is illustrated with photographs of the ladies interviewed as representatives of the various trades and professions, and should prove eminently useful for the purpose which its author has in view.

From Messrs. Macmillan we have received a new edition of Professor Minto's admirable study of *Defoe*¹ in their excellent English Men of Letters Series.

The Idyll of the Star Flower,² "whose centre petals formed a fair white cross," allegorises the victory of the White Christ over the "dread doom god" of Scandinavian heathendom. The Hon. Coralie Glynn has an ear for rhythm and some gifts of literary expression, but has abused to excess the privilege usually taken by those who practise this form of literary exercise, of duplicating their epithets and inventing hybrid compounds.

A searching light in the complex series of events which go to make up the story of 1848 in Vienna is thrown by the translation from the Swedish of Axel Lundegård's *The Storm Bird*,³ and the lessons to be deduced from the difficulty of translating ideals into practice in all forms of human society in its progress to the millennium are thoughtfully and suggestively discussed.

In *A Blameless Woman*, John Strange Winter has once more deserted the military, and essayed her hand, with the rest, on the popular sex questions of the day. In spite of the loose style and slovenly dialogue, the book is a distinct advance on anything that John Strange Winter has yet published. We are not convinced by the writer's special pleading to acquit as a "blameless woman" the girl who, after living for two years as a Russian count's mistress in Berlin (duped though she has been all the time under a false pretence of marriage), returns to England to marry, as a spotless maiden, a man whom she confesses she does not love. But we are certainly persuaded to add a plea for mercy on the ground of extenuating circumstances, when we bring in the verdict of guilty. And, after all, we don't think counsel in this case really expects to get more than this for her client from the jury of average readers to which she is appealing.

Mr. George Moore in the first of the three short studies published in one volume under the title of *Celibates*,⁴ subjects to a ruthless

¹ *Defoe*. By W. Minto. London: Macmillan & Co.

² *The Idyll of the Star Flower*. By the Hon. Coralie Glynn. London: David Nutt.

³ *The Storm Bird*. By Axel Lundegård. Translated by Agnes Kilgour. London: Hodder Bros. ⁴ *Celibates*. By George Moore. London: Walter Scott, Limited.

analysis the character of a girl endowed by nature with all the qualities of mind and person which make for success and happiness, but utterly heartless and incapable of passion—"either for God or man"—and doomed to failure in all her attempts to achieve success or satisfaction in working out the problems of life, through an all-absorbing egotism and thirst for notoriety.

The equally egotistic asceticism of John Norton, who can see in celibacy and the conquest of the emotions of the flesh the only hope of saving his miserable soul, is the subject of the second study; while in the third the wretched failure of her parents' marriage and the horrible environment of intrigue and adultery which surrounds their home convinces Agnes Lahens that it is better to avoid even the possibility of such horrors in the seclusion of the nunnery. There are few living writers who could handle such topics with the masterly skill displayed by Mr. Moore, and the subtle play of motive and emotions which sway the actions of the complex individualities introduced is delineated with all the practised skill of a demonstrator exhibiting the results of his researches on a black-board.

ART.

AFTER an interval of many volumes, in the series of "Celebrated Artists," published by *L'Art*, Polycleitos takes his place beside his comrade and rival, Pheidias. As is proper, considering what we know of the two and their works, the latter had a volume one-third larger than the present book of ninety-four pages, with thirty-four engravings, which M. Pierre Paris devotes to his *Polyclete*.¹ There is really very little matter to give of the kind which swells out the biography of modern artists—no disputed genealogies, no gossip political or social, no art sales or documents. M. Paris, who is a professor of the history of Art, has managed to eke out the extant material, not uninterestingly, by *dissertationcule* on the various points of Greek art which crop up by the way.

Polycleitos was a generation younger than Pheidias; but, unless all tradition is at fault, he had the same master, Ageladas, at Argos. In him what is technically called the Argive school reached its perfection, for Pheidias returned to his native Athens to rise above all schools in the decoration of the Parthenon confided to him by Pericles. Still, Pliny will have it that when the different sculptors of the day were invited each to set up the statue of an Amazon in

¹ *Polyclete*. Par Pierre Paris. (Les Artistes célèbres.) Paris: Librairie de l'Art, 1895.

the temple of Diana at Ephesus, that of Polycleitos was voted by the sculptors themselves to be the best, finer even than that of Pheidias.

- With a shrewd humour, of which the classic Greeks would hardly be thought capable, the voting was made sincere by asking each artist to name the most beautiful statue after his own. It is certain, also, that Polycleitos greatly influenced the subsequent course of Greek art. Pheidias represented the grand style fit to portray the gods of Olympus. Polycleitos invented a canon of proportions, to which even Pheidias yielded, from his earthlier studies of the average athlete. It is the old story of Brunelleschi finding only a crucified peasant in the young Donatello's Christ. The enthusiasm of an ideal which satisfied Plato remains attached to the name of Pheidias; and his good fortune in having a lasting monument of architecture to perpetuate his work, instead of limiting his production to single statues, as Polycleitos did, has won the day for him in succeeding ages.

The verdict of history might have been different if we had known the two from what they and their contemporaries thought the divinest of their works—the statues in ivory and gold, of Zeus by Pheidias in Athens, and of Hera by Polycleitos in Argos. Perhaps, then, our historians of art might have contented themselves with echoing the judgment of Strabo: "The statues of Polycleitos are certainly, for technical excellence, the finest of all, but for richness and grandeur they yield to those of Pheidias." As it is, time and literature, the one more envious than the other, have willed otherwise. Pheidias can be appreciated, in quantity and with becoming enthusiasm, in the well-arranged halls of the British Museum, and even under the pellucid skies of his own Athens. The remains of the life-work of Polycleitos must be sought with disputatious perplexity in scattered museums, where perhaps, after all, they are not to be found. The pictures and the examples of his historian are oftenest from works which he decides are but imitations, or mistakenly assigned to him.

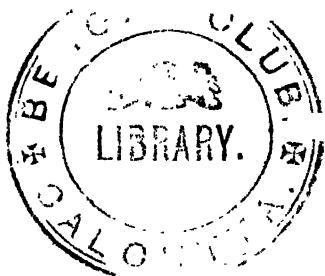
Even the treatise in which Polycleitos, who was conscious of his art, explained how he came to the proportions which he left to others as the *canon* or standard of the human form has long since been lost. The unit which he took as a starting-point is also unknown. Some of the ancients seem to say it was found in the foot; Galen evidently takes it as the finger's breadth in its relation to the palm of the hand, the arm, and the whole body. In 1863 a painfully investigating German discovered a copy of the Doryphoros, which embodied the canon, in a statue of the Museum of Naples. But it is at once mediocre in execution and exaggerated in style. Truly, time has not been kind to Polycleitos.

In the last year of the last century there appeared certain specimens of a new art which, in its uses and in the legends of its

origin, was soon to vie with the older arts of printing and of engraving on copper or steel. The latter had their stories, varying and passionately disputed, of Fust and Guttenberg and Coster, or of the incised gem of Maso Finiguerra. The new art came from the necessities of a poor musician who was so little appreciated that he had to engrave himself the text of the pieces he wished to preserve. This he did on the single plate of copper which he possessed, planing it down for every new poem. His mother, who held him in the same practical value as the rest of the world, insisted one day when he was at his work that he should write out for her the family washing list. In default of paper he copied it for the moment on the flat stone which he used for polishing his copper-plate, using the greasy ink, which resisted the action of acid on the metal and produced his type. The thought came to him to try if something similar would not happen on the stone, which was cheap enough for him to buy each time anew whenever he had an inspiration. Lithography—engraving on stone—was born. It has never since changed its essential character. The acid which eats away the limestone does not touch the parts of the surface which are protected by the greasy ink. These form the raised lineæ necessary for a type, from which, with more greasy ink, printing can be done on paper. The history of all this, of the gradual improvements in working, of the artists who have used the new method, of its triumph for a half-century, of its full and sudden resuscitation in a sort of impressionist art of *affiches*, has been carefully told by M. Henri Bouchot, of the Print department in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. It forms the fiftieth volume of another of those unending series of art manuals in which French publishers delight—the “Library of the Teaching of Fine Arts.” It has three hundred pages and numerous engravings, good enough to make the reader understand this interesting story of an art of our own time.¹

After an introductory chapter on the invention and its *incunabula*, the author in successive chapters tells its application to caricature, to portraits, and to general illustration in France under the Bourbon Restoration, under Louis Philippe, whose brother De Montpensier was one of the first to practise it in his English exile, during the Second Empire, and now in the *nouveau jeu*. There is an additional chapter on the practice of the art outside of France, and another on chromo-lithography, with a technical treatise to wind up all. A deal of contemporary history is given by the way, not all of art, as in the account of Chéret's evolution and the doings of his successors and his new self until this present. All the world knows of Raffet, Gavarni, Daumier, Charlet, and the rest who went before. And there were others still who are equally known, without having dabbled so much in the *comédie humaine* of Paris.

¹ *La Lithographie*. Par Henri Bouchot. Paris : May & Motteroz. 1895.



A GALLERY OF AUSTRALASIAN SINGERS.

ALFRED DOMETT ; ADAM LINDSAY GORDON ; JAMES BRUNTON STEPHENS ;
HENRY KENDAL ; THOMAS BRACKEN ; GEORGE ESSEX EVANS ;
MISS JENNINGS CARMICHAEL.

OF all Colonial poetry, Canadian, South African, Australasian, it is the misfortune to be appraised by the supreme standard of the Mother Country. Weighed in scales so manifestly unfair, what wonder is it if the critical "Mene Tekel" should have been passed upon it, with all its consequent portion of neglect?

What James Russell Lowell regretfully remarks of the early poetry of America before the era of Independence, *mutatis mutandis*, is true of Colonial poetry nowadays—viz., that much that was really of value has disappeared into the limbus of forgotten verse, simply because, judged by existing English standards of taste and metrical composition—though in inspiration and theme as widely diverse from aught current in the "homeland" as opposite points in the compass—it had failed to secure what was indispensable to its preservation—the hall-mark of popular approval in the larger centres. The case of Australasian poetry is closely analogous. The ignorance displayed by even the *dii majores* of contemporary English criticism, alike of the names and the works of Australasian singers, must be ascribed to the same cause against which Lowell appeals, conjointly with that supercilious indifference to everything Colonial characteristic of the Englishman of to-day.

Australasia, as has been remarked by her historians, Jenks and Rusden, has played sad havoc with the finely spun theories of political and social economists regarding the *ratio* and the *rationale* of national growth. So much so, in fact, that certain English writers—amongst others, Bagehot and Trollope, to whom her phenomenal progress pressed hard on some pet theory—despairing of explaining it in accordance with any of the familiar principles of nation-making, have not hesitated to characterise her expansion as savouring of mushroom growth. But the stern logic of facts disproves this allegation and demonstrates that the development, far

from being spasmodic and evanescent, has been steadily progressive, despite its phenomenal rapidity.

Closely contemporaneous in *period*, if not altogether in *degree*, with the political, commercial, and social expansion of Australasia, has been her intellectual evolution. To the historian and the critic this specific field in her national existence presents many features of peculiar interest. With a measure of enthusiasm auguring well for the future, literature and science are being cultivated. *For the future*, be it noted, and the phrase is used advisedly. Despite a natural desire to appraise the value of the product as high as possible, critical fidelity compels one to admit that as regards a strictly indigenous Australasian literature, what has already been, and is now, being achieved is notable rather for promise than for fruition, rather as giving an intimation of prospective excellence than as evincing as yet any very remarkable qualities either in style or thought.

As I stated above, to the critic making a detailed study of Australasian literature, the fact is borne home that the harvest is rather one of promise for the future than of satisfactory quality for the present. In no department is the fact more apparent than in poetry. The causes are not far to seek. In the mass of Antipodean verse, from Charles Harpur, "the grey forefather of Australian song," to J. B. O'Hara and Miss Jennings Carnichael, certain outstanding elements impress themselves on the mind of the student—(1) the absence of any markedly original note in the great Australasian choir, and the extent to which the singers of the South have been influenced by the leading voices in England and America; (2) the essentially objective character of the poetry, and the surpassing love of Nature, under all the manifold and glorious phases wherein she reveals herself beneath the Southern Cross, that inspires the Australasian poets almost without exception; (3) the poverty of metrical *repertoire*, in a comparative sense, exhibited by Antipodean singers, with the exception of Domett and Stephens, as though they feared to venture outside the well-beaten track of familiar, nay, even of hackneyed rhythms, lest, in the parlance of their own land, they might "get bushed" in the devious tangle of unaccustomed measures.

Why should such be the case? A prime principle in political philosophy, familiar to students of Comte, Maine, and the two Mills, affirms that during the earlier stages of "nation-making," intellectual progress and development naturally remain in abeyance. The late Walter Bagehot, in his suggestive study, *Physics and Politics*, remarks: "Long ages of dreary monotony are the first facts in the history of human communities;" and further: "Better and higher graces of humanity are impediments and encumbrances in the early period, that in the later era are among the greatest

helps and benefits." Australian literature, and especially its poetry, furnishes an illustration of the principle. The fact that the Muse of the Antipodes has not yet wholly cut her leading-strings and abandoned an almost slavish imitation of English and American models, results, from the circumstance that hitherto the mass of the inhabitants has been too busily engaged in "nation-making" to permit primarily of the enjoyment of those years of widely diffused liberal education indispensable to the creation of the literary taste and "atmosphere" of culture; and, secondarily, of that patient, studious development of the imaginative faculty, and of the cultivation of its "voice" in metrical expression which learned leisure and the existence of a literary class *in se* tends to foster. This, then, is one of the reasons why an Australasian poetic literature more distinctively original than what meets us to-day has not been produced.

Further, the fact must be remembered that the conditions of life have not in the past been favourable to such a result. Australasia is the land of labour and of manual toil, the Paradise of the working man, the Sahara of the scholar—a land where Jack is as good as his master, where the labourer of to-day may be the lawgiver of to-morrow, and where each man, from the millionaire to the miner, has literally, not metaphorically, to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. Her singers, therefore, have had but little leisure wherein "to don their chaplets and singing-ropes," as Horace says in his noble ode to Tyndaris. They must even voice their lays amidst their daily toil, or, figuratively speaking, in their shirt-sleeves, pouring forth their music, with generally but little elaboration or revision, in the white heat of enthusiasm, and in the glad consciousness of existence. For of life under these sunny skies of the great Southern continent, and amidst its soft, balmy zephyrs blowing off the blue Pacific, we may write, in the words of Wordsworth's noble sonnet on the French Revolution:

"Bliss *is* it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young *is* very heaven!"

In fact, the Australasian poet in many respects revives the old Greek conception of his office as the "doer" (*ποιητής*) or the "maker" (an analogous use of the term occurring in the Scottish poet, William Dunbar's "Lament for the Makars"), uniting in himself the duties of the sturdy colonist, the political organiser or reformer, and the singer!

This circumstance it is which saliently affects both the spirit and the *technique* of Australasian poetry. The conditions under which it is largely produced, as well as the social atmosphere of busy toil, wherein the singers of the Antipodes live, move, and have their being, exercise a powerful moulding and modifying influence upon the body of the work achieved. Hence, with all its faults of lack

of originality and the like, its character is essentially a poetry of action, exhibiting at times a virile vitality, a Pindaric energy, and a rapidity of epic movement, akin in kind, though of course not in degree, to that "Homeric swiftness" so prominent an attribute of the *Iliad*.

Another cause of the fact why a more distinctively original native poetry and a metrical structure more highly developed does not exist in the Australasia of to-day, is to be traced to the circumstance that in the Antipodes there is no large leisured class whose wealth places them beyond the necessity of a fight with fortune—no hereditary lords of the soil, to whom for generations culture and learning, politics and social reform, have constituted definite aims in life to be pursued *con amore*, without a divided allegiance having to be shared with what the Germans term the *Brotwissenschaft*—the Bread and Butter Sciences. In Australasia, alas! the *Brotwissenschaften* engross the major portion of the native singers' time. The Muse in the Antipodes to her votaries is passing fair in very sooth, but, alack! she is almost entirely destitute of that "one thing needful" in these grossly material latter days—the almighty dollar! However willing she may be, she cannot recompense those who tender her their heart's service with the vulgar but necessary means of life. The singer under the Southern Cross, though content with little, and quite as ready as his brethren elsewhere to shout "my mind to me a kingdom is," must have "something" to keep body and soul together. His best energies, therefore, are too often devoted to labouring among the sheepecotes of Admetus, when he should have been singing on the sunny slopes of Parnassus.

To this lack of learned leisure I largely attribute the mimetic quality in Australasian verse. Many English critics and readers complain of the lack of local colouring and topical distinctiveness therein, and the charge is not unwarranted. To allow the spirit of his own beautiful surroundings slowly and subtly to permeate through the very inmost fibres of his being, the Australasian poet has literally not the time. While he communed with Nature amid her lonely and lovely beauties, far from the ken of men, he would be unpleasantly reminded of the wants of his own "nature," which craved sustenance as well as sublimation. Yet it is this very lack of intimate communing with his own world around him which has caused the Antipodean singer, when describing some scene peculiarly colonial in character, to allow, involuntarily, perhaps, a note to break in from one or other of the great English or American poets—from Wordsworth, Tennyson, or Swinburne, from Longfellow, Lowell, or Whittier.

The growth of an original poetic temperament in Australasia has thus been stunted, alike as regards "creative efforts" among the singers themselves, and in "appreciative sympathy" among the great

mass of the people. The influence of each on the other is correlative. What is so rarely produced will not commend itself to the main body of colonial readers ; what is unwonted or distasteful to those readers, whose time for all mental cultivation is so limited, will not be largely produced. And thus the poetic sense of the inhabitants of Australasia, never having enjoyed favouring circumstances for development along natural or original lines, remains to-day little better than a weakling and a gnome. The struggle for existence in a new country, whose very immensity serves to dwarf prospects of success, however promising, by overshadowing achievement with what remains to be achieved, has been so severe, that intellectual effort is rated as of secondary importance to pastoral, commercial, or political enterprise. Hence the wool-king, the Mount Morgan or Broken Hill mining millionaire, the successful party leader, are the present objects of the average Australasian's worship. There is something tangible about their exploits ; while the labours of a Kendal, a Gordon, or a Brunton Stephens, by their mysterious impalpableness, represent no correlative value in £ s. d.—the one standard of appraisement keenly appreciable by all Australasians.

Finally, though perhaps the most potent reason of all, in accounting for the lack of a more distinctively original native poetry, and a more highly developed metrical structure, as well as for the comparative want of appreciation of poetry in Australasia, must be cited the excessively sport-loving character of the people. Not that a love of sport in moderation is antagonistic to high intellectual development. Greece with her Olympic, Nemean, and Isthmian games, and the high honours accorded to the victors in the several contests, would disprove any such position. But in the colonies sport simply takes precedence of all else, the climate—so favourable during nine months of the year for all kinds of out-of-doors exercises—materially conducing thereto. Australasians, in truth, take all manner of athletic exercises as seriously as an Englishman takes politics.

With such the character of the great mass of Australians, can much surprise be experienced if to the great majority of them anything so spiritually impersonal, so absolutely removed from the native bent of their mind as poetry in its nobler and more exalted strains, should be treated as something written in an unknown tongue, the key to interpret which it would scarce be worth their while to learn. Not that to an Australasian *all* kinds of poetry are alike unacceptable. But to meet with the sign manual of his approval in the shape of paying out his hardly earned money to possess a volume of it, however attenuated in bulk, it must possess certain characteristics, positive and negative, without which he will have none of it. Under the latter heading, it must eschew all approach to his *bête noir*, the attribute of subjectivity, to the torture of self-introspection, to soul-dissection, and to the analysis of ethical

motives and impulses, in a word, to the presence in any degree, however faint, of that subtly spiritual essence constituting the inner soul of the higher types of poetic expression. It must possess the positive quality, as Sainte Beuve says, of a brisk, breezy objectivity, redolent of Nature in her sweeter and sunnier moods, breathing, like Chaucer and the grand old Trouveres, as Mr. Saintsbury and Mr. J. R. Lowell both point out, that healthy and cheery happiness constantly associated with an existence three-fourths of which are spent in the "open;" an objectivity, moreover, smacking of a vivid onomatopœism, wherein sense and sound are so closely inter-linked as to suggest the images and scenes portrayed by the rhythmic beat of the verse.

That is the kind of poetry an average Australasian will relish. The greater the pity, therefore, so little of it is present in the body of his native literature to-day. That same eager anxiety to realise in sound what the sense endeavours to convey to the mental apprehension, present so frequently in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and to a less degree in *Aeschylus* and *Pindar*, appears prominently in the work of Australasian singers.

In Gordon, Kendal, and Brunton Stephens, we discover numerous instances of the same quality. In the *Convict Once* of the last-named, such lines are frequent as—"Streams as they murmur, bright wings as they flutter, green leaves as they quiver;" or this other, "O summer night of the South. Oh sweet languor of zephyrs love sighing;" or this couplet:

"Naiad-like, having white feet in the dimpled disturbance of waters
Dryad-like, peering bright visioned, through tremulous umbrage of leaves."

Such a poem as A. L. Gordon's "How we Beat the Favourite,"—throbbing with the keen pulses of life's struggles, its victories and its defeats, its glory and its gloom, an Australasian of to-day will read and enjoy, along with Brunton Stephens's humorous ballad, "My Chinese Cook," or "Jim the Splitter," by Henry Kendal, because in these he finds a vivid reflection and delineation of his own familiar experiences, his aspirations, and his work-a-day, matter-of-fact conditions of existence. Not more distinctively do Bret Harte's Californian poems, and Joaquin Miller's *Songs of the Sierras* smack of their native surroundings and breathe the subtle atmosphere of the life and of the land inspiring them, than do the *genre* sketches in verse by these three Antipodean singers. Alas, that they should be so few, for these are dear to every Australasian's heart, in that they precisely meet his tastes. But to expect an active colonial boundary-rider or bush settler to peruse with profit anything of a more abstract or impersonal character, would be as futile as to set him down to crack the nuts of the

Critique of Pure Reason, or to solve the mysteries of the differential or integral calculus. Far be it from me to imply that so severe a criticism is applicable to all colonial readers without exception. Many there are whose culture is but little, if at all, inferior to the most genuine lovers of poetry on this side the globe. But their number is so few as to render their influence imperceptible upon the taste of Australasia as a whole.

The poets whose names are placed at the head of this article are, in the first place, representative of the several colonies constituting the great Australasian group; and secondly, in my idea, are illustrative of the various types of poetry cultivated with success in the Antipodes. To offer a detailed criticism of each would be impossible within the limits of a magazine article. I can only indicate in a manner the briefest, the chief merits and demerits of their work.

Although, strictly speaking, Australasian literature may be said to take its rise with the poem on "Australasia" by William Charles Wentworth, written in 1823, in competition for the Chancellor's medal at Cambridge, the brilliant statesman and colonial pioneer can scarcely be styled a representative poet. Born under the Southern Cross he certainly was, a spirited and tireless champion, too, of Antipodean rights and privileges against the crass stupidity of successive British Ministries, who one and all seem to have been imbued with Lord John Russell's sentiments regarding England's colonial possessions, that they were a millstone of hindrance round the neck of the mother-country, impeding her progress along the best lines of national development and aggrandisement. But in Wentworth's case poetry had to give the *pas* to politics from very early manhood. Only at distant intervals, and when life was beginning to chime to evensong, did he return to the love of his youth; only to demonstrate, however, how noble his achievements might have been in verse, had he not, as Whittier says to his boyhood's friend, F. A. P. Barnard (who, like Wentworth, had deserted poetry for politics),

"Parted from the path
That lay so fair before us—the Muses' haunts,
Where all our fancies moved to measures of old song."

On Charles Harpur, therefore, by general consent, has the title of "The grey forefather of Australasian song" been bestowed. Though his actual contributions to the metrical wealth of Antipodean literature be but scant, he was the first singer of outstanding merit whose poems fairly laid hold of the public mind. In an eminent degree he possessed the virtue of poetic stimulus and suggestiveness. On Gordon and Kendal alike he exercised a highly beneficial influence, duly acknowledged by the latter in one of the most

graceful of his odes. Of a silent and reserved nature, preferring rather to commune with Nature than with his fellow men, Harpur's poetry has been largely coloured by the mental idiosyncracies of the man himself. We mention his name here merely to introduce it to English readers as that of the poet to whom Henry Kendal owed so much, and pass on to the consideration of a singer who, though English born and bred, nay, who returned to die in his beloved England, yet produced the noblest colonial epic yet written.

When Alfred Domett, in 1878, sent a copy of his fine epic, *Ranolf and Amohia*—a poem descriptive of Maori life and mythology—to Longfellow, the latter replied, "You have sent me a splendid poem. . . . Your descriptions of New Zealand scenery are very powerful and beautiful; . . . it reminds me of the great pictures of the old masters." To elicit from so fastidious a critic as the leading American singer, expressions of admiration so warm and so dissociate from mere stereotyped forms of conventional politeness, the poem must have been one of outstanding merit. And so it is. *Ranolf and Amohia*, had it not dealt with a theme distinctively colonial and therefore, in the estimation of most English people, divorced from their insular interests and sympathies, would have taken rank but little below Morris's *Earthly Paradise*, and Matthew Arnold's *Tristram and Iscalt*. But as in former days the question was asked, "Can any good come out of Galilee?" even so in these latter days we hear a somewhat similar query put, *mutatis mutandis*, "Can aught intellectually valuable emanate from the colonies?" Nor, as I have said before, is the remark wholly unwarranted by popular tastes in these colonies; still, exceptions do occur, and even though these but proved the rule of normal intellectual poverty, it would be but fair on the part of English critics to admit them. For this reason, then, Alfred Domett's great poem, as one of these exceptions, is more popular in America than in England.

Alfred Domett, as I have said, can scarcely be regarded as an Australasian poet pure and simple, like Wentworth or Kendal. He was born in 1811 in Surrey, studied at St. John's College, Cambridge, was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1841, and had already been a contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine*, before he determined in 1842 to proceed to New Zealand, then attracting a steady stream of settlers. Thither he emigrated therefore, locating himself at Nelson, in the north of the South Island. He early identified himself with the Government of the country of his adoption, filling many responsible offices in successive Ministries from 1846 until 1862, when he became Premier of the colony. For two years his administration were in office, and in that which followed he held the onerous position of Secretary for Crown Lands, retaining it until 1870, when he resigned to return to England. Here he resided, honoured and respected by a large circle of friends, com-

prising many of the leading men of the time, until his death in 1887.

- Although his great New Zealand epic, *Ranolf and Amohia*, was not published until 1873, after he had returned to England, his reputation as a poet, prior to his emigration in 1842, must have been considerable. His poetical contributions to *Blackwood* were of such merit as to win for him the friendship of men like Robert Browning, who in 1846 addressed him under the fond pseudonym "Waring," in that noble ode, at once so pathetic and sympathetic, the first lines of which have become familiar to every lover of poetry.

"What's become of Waring
Since he gave us all the slip ;
Chose land-travel or sea-faring,
Boots and chest, or staff and scrip,
Rather than pace up and down,
Any longer London town ?"

Of one of Domett's pieces, published in *Blackwood* and entitled, "A Christmas Hymn," Browning to the close of his life maintained that it was one of the most perfect compositions of the kind and only second to Milton's inspired "Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity."

In respect of positive genius Domett undoubtedly ranks in most qualities the peer, in some the superior, of Gordon, Kendal, and Stephens. The excessive length of his chief poem as compared with the bulk of their work will always preclude him becoming as popular as they. Though a splendid achievement, life is lived at too high a pressure in the colonies to permit of any large proportion of the inhabitants finding time to peruse so lengthy an epic as *Ranolf and Amohia*, hence the anomaly of one of Australasia's noblest poets being actually more popular in America than in the land he described so vividly.

Domett's vocabulary is that of the cultured academic student whose mind is stored with the lore of glorious Greece and stately Rome. Though marvellously rich and luxuriant, it is nevertheless employed with the precision and the delicacy of one whose culture and learning before being presented to the public had been rigorously distilled through the subtle alembic of his own fastidiously critical taste and refined common-sense. Archaisms he certainly uses, but only sparingly, and then under circumstances when they materially add to the sum total of the general effect produced. Both in apt expressive idiom, and in wealth of poetic imagery, Domett's *curiosa felicitas* is remarkable. He is especially fond of the use of the figures Metonymy and Personification, and these he employs with splendid effect. Particularly impressive, in this connection, are those lyrics wherein Tané, the Tree-god, is represented

as chanting amid the great swell of the forest anthem, as the boughs are stirred by the sea-wind :

“ I am Tané—the Tree-god,
My sons are a million,
In every region,
Their name is legion,
And they build a pavilion
My glory to hold.”

Some of the imagery in the lyric of which these lines are the opening is of a character scarcely less elevated and majestic than that in the concluding chapters of Isaiah, or in the *Prometheus Vincit* of Æschylus.

Domett is a master of rhythm, but is peculiarly partial to trochaic and dactylic measures, the light tripping movement of which suited his theme, though he has also employed the anapaestic and the iambic with excellent effect. Though not so persistent in his experiments as that peerless master of rhythm, Mr. Swinburne— whose metrical gymnastics, if the phrase be permissible, are as wonderful as they are fruitfully productive of new and excellent rhythmical combinations to English literature—Domett was exceedingly partial to such metrical essays, some of which are gems of real poetic, not merely structural, beauty. As regards type of poetic expression, though Domett has chosen the epic as the form of his great poem, much of it might properly be relegated to the class of dramatic poetry, and he has scattered some exquisite lyrics through his works, specimens of which one fain would quote. In the quality of harmonising sense with sound in his verse Domett stands high. He never sacrifices the former to the latter, although the temptation at times must have been strong to so musical a singer; while in poetic strength as including aptness, cogency, and variety of thought, he resembles a stately and symmetrical statue whose noble proportions excite general admiration.

As against these, his chief merits, the fact must be admitted that his verse has somewhat of the coldness of the statue. While wellnigh flawlessly faultless in form and technique, the inner life's fire of passion is conspicuously lacking. Amohia resembles Galatea before her vivification, and her conversation savours just a little, it must be confessed, of the blue-stocking or the philosopher in petticoats, to be true to life as a portrait of a Maori maiden. Ranolf, too, runs perilously near becoming a prig at times. Frequently when reading Domett's exquisite verse, one feels we could dispense with some of the superb symmetry of form, for a little more passion and human sympathy. A similar fault must be found with reference to the quality of pathos, at least as regards *Ranolf* and

Amohia, for it is present in much larger measure in some of his smaller pieces, such as "The Christmas Hymn," than in his *chef d'œuvre*. Likewise in vividness of epic and dramatic presentation, Domett has failed sufficiently to differentiate the individuality of his characters, to endue them with distinctiveness of interest. He was more of a student of Nature than of man; and the fact appears prominently when he comes to present a picture of human beings in their influence upon each other. To the intercourse of shadows it can alone be compared.

As an example of his style, I cite his description of the famous "Pink Terraces," at Rotorua—a picture exceedingly valuable now, as the lava terraces, both the "pink" and the "white," were destroyed in the eruption of Tarawera, in 1886:

"From the low sky line of the hilly range
Before them, sweeping down its dark green face
Into the lake that slumbered at its base,
A mighty cataract—so it seemed—
Over a thousand steps of marble streamed
And gushed, or fell in dripping overflow;
Flat steps, in flights half-circled—row o'er row,
Irregularly, mingling side by side;
They and the torrent-curtain wide,
All rosy-hued, it seemed, with sunset's glow.
But what is this? No roar, no sound,
Disturbs that torrent's hush profound!
The wanderers near and nearer come,
Still is the mighty cataract dumb!
A thousand fairy lights may shimmer
With tender sheen, with glossy glimmer,
O'er curve advanced and salient edge
Of many a luminous water ledge;
A thousand slanting shadows pale,
May fling their thin transparent veil
O'er deep recess and shallow dent
In many a watery stair's descent;
Yet mellow bright, or mildly dim,
Both lights and shades—both dent and rim—
Each wavy streak—each warm snow tress
Stands rigid, mute, and motionless!
No faintest murmur—not a sound—
Relieves that cataract's hush profound;
No tiniest bubble, not a flake
Of floating foam is seen to break
The smoothness where it meets the lake;
Along that shining surface move
No ripples; not the slightest swell
Rolls o'er the mirror darkly green,
Where every feature limned so well—
Pale, silent, and serene as death—
The cataract's image hangs beneath
The cataracts—but not more serene,
More phantom-silent than is seen
The white rose-hued reality above."

Next in order comes the most popular of all Australasian singers, though not on that account the one endowed with the most supreme genius. Adam Lindsay Gordon, the representative Victorian poet, as Kendal likewise is of New South Wales, was born in 1833 at Fayal in the Azores. The son of Captain Adam Gordon, a respected British officer, the future poet was also destined for the profession of arms, and with that end in view was early sent to Woolwich, where he remained several years. To Gordon's active nature, the reign of routine and red tape prevalent at the great military arsenal in those days was intolerable. His military prospects, therefore, he abandoned with something like the exuberant delight of the school-boy freed from his tasks, and in 1853 emigrated to South Australia. To sheep farming he first devoted himself, only to find himself beggared, in some five or six years time, by prolonged droughts and the villainy of others. Then he drifted successively into gold-digging, droving or "overlanding" as it is called, varied by amateur steeple-chase riding in Melbourne—wherein he was unrivalled at the time—and finally into journalism. From 1858, to all lovers of poetry in the colonies his name had been familiar through the dashing, rollicking, galloping ballads and sketches he contributed to many of the colonial journals, such as "How we Beat the Favourite," "De Te," "From the Wreck," &c., varied at times by poems of a passion and a pathos so subtle and rare as in "Podas Okus," "The Sick Stockrider," &c., that more than one colonial editor predicted a brilliant future for their talented young contributor. The sublimely solemn close of "Podas Okus," descriptive of the last moments of the great Achilles—

"In my ears, like distant washing
Of the surf upon the shore,
Drones a murmur—faintly splashing—
Tis the splash of Charon's oar!
Lower yet, my own Briseis,
Denser shadows veil the light.
Hush! What is to be, to be is!
Close my eyes and say good-night.
Lightly lay your red lips kissing,
On this cold mouth, while your thumbs
Lie on these cold eyelids pressing—
Pallas, thus thy soldier comes!"—

has been justly praised by critics as touching the springs of the profoundest feelings in humanity; so also have the last twenty lines in the "Sick Stockrider," wherein the gentle epicureanism of Roman Horace addressed to the fair Leuconœ from sunny Baiæ on the blue Mediterranean, "*Carpe diem quam minimum credulo postero*," finds an echo, more than three hundred and seventy lustra afterwards, from Antipodean shores as deliciously sunny, lapped by the rippling wash of the equally blue Pacific.

The expectations excited by his collected poems, published under the title, *Sea Spray and Smoke Drift*, and by his second volume, *Bush Ballads and Galloping Rhymes*, the latter appearing only a few weeks before his death, were not destined to be realised. During a fit of temporary insanity, induced by protracted and recurrent attacks of low fever, he rashly anticipated the solution of the last dread mystery of our existence and perished by his own hand in 1870. The reports that he had sunk into habits of intemperance, and that his death was due to an accession of *delirium tremens* are foul slanders on a great and noble nature. Like our Scottish Hugh Miller, Gordon sacrificed himself to his love of literature, inasmuch as while unfit for any kind of brain work, he would persist in pursuing it.

His poems were scattered through many colonial journals, with a sort of royal bountifulness and indifference to their fate. As Marcus Clarke remarks in his appreciative monograph on Gordon, "It was not until he discovered one morning that everybody knew a couplet or two of 'How we Beat the Favourite' that he consented to forego his anonymity and appear in the character of a verse-maker."

Viewed absolutely, Gordon exhibits in his work nearly all the qualities that combine to constitute "good poetry," though, when compared with Domett, Kendal, or Stephens, he displays neither the rhythmical strength of the first, the tender grace of the second, nor the superb affluence of the third. In common with Domett, he is the epic poet of the colonies, though, unlike his compeer, epic he wrote none. His potential strength, however, in this line, was shown in his shorter pieces, where he excels as a metrical storyteller. Passionately fond of riding and of sports generally, he seems to have infused into the rhythmic pulse of his verse much of the glorious ecstasy experienced in a swinging gallop on a good horse over the rolling downs, and under the cloudlessly sapphire skies of the great Southern continent. Three-fourths of the verse he wrote is couched in the familiar, impetuous, headlong rhythms he made his own. He writes as one who had been a sharer in the scenes described, not a mere spectator. Hence his abiding popularity with the sport-loving Australasians.

His range, however, is by no means so wide as that of Domett or Stephens. He was not a student of books, but of men and of life in its most stirring, changeful types. His verbal thesaurus, therefore, is in no sense so rich as that of Domett or Stephens. At times he uses the same word over and over again with a wearisome iteration. The crowning virtue, however, is his of delighting in a nervous Saxon idiom—pithy, strong, and sinewy, like his own frame—that appeals at once to the audience for whom he wrote. His poetic imagery, though picturesque and appropriate, minted too

in his own brain, is neither so luxuriant, nor drawn from so many natural sources as even that of Kendal. Gordon was less the solitary dreamer of dreams than the latter, and therefore did not love the "bush" so familiarly as his great compeer, the singer of New South Wales. More of the bustling, work-a-day world than of Nature in her lonely, sequestered beauty, does Gordon's imagery savour. He was, like Domett, a careful student of rhythm, and was nearly as successful as the other in his experiments in new and little known combinations. In *Ashtaroth*, for example—the one essay he made in dramatic poetry—a poem, too, more epical than dramatic in spirit, despite its form—he has interspersed several lyrics of a weird, unearthly beauty, that cleave to the memory when once read. How suggestive is the final lyric in the drama, for example, of the mournful close of his own life :

" Pray that in the doubtful fight,
Man may win through sore distress,
By His goodness infinite,
And His mercy fathomless.
Pray for one more of the weary
Head bowed down, and bended knee ;
Swell the requiem, *Miserere*

Miserere, Domine

Bonum, malum, qui fecisti

Mali imploramus te

Salve fratrem, causa Christi

Miserere Domine."

(*Miserere.*)

Alike in the qualities of passion and of pathos, Gordon's verse exhibits marked power and individuality, though his passion too often is tinged with cynicism, as in "Wormwood and Nightshade," and his pathos with the shadow of a supreme despair, as in "Hippodromania," "Gone," "The Roll of the Kettledrum," and "Cui Bono?" The last-named piece betrays a decided trace of the influence of Charles Baudelaire of the Franco-Sapphic School, while Swinburne is the English poet to whom Gordon bears most affinity, and on whom he most persistently modelled himself. It must be admitted that in some cases he sacrifices sense to sound, as in "Bellona" and "The Song of the Surf," and that in poetic strength he was distinctively the inferior of Kendal. This, however, is largely compensated for by his remarkable vividness of epical presentation, his power of portraying a scene in a few words without overlaying it with unnecessary details being singularly great. He was a man who, under circumstances more favourable, might have produced work of worth even more enduring than it is, had Fate, as he said, not thrown the shadow of discontent and incompleteness over all his life. To nothing could he be constant long, so that his life in many respects was a splendid failure. The specimen I propose to give of

his poetry comprises the most striking verses of his great poem,
"The Sick Stockrider":

- " 'Twas merry in the flowing morn, among the gleaming grass,
To wander as we've wandered many a mile,
And blow the cool tobacco cloud, and watch the white wreaths pass,
Sitting loosely in the saddle all the while.
- " 'Twas merry 'mid the blackwoods, when we spied the station roofs,
To wheel the wild scrub cattle at the yard.
With a running fire of stockwhips and a fiery run of hoofs;
Oh! the hardest day was never then too hard!
- " In these hours when life is ebbing, how these days when life was young
Come back to us; how clearly I recall
Even the 'yarns' Jack Hall invented, and the songs Jem Roper sung;
And where are now Jem Roper and Jack Hall?
- " Aye! nearly all our comrades of the old colonial school,
Our ancient boon companions, Ned, are gone;
Hard livers for the most part, somewhat reckless as a rule,
It seems that you and I are left alone.
- " I've had my share of pastime, and I've done my share of toil,
And life is short the longest life a span;
I care not now to tarry for the corn or for the oil,
Or for the wine that maketh glad the heart of man!
- " For good undone and gifts mis-spent, and resolutions vain,
'Tis somewhat late to trouble. This I know
I should live the same life over, if I had to live again;
And the chances are I go where most men go.
- " The deep blue skies wax dusky, and the tall green trees grow dim.
The sward beneath me seems to heave and fall;
And sickly, smoky shadows through the sleepy sunlight swim,
And on the very sun's face weave their pall.
- " Let me slumber in the hollow where the wattle-blossoms wave,
With never stone or rail to fence my bed;
Should the sturdy station children pull the bush flowers on my grave
I may chance to hear them romping overhead."

After the representative poet of Victoria comes, in chronological order, he who holds an analogous position as *the poet par excellence* of the colony of Queensland, to wit, James Brunton Stephens. Not that "Banana-land" can claim him literally as a son. Like Gordon and Domett, he is not a native of the colonies. Since 1866, when he emigrated to Queensland from the busy Scotch seaport of Bo'ness in Linlithgowshire, where in 1835 he first looked out, like the immortal Diogenes Teufelsdrückh, "on this strange universe where he had arrived, be his task therein what it might," he has resided in Brisbane, the capital of the colony. Entering the service of the Government, first as a teacher under the Education Department, he has remained in the service ever since, and now holds the responsible position of correspondence clerk in the Colonial Secre-

tary's office. His principal work, *Convict Once, and other Poems*, was published both in England and Australasia in the early eighties, and since then he has been a frequent contributor to all the best colonial journals in the Antipodes.

Brunton Stephens, with Domett, represents the highest type of culture in Australasian poetry. Widely read, a student of the poetry and the metrical forms of many lands, possessing, too, a sponge-like faculty of assimilating the best of his reading, and reminting it in the treasury of his own brain for future use, he takes rank as the most richly varied, as well as the most subtly humorous and witty of all the poets of the Antipodes. Inferior though he be to Kendal, in absolute poetic genius and imagination, he is more broadly effective and impressive in his landscape painting, if less profound a worshipper in the inner adyta of Nature's great temple. How keenly true the touch, and how perfect the insight into the rarest of all qualities in a poet, how much to leave to a reader's sense of suggestion in a description, is visible in the opening verse of that tale of ghostly horror "The Midnight Axe:"

"The red day sank as the sergeant rode,
Through the woods grown dim and brown :
One farewell flush on his carbine glowed,
And the veil of the dusk drew down."

Compare with this the opening verse in Kendal's poem on an analogous theme—"The Hut by the Black Swamp," and the reader will understand what I mean when I say Stephens is more broadly effective and impressive than Kendal in poetic landscape painting :

"Now comes the fierce north-easter, bound
About with clouds and racks of rain ;
And dry, dead leaves go whirling round
In rings of dust, and sigh like pain,
Across the plain."

Stephens possesses a vocabulary as copious as Domett's, and unapproached in its range by any other poet in Australasian literature. From a fountain of pure, choice English words, well nigh inexhaustible, he seems to draw at will. Of this verbal thesaurus many of the words are those employed by Sir Philip Sidney in his *Arcadia*, by Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, by Spenser and Herrick. Not for purposes of mere ostentatious scholarship are they used by him, but to invest with as rich a setting as possible his wonderful poem *Convict Once*. As regards his vocabulary, as well as his wealth of poetic imagery and idiomatic congruity, there is some danger of this,

"Linked sweetness long drawn out "

proving cloying in the end. Nor is this result wholly avoided. But

a fault, venial indeed is it, when we consider how much Australasian literature lacks that very element of figurative wealth of which Stephens is possessed in measure so rich.

In his use, both of tropes and figures, Brunton Stephens is singularly felicitous. From a variety of sources literally immense, his comparisons are drawn, as in lines such as these :

“ Out on the far-gleaming star-dust, that marks where the
angels have trod,”

or again :

“ Flaming in measureless azure, the coronal jewels of God.”

As a metrist, also, Stephens merits a high place, alike for the strictness wherewith he observes all the rules of the rhythms he has used, and for the multitude of unwonted metrical forms he has successfully employed. The staple measure of *Convict Once* is the trisyllabic dactylic metre, but throughout his other works, as for example, in the coruscating polish of “ Godolphin Arabian,” in “ Mute Discourse,” “ The Black Gin,” “ The Headless Trooper,” “ For my Sake,” and “ An Opening Hymn,” he has shown his easy command over numerous other metrical combinations, and produced work in many respects as delicately humorous as Calverley’s, as exquisitely dainty as Frederick Locker’s. In rich measure, too, Brunton Stephens possesses the dramatic faculty, his great poem “ Convict Once ” being more a dramatic lyric than an epic. In all his works this quality is largely present. More at home he certainly seems to feel in dealing with the thoughts, feelings, and aspirations of mankind in their relations with their fellows, than in the mere description of persons, places, and things. The quality of subjectivity does not, however, predominate in his works ; but he is less objective than any of his fellow singers, and all his more important works have the dramatic spirit prominently present in them.

As regards the qualities of passion and of pathos, Stephens likewise exhibits abundant evidence of being amply dowered with those faculties of mind—imaginative force and catholicity of human sympathy—essential for infusing them into his verse. Of erotic or love poetry, pure and simple, he has written but little beyond those portions of *Convict Once* that deal with the tender passion. In other places, he treats the subject in a spirit of witty persiflage and raillery, as in “ The Power of Science,” or in “ Nonsuited.” Only in one glorious elegy, inscribed to the memory of the Australasian artist, “ Adelaide Ironside,” does he soar with lofty and supreme pinion into the higher æther of pure passion. With respect to pathos, though many portions of *Convict Once* are overpoweringly pathetic, still he deals with such emotions broadly and without any of the delicate insight of Jennings Carmichael and Kendal. Only

in one great poem, "The Story of a Soul," does he rival them upon their ground. His well-known piece, "The Lost Chance," descriptive of the feelings of a settler who had sold the ground whereon rich lodes of tin were afterwards discovered, and who went mad on hearing of the great discoveries made there, is a favourable example of the quality of pathos in Stephens's verse. The poem is undeniably pathetic, in so far as it is exceedingly mournful in theme, and would be likely to elicit tears from those whose emotions are easily touched. But the highest type of pathos is that which is too profound for the passing solace of tears, as in Hood's "Song of the Shirt," Jennings Carmichael's "Tomboy Madge," and Kendal's "Mooni." In intellectual strength, Stephens is not the peer of Domett or Kendal. He delights more in quaintness and in curious subtilty than in depth or incisiveness of thought, nor has he Kendal's strange power of piercing at once to the very heart of things. As regards harmony of sense with sound, Stephens is apt to allow the warp and woof of his thought to grow very attenuated amid the seductive music of his faultlessly rhythmical verse. The same fault whereinto in his earlier work his master Swinburne fell, besets Stephens throughout. Some parts of *Convict Once* are only exquisite but meaningless jingle. Take such lines as the following, what are they but music without meaning?

"Oh, summer night of the South! Oh, sweet langour of zephyrs
love-sighing,
Oh, mighty circuit of shadowy solitude, holy and still!
Music scarce audible, echoless harmony, joyously dying,
Dying in faint aspirations o'er meadow, and forest, and hill!"

In vividness of dramatic presentation, however, Stephens stands unrivalled. Estimated all in all, Brunton Stephens may be fairly accepted as the most richly poetical and vividly dramatic of all the singers of Australasia. He has an abundant fund of humour, of which quality Domett was entirely destitute, and by this particular attribute alone he may be ranked before the author of *Ranolf and Amohia*. The specimen of his poetry I quote is taken from Canto III. of Part I. of *Convict Once*.

"Pleasantly, almost too pleasantly, blendeth to-day with to-morrow.
Hours are as moments: a twinkle of white wings, and lo, they are gone!
Day bringeth work without bondage, and night bringeth dreams without
sorrow;
Pleasantly, almost too pleasantly, life is meandering on.

Precious my charge and delightsome: three spirits all joyous and tender—
Children of nature and innocence, breathing the freshness of flowers.
Love-tokens are they from Paradise, warm from the kiss of the sender,
Blossoms of promise still rich with the glow of the Amaranth bowers.

Hyacinth, Lily, and Violet—pleasant conceit of their christening;
Hyacinth, darkly embowered in the riches of clustering curls;
Slenderly delicate Lily, a lily transfigured and glistening,
Violet, lowly and meek, yet the joy of my garland of girls.

Happy their lot—in themselves, in their sire, in a mother's affection;
Happy in mutual love all the merry bright round of the years,
Little they reckon of the travelling world, with its nameless dejection;
Even their sighs are the surfeit of joy, laughter-laden their tears.

Lofty things move them to worship; adoring they wonder, but fear not;
Little things minister pleasure, as ever it fares with the good;
Nature to them utters low, subtle voices that other ears hear not;
Marvellous harmonies greet them from river, and mountain, and wood."

Henry Kendal, the national poet of New South Wales, and among Australasians the singer by far the sweetest, through the surpassing grace wherewith he has linked the magic of sense to the music of sound, was born at Ulladulla, on the east coast of Australia. His youth was mainly spent in the "bush;" of regular education he received but little, save what his own passionate longing for self-improvement led him to acquire. He was an omnivorous reader of poetry and romance, and from early youth, like Pope "he lisped in numbers, for the numbers came." After serving for some time in a whaling ship throughout the South Seas, he had the good fortune to enter the office, as a clerk, of "a poetically-minded lawyer named Michael," who, as he says, first kindled within him the fire of emulation. Michael, who ranks among our Australasian poets under the pseudonym "John Cumberland," was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and a man of wide and exquisite culture, the friend of Moore, Lever, Lover, Griffen, Carleton, and that brilliant circle associated with the *Dublin University Magazine*. But, alas, his fondness for the "rosy god" had cursed his life and marred all his prospects. Discerning the poetic genius latent in the youth, Michael devoted himself to directing his studies, and to purifying and enobling his tastes and ideals. To him Kendal owes much of that chaste richness and power, so to speak, held in restraint, which characterise his work. Michael died, however, after a year or two of this pleasant *cameraderie*, and Kendal, disgusted with law, entered the service of the Government of New South Wales. Under the notice of Sir Henry Parkes, also, Kendal came about this time, who, with that keen eye for merit that distinguished him at all stages of his career, invited the young poet to contribute to the *Empire*. Here some of his earlier pieces appeared side by side with those of Harpur's later poems.

After spending some years in the service of the Government of New South Wales, first in the Survey Office, and next in the Colonial Secretary's Department, and having married in the meantime a lady of great beauty and accomplishments, Charlotte,

daughter of Dr. Rutter of Sydney, with whom his union was one of the highest and truest happiness, in an evil hour he was led to resign his position, and devote himself to literature. He had won a poetical prize offered by a Victorian journal, and was led to believe he could support himself by his pen in Melbourne. Thither, therefore, he proceeded with his family, full of high hopes. But for the hack work of journalism Kendal was utterly unfitted. Too fastidious in taste to possess that readiness of production essential to Press work, he proved utterly unfitted for the task. Dark days of want and semi-destitution followed, intercalated with periods of terrible depression, as he has so touchingly recorded in his poem, "The Street." Then the poet had to return to New South Wales, broken in health and hopes. His friends, the Fagans of Gosford—name dear to all lovers of Kendal—befriended him and gave him light employment until Sir Henry Parkes, with the consent of his fellow Ministers, created for him the office of Inspector of Forests, where his wonderful knowledge of the "bush" would be utilised. But the duties were far too onerous for his weakened frame, and on August 1, 1882, Henry Kendal passed away, in the fortieth year of his age. At Waverley, a suburb of Sydney, he lies interred, "within sight and sound of the illimitable sea he loved so well."

Kendal's works are comprised in the two volumes, *Leaves from an Australian Forest* and *Songs from the Mountains*, both republished in the volume of his complete works issued in 1886. His popularity is still on the increase. During his lifetime his fame was somewhat overshadowed by that of Gordon, whose poetry was more in accord with the spirit of the time. But with the more general diffusion of culture throughout the great continent, his works are daily becoming more popular—not that Gordon is valued the less, but that Kendal is prized the more. Essentially an idyllic poet, he is one to whom Australasians, weary of the turmoil and "the briars of this work-a-day world," may turn for pictures of peaceful Arcadian beauty, even as long ago the critical and thought-weary Alexandrians rejoiced in the idyllic landscapes of the Greek pastoral poets, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus.

Kendal's vocabulary, though not so surprisingly full as that of Domett and Stephens, claims its chief merit in its choiceness. Invariably, it is absolutely the best word possible under the circumstances of the case which he selects; while, as regards the other two, their excessive ornament begets diffuseness. By a chasteness of taste and a severe beauty more Greek than Anglo-Saxon, of vocabulary, idiom, and poetic imagery, Kendal's work is characterised. To Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon*, much of it bears a close resemblance in pervading atmosphere, and from these general attributes arise the fact that the more cultured section of the Australasian community are his most fervent admirers. His sources of figurative

comparison are both numerous and characterised by aptness and propriety. Only a keen lover of nature, and one familiar with all the subtle, changeful features of the Australian bush could have conceived such an image as :

"The gem-like eyes
Of ambushed wild things, stared from bole and brake."

Or this :

"In the throat of a feculent pit is the beard of a bloody-red sedge."

Kendal's imagery, flashing, clear-cut, and pellucid, a picture often in a word, if less broadly effective than that of Stephens, is more invariably true. As a metrist, Kendal cannot compare with Domett, Stephens, or Gordon. He is more tenderly sweet than any, but not so varied. The measures he essayed, some of them of great beauty, as, for instance, "Euroclydon," he moulded to his will with the ready ease of a master. As compared with the others, however, his range was narrow. But within that range he is as melifluous as Stephens, and the dainty grace of many of his sonnets, modelled on those of Rossetti, such as "A Mountain Spring," "By a River," and "Rest," are only inferior to those of his master. The last-named in its languorous, voluptuous longing :

"O Mother Nature! would that I could run
Outside to thee; and, like a wearied guest,
Half blind with lamps, and sick of feasting, lay
An aching head on thee. Then down the streams,
The moon might swim, and I should feel her grace,
While soft winds blew the sorrows from my face,
So quiet in the fellowship of dreams,"

has a suggestion of Keats's immortal lines in the "Ode to a Nightingale" :

"O for a draught of vintage that hath been
Cooled for a long time in the deep delved earth,
Tasting of Flora and the country green
Dance and Provençal song and sunburnt mirth."

Kendal is essentially an idyllic poet, and it is to be regretted he confined his work to merely fugitive pieces. Feeling, perhaps, he had not the strength of pinion for a longer flight, like our own Barry Cornwall, he wisely kept within his range. Lyrics of an exquisite and dainty grace, meriting praise the highest, he has written; as, for example, "Outre-Mer," "Brothers from Far-Away Lands," "The Song of the Cattle Hunters," and his splendid "Hymn of Praise," one verse of which has often been quoted for its sublime expression of adoration and the stately march of its rhythm :

"The great sublime hosannas of the sea
Ascend on wings of mighty winds to Thee.
And mingled with their stately words are tones
Of human love, O Lord of all the zones."

Kendal is a master both of passion and pathos. Some of his love-poems, as the sonnets "To Laura," "Merope," "Mary Rivers," &c., are charged with the very soul and spirit of love-sick longing, yet chastened and purified by a sense of the intrinsic dignity of human nature. In many passages a curious affinity can be traced between him and the *Love Letters of a Violinist*. There is the same passionate *abandon* to the sweet sway of love, with nevertheless a subtle sense of self-respect throughout it all. Kendal's verse also is weighted with a burden of pathos often too deep for tears. In common with Miss Jennings Carmichael, his emotional power lies in the natural and unfeigned character of the pathos he expresses. The circumstances are not framed to suit the preconceived emotion, but the latter arises naturally out of the circumstances. No one could read without being deeply moved his delicately pathetic "Araluen," written upon the death of his own daughter, "Hy-Brasil," "After Many Years," "The Street," that terribly tragic retrospect of his own life, and finally, "Mooni," wherein is represented the high-water mark of Kendal's genius. One noble verse I cannot refrain from quoting :

" Ah, the beauty of old ways,
Then the man who so resembled,
Lords of light, unstained, unhumbled,
Touched the skirts of Christ, nor trembled
At the grand benignant gaze!
Now, he shrinks before the splendid
Face of Deity offended,
All the loveliness is ended!
All the beauty of old ways ! "

Kendal in many single qualities is excelled by his fellow-singers, as, for example, by Domett and Stephens in wealth of imagery and copiousness of vocabulary, by Gordon in vividness of presentation, by Bracken in robust forcefulness, by Jennings Carmichael in pathos. But Kendal's claim to the chief place among Australasian singers is based upon his wonderful "many-sidedness," on the remarkable manner wherein all the qualities essential to the composition of a really great singer are combined in him. His genius is more eclectic, more composite, than that of any of his great Antipodean compeers. In harmony between sense and sound, and in intellectual strength—qualities the most important whereby to appraise the value of a poet's work—Kendal takes a place amongst the foremost of his fellows. In "Hy-Brasil"—that marvel of rich word-painting and rhythmic music as estimated by Antipodean standards of excellence—he never betrays a single weak line, while in all his poems the sign manual of intellectual strength is more or less present. In some, indeed, it borders upon the purely didactic, that being during the brief period when the spell of Robert Browning had fallen over him. Intellectual subtlety in him never tends to obscurity.

Kendal's specialty being idyllic poetry, he is less vividly epical in presentation than Gordon, less dramatically so than Stephens. This is borne home to the mind when one reads Kendal's racing poem, "How the Melbourne Cup was Won," after Gordon's "How we Beat the Favourite," or his "Ghost Glen," or "The Hut by the Black Swamp" after Stephens's "Midnight Axe." His faculty of humour was less broadly effective than theirs, but is more delicately playful. It was more subtly seasoned with the true Attic salt of wit, if less pitilessly sardonic. Stephens and Gordon expose shams with the steely, blue rapier-blade of sarcastic invective; Kendal genially laughs them out of fashion, even as "Cervantes smiled Spain's chivalry away." As the most compositely eclectic genius Australasia has yet produced, Kendal's place every year is becoming more widely admitted, and it will be long, I fear, before the dainty grace and rounded sweetness of his verse will be surpassed. As a specimen of his poetry, I would cite a portion of the "Hy-Brasil," to which reference has been so frequently made :

" ' Daughter,' said the ancient father, pausing by the evening sea,
' Turn thy face toward the sunset ; turn thy face and kneel with me.
Prayer and praise and holy fasting, lips of love and life of light,
These and these have made thee perfect shining saint with seraph's
sight ;
Look towards that flaming crescent ; look beyond that glowing
space ;
Tell me, sister of the angels, what is beaming in thy face ?'
And the daughter, who had fasted, who had spent her days in
prayer,
Till the glory of the Saviour touched her head and rested there,
Turned her eyes towards the sea-line, saw beyond the fiery crest
Floating over waves of jasper, far Hy-Brasil of the West.
All the calmness, all the colour, all the splendour and repose,
Flowing where the sunset flowered, like a silver-hearted rose.
There indeed was singing Eden, where the great gold river runs,
Past the porch and gates of crystal, ringed by strong and shining
ones ;
There indeed was God's own garden ; sailing down the sapphire sea,
Lawny dells and slopes of summer dazzling stream and radiant tree,
Out against the hushed horizon, out beneath the reverent day
Flamed the wonder on the waters, flamed and flashed and passed
away.
And the maiden, who had seen it, felt a hand within her own,
And an angel that we know not led her to the lands unknown.
Never since hath mortal seen it ; never since hath mortal, dazed
By its strange unearthly splendour, on the floating Eden gazed.
Only once since Eve went weeping through a throng of glittering
wings,
Hath the holy seen Hy-Brasil, where the great gold river sings ;
Only once, by quiet waters, under still resplendent skies,
Did the sister of the seraphs kneel in sight of Paradise.
But beyond the halls of sunset, but within the wondrous West,
On the rose-red seas of evening sails the Garden of the Blest.

But, behold, our eyes are human, and our way is paved with pain;
 We can never find Hy-Brasil, never see its hills again!
 Never look on bays of crystal, never bend the reverent knee
 In the sight of Eden floating, floating on the sapphire sea!"

Thomas Bracken of New Zealand is the legitimate successor of Alfred Domett, possessing much of his rhythmic grace and *curiosa felicitas*, and more than he of pure passion and pathos. Born in Ireland in 1842, he emigrated to the Antipodes in 1855, and has filled since then a variety of positions amid the "ups and downs" and kaleidoscopic changes of a colonist's life. By turns he became digger, storekeeper, stockrider, shearer, bushman, member of Parliament, and finally newspaper proprietor, being one of the owners and the editor of the *Evening Herald*, Dunedin. He is also a popular lecturer and elocutionist. His poems comprise "Behind the Tombs" (1871), "Flowers of the Freelands" (1877), "Lays of the Maori and Moa" (1884).

Bracken's chief characteristic is a subtle sweetness united to a goodly measure of intellectual force and robustness. Humour also in rich abundance he possesses, as witness his "Old Bendigo;" while a broadly sympathetic tone with the struggles and the cares, the aspirations and the disappointments of his fellow-men, renders his poetry widely popular amongst classes totally dissimilar. He has experienced all the pains of the battle of life himself, and he writes as one who knows. What a depth of sympathy, united to keenness of insight, is contained in the following stanza from his fine poem "Not Understood":

"O God! that men would see a little clearer,
 Or judge less harshly where they cannot see.
 O God! that men would draw a little nearer
 To one another! They'd be nearer Thee
 And understood."

Bracken possesses a fairly full vocabulary, while as regards idiomatic propriety and wealth of imagery, he will compare favourably with any of the other Australasian singers. His chief fault is a sort of facile diffuseness that detracts from the vividness of his epical presentation, by overlaying the subject with excessive details. He is apt also in some few instances to sacrifice sense to sound, seduced by his own sweet music. He is one of the most successful writers of lyrics in Australasia, and the example of his style I quote is a favourable specimen of his powers in this department, "The Waterfall."

"Falling, falling,
 Streaming, teeming:
 I am the child of the sun and snow,
 Falling, falling,
 Ocean is calling:
 Rolling along to its bosom I go."

A white virgin up on the hill-tops was dreaming,
A golden haired king saw the couch where she lay;
Her heart melted soon as his bright eye was beaming,
She gave me to him, but I've wandered away ;

Gliding, hiding,
Springing, singing,
I am the child of the sun and the snow ;
Falling, falling,
Ocean is calling.
Rolling along to its bosom I go.

I am the offspring of brightness and purity,
Of chastity cold and of passionate love,
Whirling along to the depths of futurity,
And bearing God's messages down from above.

Glancing, dancing,
Sweeping, leaping,
I am the child of the sun and the snow ;
Falling, falling,
Ocean is calling,
Rolling along to its bosom I go."

Over and above the veteran Brunton Stephens, Queensland claims another poet, who possesses the additional recommendation of being a "son of the soil." His youth has been passed therein, and now he holds a position in her Civil Service in the office of the Registrar of Patents. George Essex Evans is a young writer of high promise, whose volume, *The Repentance of Magdalen Despar*, published in 1891—a collection of poems already popular through the colonial Press—achieved so great a success in the Antipodes. His leading qualities are a richly imaginative poetic diction, united to great power in the expression of passion and of pathos. His "Black Knight," and "La Vie Malheureuse" (published in the *Queenslander*, Christmas, 1890) are worthy to rank beside much of Stephens's very noblest work, for the qualities referred to, but fall below his standard in rhythmical felicity and subtle sweetness, in the union of sense and sound. Evans also in vividness of dramatic presentation is exceedingly effective, his description of the battle scene in the "Black Knight" being almost worthy of Scott. His promise, though great, he is slowly but surely fulfilling, and the fruit of his matured genius may well be looked forward to with high expectations. The specimen I quote of his style is taken from "La Vie Malheureuse,"—not yet republished—descriptive of the reconciliation of an erring husband to his wife, after a separation of twelve years.

"Trembling with passion she ceased ; her utterance lost in her weeping :
Trembling with passion he rose ; standing once more at her side,
Strong as when floodgates unbarred, the strength of the torrent is
sweeping,
Rushed o'er his spirit and brain his love in a turbulent tide.

Said he, 'For evil that darkened the life which my love should have lighted.'

Said he, 'For folly redeemless what guerdon of faith can I give?

Can I make senseless the wound in the heart which my perfidy slighted?'

'Ah love,' she answered, 'the Past is the Past. I forgive.'

Pallid her features, yet splendid with radiance serener, completer,

Touched with a glory that lives but in goodness and truth.

Wasted by suffering and aged, yet her face to him seemed but the sweeter,

Fairer the beauty she wore than the beauty of youth.

Framed in the statuesque mould men love most to worship and honour,
Imperially wearing the seal of the beauty of old.

E'en though the impress of Time, the Destroyer, was on her,
Goddess-like, e'en though the silver entwined with the gold.

Locked in embraces that held her in rapture of passionate meeting,

Laid she her head on his breast, and pressed her soft lips upon his.

Said she, 'The gloom of estrangement is lost in the gladness of greeting.'

Love, I would live through the sad years again for one moment like this.' "

Finally, Victoria also claims a poetess, Miss Jennings Carmichael—the youngest, and though the last, certainly not the least important of our representative singers. For power of portraying pathos, simple and unfeigned, she has no rival in Antipodean literature. Her "Tomboy Madge" is the most pathetic poem in Australasian poetry, and is worthy to rank side by side with Longfellow's "Evangeline" and Hood's "Bridge of Sighs." To choiceness of vocabulary, and felicity of imagery, she unites considerable metrical facility, and great vividness of dramatic presentation. These, conjointly with her remarkable power of pathos, lead us to hope for great things yet from this talented young singer, a volume of whose poems is now in the press. For the grace and beauty of her verse are but a suitable setting for the exquisite moral purity of the sentiments she expresses. Much as I would wish to quote an extract from "Tomboy Madge," the poem is so perfectly symmetrical, that to excerpt would be to injure. In preference, I would cite a few verses from her poem, "A Wreath from Adam's Garden :"

"Around lie the limitless acres of forests Australian,
Infinite solitudes scarcely disturbed by a sound,
Only the keen tireless tinklings of bell-birds, leaf hidden
Break as a monotone chord on a silence profound.

"Rarely the sad sombre leafage is brightened with colour
Save by the white-starred clematis and glory-pea bine;
Or 'gainst the branch-trellised verge of the long stretching forest,
Dagger-leaved lightwoods and gold-tufted wattle-trees shine.

"Vaulted in passionless purity glistens the heaven,
Never the breath of a cloud on its measureless blue.
Deeper the purple tints glow on the close-wooded mountains,
Finer 'the shadow and shine' blend in dreamiest blue.

"These are the days when the soul with its yearning disquiet
Can for a moment be eased of the burdening pain.
O, thus to roam in the changeless quiescence of forest
Gives for a season relief from heart-sorrow and strain."

Such, then, are the poets of Australasia whom I have chosen as representative of Antipodean literature. Many others there are to whose genius I would fain have paid a more extended tribute here, as, for instance, D. B. W. Sladen, Sir Henry Parkes (notable as a poet but greater as a statesman), Garnet Walch, Arthur Patchett Martin and his talented wife, P. J. Holdsworth, A. W. Bathgate, W. Forster, G. G. McCrae, "Australie" (Mrs. Hubert Heron), J. B. O'Hara, Frances Adams, and others, but the restrictions of space have already been sufficiently overstepped. Of one thing I am assured, that the dawning of a glorious day of Australasian literature is already ruddying its East, when colonists, their nation-making labours lessened, will have time to devote to intellectual culture some portion of those energies now often so profitlessly expended amid the "storm and stress" of colonial politics!

OLIPHANT SMEATON.

WAR AMONGST THE VARIOUS HUMAN RACES.¹

ONE of the most important questions with which sociologists have to deal is how to diminish, if not to abolish, warfare. A distinguished French writer, whose work on the *Literary Evolution of Man* formed the subject of an article in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW, has written an admirable book entitled *La Guerre*, which contains, within the compass of less than 600 pages, all that is known as to the history of war amongst the various races of men. As the author explains in his preface, the term "evolution" used in his previous works could not properly be applied to war, inasmuch as every war is a relapse into savagery. This is a strong position to take up, but M. Letourneau shows by abundant and, we might add, overwhelming evidence that civilisation and war are fundamentally opposed. The admiration which some writers entertain for military triumphs finds little sympathy from M. Letourneau. He regards what is called civilised warfare with horror, as a fruitful source of crime and misery. Even at the present hour science and industry are employed in inventing and manufacturing military engines capable of destroying in a single minute thousands of human beings. Though cannibalism is regarded as a loathsome thing by European nations, war, which leads to the most dreadful examples of wholesale bloodshed, is viewed as quite an ordinary matter.

The author adopts the comparative method of treatment, and commences his inquiry with an interesting chapter on animal warfare. We learn that, though bees and ants carry on war on rather a large scale, they are free from the horrors of civil war, at least, as it has been known amongst the human race. Moreover, systematic cannibalism is unknown even amongst the most ferocious kinds of wild beasts. On the other hand, the practice of devouring human flesh prevails even still very largely amongst the African and South American savages, and it was a "religious" custom amongst the Aztecs.

In his account of warfare amongst the black races of men M. Letourneau displays enormous research and scientific knowledge. It

¹ *La Guerre dans les Diverses Races Humaines*. Par Charles Letourneau. Paris : Bataille et Cie.

is a curious fact, on which the author comments in a manner scarcely fair to Mohammedanism, that amongst the black races which have embraced the religion of the Arabian prophet, war has, since their conversion, become more cruel and sanguinary. It would seem that the negroes, as long as they remain fetish-worshippers, have not the least idea of proselytism; but, once they become Mohammedans, they regard the goods and the persons of their enemies as their legitimate prey. This unfortunate result comes, of course, from a too literal interpretation of the Koran.

The history of war amongst the yellow races is told by M. Letourneau with a marvellous wealth of detail. He pays a tribute to the anti-warlike doctrines inculcated by Confucius and other great Chinese philosophers; and he is by no means inclined to depreciate the Chinese people unduly. Their recent defeat by the Japanese does not at all show that they are traitors to civilisation. Victory on the battle-field is one thing; but the eradication of man's savage instincts is quite another thing. The terrible human sacrifices of the Aztecs are depicted with perhaps an overstrained degree of horror in M. Letourneau's book. The stoical fortitude of the Red Indians is acknowledged freely by the author, while he deplores their ferocity in time of war.

Having dealt with the history of war amongst the Assyrians, the Tartars, the Arabs, the Greeks, and the Romans, as well as amongst modern European nations, M. Letourneau devotes a concluding chapter to the future of war. He is of opinion that ere long war must be abolished, though the time is not yet. According to him, the most efficacious means of putting an end to war, are, first, to transform monarchies into republics; then to get rid of "the stupid admiration for military glory," or, in other words, to wipe out the spirit of "Jingoism"; and lastly, to bind various nationalities together by the sentiment of brotherhood, so that patriotism should no longer be associated with ideas of conquest and military supremacy.

We are sure that M. Letourneau's remarkable work will have a widespread and beneficent influence, for it will inspire the intellects whose thoughts leaven the lives and the opinions of the mass of humanity. We scarcely agree with him in his sanguine anticipations as to the speedy abolition of war. But surely, as long as armies go forth to fight and kill one another we cannot say that we have reached true civilisation? We therefore sympathise intensely with M. Letourneau, who is only echoing, after the lapse of a century, the words of Voltaire—one of the greatest pioneers of human progress—"War is an epitome of all wickedness."

THE TREATMENT OF THE CANADIAN INDIANS.

THE question how to deal with subject-races is always a difficult and delicate one. In ancient times the method was simple. Where aborigines were of use they were enslaved ; where they were not of use they were massacred. The reign of Elizabeth was a colonising period of which England is justly proud. Yet, even then both of the plans mentioned were freely practised, and when successful were royally rewarded. Thus Sir John Hawkins was given a significant coat-of-arms in recognition of the introduction by him of slavery into America, and similar services by others were ostentatiously signalised. It was at this period that was introduced the plan, not yet altogether neglected, of first cajoling inferior races (often with drink), next robbing them, and then exterminating them. Probably Shakespeare recognised this. In the *Tempest*, the production of his mature years, and in which we see more of the man than the creator of men, he had evidently present to his mind an idea of what was then going on, and had been going on for some time. Caliban, the aborigine, says to Prospero, his conqueror :

“ When thou camest first,
Thou strok'dst me, and mad'st much of me ; wouldst give me
Water with berries in't, and teach me how
To name the bigger light, and how the less,
That burn by day and night ; and then I lov'd thee,
And show'd thee all the qualities o' th' isle,
The fresh springs, brine pits, barren place and fertile.
Curs'd be I that did so ! All the charms
Of Sycorax, toads, beetles, bats, light on you !
For I am all the subjects that you have,
Which first was mine own king ; and here you sty me
In this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me
rest o' th' island.”

The history of the East India Company bristles with stories of crime and records of plunder. In comparison, the pages of the history of the Hudson's Bay Company are pure as driven snow, white as sea-bleached shells. This Company has produced no Warren Hastings. It is true the conditions were different. The redskin chief, in his teepee or wigwam, had no hidden stores of jewels in the cellars of a palace,

no vast accumulations of barbaric splendours. A few buffaloes, held in common with his tribe, and such furs as he could capture, comprised his whole wealth. All, therefore, the Hudson's Bay Company had to do was to trade in accordance with the accepted commercial morality. A cynic has, indeed, interpreted the Company's monogram H.B.C. to mean "Here before Christ," as signifying that the morality of trade prevented that of the Gospel, and a waggish translation of the Company's motto, *Pro pelle cutem*, has a grim reference to skinning an Indian; but, after all, the Company never broke faith with the red men. The trade with them was a matter of exchange satisfactory to both parties. The Company gave worthless beads, or cotton handkerchiefs, in return for valuable furs, the standard being a heap of sables as high as a rifle in exchange for a rickety fowling-piece; but even this was giving what was most preferred, in exchange for what could best be spared. Indeed, the Indian probably considered he had the best of the bargain. He had not seen, nor has he yet; a bead factory or a cotton mill. He doubtless considered both beads and handkerchiefs works of fine art, fashioned with much labour and skill by the white men's squaws. As he examined the delicately spun threads, the intricately woven fabric, and the rich red dye of a threepenny pocket-handkerchief, it is conceivable that the red man thought and thinks the white man a simpleton for parting with such a treasure in exchange for a mere skin, obtained at the cost of a cartridge (or perhaps only the flight of an arrow), and dried so easily and so quickly. The difference between the cost of sables in an Indian's teepee and in the shop of a London furrier, does indeed provide the Socialists with an argument, but in these days of competition, when to buy in the cheapest markets and sell in the dearest is the pole-star of commercial morality, a higher tone on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company could hardly be expected. Traders have not yet learned to do unto others as they would have them do to themselves. That is a doctrine for the dim and distant future. Doubtless this circumstance rendered the task of dealing with the Indians much easier for Canada when it took over the North-West, than the treatment of the native princes of India by England when it took over Hindustan.

The Indians of Canada are sharply defined into two classes: the Indians of the Provinces and the Indians of the Plains. Of the former very little needs to be said. For many generations they have been under the paternal influence of a civilised Government, and in close proximity (most of them) to Western enlightenment. They occupy "old Canada," that is, the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. After the British conquest of Canada these Indians were gradually gathered into Reserves, under competent superintendents, and were supplied

with the means (money and implements) to start them in life. Every possible influence was brought to bear upon them to induce them to abandon their nomadic life and to settle as agriculturists. The policy succeeded. The Indians are now farmers, except in those regions where fish, game, and fur-bearing animals are so plentiful that fishing, hunting, and trapping are more profitable than wheat growing and cattle raising. Their implements are of the most improved sorts and have been bought by them, whilst their farm buildings leave nothing to be desired. They have long had the advantages of an educational system peculiarly adapted to their requirements, industrial training not being forgotten, and debating societies even meeting with support. Notwithstanding the apathy of the Indian as regards education great advances have been made, and this, combined with successful trading and the efforts of missionaries, has made the Indians of the provinces prosperous, progressive, and self-supporting. Indeed, these Indians are not only civilised, but they are rapidly reaching the point where the line dividing them from other citizens becomes indistinct and gradually vanishes. The outward and visible signs of this are numerous and emphatic. They live in comfortable houses with flower-gardens and gravelled walks. They have adopted the clothing, the dietary, and many of the customs of the whites. They make for themselves roads, and they build bridges. They have their own agricultural societies with their annual shows. They trade with acumen equal to any of their neighbours, and whenever they affect the occupations of the pale faces they prove themselves equals, while losing none of their skill at the vocations peculiarly their own. They are thus expert as lumbermen, sawyers, and carpenters, fruit pickers, guides, pilots, flax pickers, coopers, basket-makers, teamsters, meat canning, blacksmiths, miners, lime burners, &c. &c. They have even entered the learned professions. The late chief, Ka-ke-wa-quo-na-by is the present Dr. Jones, and has been appointed an Indian agent; another is a B.Sc., has graduated, and is employed as a Dominion land surveyor, a position requiring a thorough knowledge of the higher mathematics. Many pass the Civil Service examinations and obtain Government appointments; while an Indian lady is in the first rank of Canadian literature. In some instances they have erected handsome granite monuments to the memory of their chiefs. The Indians of the provinces, too, have at their credit in the hands of the Government funds derived from the sale of surplus land, timber, &c., and the rent of land leased amounts to very nearly three-and-a-half millions of dollars. The millions belong to the Ontario bands. Few of those in Quebec had much land or valuables to dispose of, and in the provinces further east care was taken not to overburden the natives with estates. The interest on the trust fund amounted in 1892 to \$162,258. No appropriations are made from the capital

except for works of a permanent character. The population (still increasing) to which this paragraph refers is as follows: Ontario, 17,589 (of whom about 300 are still nomadic); Quebec, 11,649; New Brunswick, 1511; Nova Scotia, 2151; and Prince Edward Island, 812; nearly one-half of all of whom are still nomadic. It remains to add that many of the tribes have availed themselves of "The Indian Advancement Act" and have established municipalities in their midst, managing their local affairs by an elective council. Some Indians have gone out of treaty altogether, that is, have become full citizens, "enfranchised Indians," as they are called. They number, however, but a few scores, a fact that in the present unfortunate condition of Canadian politics is not to be regretted.

The above summary would not be complete unless it were mentioned that over-indulgence in alcoholic liquors is the one curse that weighs upon them like a pall whose only redeeming feature is that it is growing less and less as the years roll by. Rapidly as are these Indians progressing to civilised manhood, their advancement would be still more rapid but for their fatal propensity to drunkenness. There are stringent enactments against supplying any Indians with intoxicants, and in the portions of the country not yet settled it is comparatively easy to give effect to the laws; but in the thickly populated districts the evasions are numerous and their consequences disastrous. The shame and disgrace of this belong to the white people. It is a standing reproach to have it reported of them that those Indians are most benefited by Christian precept and example who live most remote from civilisation, because there they are not so liable to be corrupted by the baneful proximity of the white population.

In 1868 the Rupert's Land Act was passed by the British Parliament, and under its provisions the Hudson's Bay Company surrendered to the Crown its territorial rights over the vast region under its control. These lands, now known as Manitoba and the North-West Territories, passed into the hands of the Canadian Government. A new Indian problem at once presented itself. The plain Indians were, and are, quite different from those of the provinces. The Government found itself face to face with tribes of Indians who virtually depended for existence entirely upon the buffalo, and the buffalo was rapidly becoming extinct; is now quite extinct. The buffalo was indeed the Indian's all-in-all. Its skin gave him a house and a boat, its robe a blanket, its undressed hide a bed, the horn a powder flask, its meat his daily food, its sinews string for his bow and thread for sewing, its leather a lariat for his horse, a saddle, bridle, bit, and harness, its tail an ornament for his tent, its inner-skin a book in which to sketch the brave deeds of his life. House, boat, food, bed, covering, implements of war and the chase, every

want from infancy to age, and after life a shroud for him in his grave! The buffalo was to the Indian what the cocoanut tree is to the native of Ceylon, and was held in equal veneration. Of this, his sole wealth, he was being deprived by the rifles of the white men, his own improvidence (killing one if he merely wanted its tongue), and the natural law of the survival of the fittest. What wonder he should wring his hands, and send forth his lamentation, "What shall we do when the buffalo has gone? He is our only friend."

A population of 20,000, inhabiting an area of 2,664,000 square miles, on the verge of starvation, and whose only means of subsistence was passing away for ever; what to do in such a case was the problem now imposed upon Canadian statesmanship. The characteristics of the people, too, were peculiar. This is an important point. An error of the past has been to treat subject-races as though they were formed of similar material to that of the paramount power. No respect has been paid to the habits, customs, traditions or beliefs of the inferior race. Aborigines have hitherto been expected to swallow civilisation holus-bolus, or die. Their characteristics and idiosyncrasies are, however, of the first importance, if civilisation is to be true to its mission. What was alone surprising was the obtuseness with which civilisers who clung so tenaciously to their own peculiarities, yet failed to realise that savage tribes had feelings they as strongly cherished. What sort of men, then, were these red Indians who had thus become wards of the Queen of England, their "Great Mother," the "Great Woman," as their languages describe the Sovereign. In the first place, they had never worked. The Indian loves his gun, his bow and arrows; he rejoices in hunting, trapping, and fishing, occupations that are the sports of the aristocracy in the civilised countries whence have come his rulers. Even the labour attached to these pleasant tasks is performed by the squaws. The Indian kills, but it is his squaw who skins the carcase, dresses the meat, carries it home, and cures the skin. He will, indeed, sometimes assist in fishing, but I have seen the proud lord returning *à cheval* from the lake or the river, unencumbered by impedimenta, and followed by his squaw on foot, heavily laden with the result of their skill. This is entirely the result of training generation after generation; but the habit has not even yet become "second nature," because, as will be seen shortly, when there is adequate incentive, the Indian will work as well, or better, than his teachers; and when he can be induced to trade on recognised principles, he trades with equal acumen. Secondly, and as a result of inherited indolence, the red man is improvident. He cares not for to-morrow, believing that to-morrow will have cares and anxieties enough of its own. When the rigours of the Canadian winter are remembered, this trait of the Indian's

character will be seen to be singularly unfortunate. In Canada the white man provides provender for the winter. He lays in a store of frozen meat, frozen game, frozen fish, frozen milk. He has vegetables in his cellar, stacks of firewood at his door, and has his larder well stocked with all the necessaries and many of the luxuries of life. * The Indians, except those now becoming civilised, do none of these things. A fatalist could not be more apathetic on the subject of his next meal than is the red Indian, even when the prairie is beneath two feet of snow, must be so for many months, and the thermometer lingers day after day at thirty below zero, with an occasional dip to forty. The wild Indian in winter starves: he starves himself. Two winters ago I was among the Stony Indians, on the lake-dotted plains of Alberta, almost within sight of the Rockies. There was not one of them that possessed more than a day's food, except the chief, who had had the foresight to grow and store a few bushels of potatoes. They subsisted by netting fish from beneath the frozen surface of a lake; they shot partridges and rabbits. Whenever they did so they feasted. If a day came when the fish would not be caught, and the rabbits and partridges would not be shot—why, then they fasted and smoked kinikinik (the inner bark of the red willow). While I was with them, two squaws, after three days' sport, shot a bear, some rabbits, and some partridges. One would have thought that experience would have dictated to them the expediency of freezing these for judicious consumption. Not so, however, but, as Carlyle would say, "just the opposite of so." The Indian is anything but selfish. He will not feast while his neighbours fast. On this occasion a grand dancing party was convened, the whole of the spoil was cooked; the next day not a mouthful was left, and the feasters slept the sleep of the gorged. Recently, an Indian, one of my immediate neighbours, killed a she-bear and three cubs, for the sake of eating the flesh. He could have fed the animals for a year without the expenditure of a single cent, have then enjoyed a far more substantial meal, and (as he is among civilised traders), in addition, he could have sold the skins for \$100. But, in prairie slang, "Indians are not built that way."

Indolence, then, and its twin, improvidence, are the two worst faults in the Indian's character. I will call them, rather, the two most unfortunate features, because they spring from no bad motives and can hardly be called faults. Of the red man's good qualities, I will just now speak of only one. The Indian is honest. He may starve, but he will not steal. When settlers on the north-west prairies leave their homes for a day, or perhaps two days, to visit the nearest towns, it is common with many of them not to trouble to lock their doors. On their return they often find signs that Indians have visited their houses to rest themselves and smoke, but

not a single thing has been stolen, though plate, cutlery, implements had been lying around—articles that the Indians daily use, as well as others that would tempt the cupidity of most poor men. Here is an instance given by General (now Sir William Francis) Butler, which I quote because it is typical and not exceptional :

“ ‘The Moose that Walks’ arrived at Hudson’s Hope early in spring. He was sorely in want of gunpowder and shot, for it was the season when the beavers leave their winter houses, and when it is easy to shoot them. So he carried his thirty marten skins to the fort to barter them for shot, powder, and tobacco. There was no person at the Hope. The dwelling-house was closed, the stores shut up. The man in charge had not yet come from St. John’s. Now, what was to be done? Inside the wooden house lay piles and piles of all that the Walking Moose most needed; there was a whole keg of powder, there were bags of shot and tobacco—there was as much as the Moose could smoke in his whole life. There was a rent in the parchment-window; the Moose looked at all these things, and at the red flannels, then at the four flint guns and the spotted pocket-handkerchiefs, each worth a sable-skin at one end of the fur trade, but half a sixpence at the other. There was tea, too; tea, that magic medicine before which life’s cares vanish like snow in the spring sunshine. The Moose sat down and thought about these things, but that only made matters worse. He was short of ammunition, therefore he had no food, and to have no food when one is hungry is a very unsatisfactory business. It is true that ‘The Moose that Walks’ had only to walk in through that parchment-window and help himself until he was tired. But no, that would not do. . . . After waiting two days, he determined to set off for St. John, two full days’ travel. He set off, but his heart failed him, and he turned back again. At last, on the fourth day, he entered the parchment-window, leaving outside his comrade, to whom he jealously denied admittance. Then he took from the cask of powder three skins’ worth; from the tobacco, four skins’ worth; from the shot, the same; and, sticking the requisite number of marten-skins in the powder-barrel, and shot-bag, and the tobacco-case, he hung up the remaining skins on a nail to the credit of his account, and departed from this El Dorado, this Bank of England of the red man in the wilderness. And when it was all over he went his way, thinking he had done a very reprehensible act, and one by no means to be proud of.”

The plain Indians, then, whom Canada took upon itself to govern were, first, starving; secondly, unaccustomed to work, but amenable to training; thirdly, generous, and therefore imprudent; fourthly, the very opposite of self-reliant; fifthly, honest; and sixthly, as will be seen later on, independent, if not proud. To these qualities must be added bravery to recklessness, and use and not adverse to fighting. What was Canada to do with 20,000 such people? Events occurred that made it necessary that something should be done, and that right quickly. When Canada sent its officers to take possession of the North-West Territories (1869) they were driven back by the Red River rebels under Louis Riel, who immediately afterwards (1870) set up a Provisional Government, with himself at the head. This perplexed the Indians. They knew that the Territories had been thrown open to settlement, and that the

tide of immigration that the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company had hitherto shunted into the United States, was then beginning to flow over the vast territory that had always been the undisputed home of the red men—undisputed, that is, by anybody but themselves, tribe against tribe. They feared that they were no longer to be possessors of the land, if the right to roam everywhere can be called "possession," and they did not hesitate to declare that they were being "robbed" of their inheritance. Civilisation, too, was introducing many utilities that bewildered the Indians. Steamboats were placed on the inland waters, surveyors passed over the land, "speaking wires," as the Indians called the telegraphs, were erected, all on the Indians' "property," and without the Indians' permission. What wonder was it that the Indian's mind was disturbed, and that a chief, looking upon the strange wires stretching through his land, exclaimed to his people: "We have done wrong to allow that wire to be placed there before the Government got our leave to do so. There is a white chief at Red River, and that wire speaks to him, and if we do anything wrong he will stretch out a long arm and take hold of us before we can get away." The feeling of uneasiness thus created was emphasised into discontent by the machinations of filibustering traders from the United States, who warned the Indians that the British meant to exterminate them by forcing them to the front in all their battles. These unscrupulous persons had their own ends to serve. They were engaged in debauching the Indians by drink, and then, under the guise of trading, robbing them mercilessly. Matters were brought to a crisis when they brought their filibustering to a head by shooting dead several of the red men. It was clear to the authorities that the time to act had arrived, if they wished for the peace and retention of the country.

Canada saw that it must do one of two things. It must either feed the Indians or fight them. To the credit of Canadian statesmanship, be it said, that, unlike the policy of any other nation of which history has records, it decided to feed them until such time as they had taught them how to feed themselves. Whether regarded as an act of justice, or polity, or humanity, or all combined, this was alike commendable. The *modus operandi* adopted by Canada was to enter into treaties with the tribes of Indians occupying the lands from Lake Superior to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, and afterwards with those in British Columbia, which came into Federation in 1871, bringing 34,000 Indians, who soon came under treaty, and, not being dependent on the buffalo, speedily became self-supporting. These treaties are well worth a careful study, but all that can be attempted here is to point out their salient features. One point the Indians were never weary of emphasising—viz., a bold declaration that the white man had robbed the red man of his land. "This is the Indian's country, not the white man's," said the chief of the

Ojibbeways, adding, "all this is our property where you have come. . . . This is what we think, that the Great Spirit has planted us on this ground where we are, as you were where you came from. We think where we are is our property. . . . It is our chiefs, our young men, our children and great-grandchildren, and those that are to be born that I represent here, and for whom I ask terms. The white man has robbed us of our riches, and we don't wish to give them up again without getting something in their place." Referring to what the Indians believed, on erroneous information received, to be the sale of their lands to the Government by the Hudson's Bay Company Chief O-ta-ka-o-nan (the Gambler) said, on behalf of the Crees and the Saulteaux, "The Company has stolen our land." "What did the Company steal from you?" asked the Commissioner, and the Gambler replied, "The earth, trees, grass, stones, all that I see. The Company has no right to this earth, but when they are spoken to they do not desist, but do it in spite of you." This point was further pressed by Chief Pis-quah, who demanded the £300,000 that the British had paid to the Hudson's Bay Company for their territorial rights. It was with difficulty the Indians were brought to understand the explanation given to them by Lieutenant-Governor Morris—viz., "Many, many years ago, before we were born, one of the kings gave the Company certain rights to trade in this country. The Queen thought that this was not just, neither to the white man nor to the red. She considered that all should be equal; but when the Queen's father's father's hand had been given she could not take it back without the Company's consent; therefore she told the Company that the time had come when they should no longer . . . have the exclusive right to trade here, and hence" the £300,000 and the grant of land. Again, Chief Sweet-grass, for the Crees, "We heard our lands were to be sold, and we did not like it; we don't want to sell our lands; it is our property, and no one has a right to sell them." Said Button Chief, for the Blackfeet, "The Great Spirit gave us this land, not the Great Mother." "All around me," said another, "I see the smoke of the pale faces to ascend; but my territories I will never part with; they shall be for my poor children's hunting-fields when I am dead." I have quoted the above instances of the jealousy with which the Indians regard the encroachment on their territory, because herein lay "the height, the crest, or crest unto the crest," of their position, and explains much of their conduct even to the present day.

The land question was therefore the first point to be settled. This, however, presented but few difficulties, especially when the tenacity for ownership discovered in the preceding paragraph is remembered. The Indian is very tractable and is easily pleased. He was soon brought to acquiesce in the doctrine that the Great Spirit of the red man was also the Great Spirit of the pale face;

that the land was as much for the one as the other; that the trees were planted and the waters flowed for both; and that there was room enough for all. The Indian was assured and accepted the assurance, that the Great Mother had as much love for him as she had for the British, for her children of the setting sun equally with those of the rising sun. The Indians were then offered certain tracts of land called Reserves, based as regards extent at the rate of one square mile for every family of five. It is important to remember that it was "at this rate," and not that any particular square mile should be set aside for any particular family. The latter would not have been intelligible to such nomads as the Indians, with their communistic customs and notions. To this day each Reserve is held in common, though holding in severalty, as will be seen shortly, is now taking root. These Reserves were to be beyond interference or intrusion by white people or any one else; the treaties guaranteed that they should not be sold or alienated without the consent of the Indians and then only for their benefit; while the Indians' solicitude for their descendants was satisfied by the stipulation that the land should be theirs "as long as the sun shall shine and waters shall flow." The Indians, too, were allowed to select the Reserves themselves, and it speaks well for their judgment that in every case they chose the very best spots that could be found. It should be added that these Reserves are not prisons for their occupants. It would never have been satisfactory to nomads so to crib, cabin, and confine them. They claimed and received the right still to hunt, trap, and fish over the vast plains of the North-West, so long as they did not molest the settlers thereon. The Reserves it was hoped, however, would tempt the Indian to abandon his precarious life of hunting on the plains, and induce him to cultivate the soil on the lands so set apart, and so be led to adopt the habits and customs of civilisation. With what success will be seen later on. One feature of this allotment of Reserves is worthy of notice—viz., the allotment to one or more bands together, in the localities in which they have had the habit of living. This is, as experience has proved, far preferable to the system in the United States (where the Indians have also Reserves)—viz., of placing whole tribes in large Reserves, which eventually become the object of cupidity to the whites, and the breaking-up of which has so often led to discontent, and not infrequently to Indian wars. The Indians have a strong attachment to the localities in which they and their fathers have been accustomed to dwell, and it is desirable to foster this home feeling, rather than to give it a wrench. Further, the Canadian system of band Reserves would diminish the offensive strength of the tribes in the improbable event of restlessness or disaffection; while the plan adopted also brings the red man into proximity with markets for their produce. For the small estates

thus yielded to the Indians, the vast territory known as Manitoba and the North-West were yielded to the Crown. The Ojibbeways thus signed away 55,000 square miles; the Crees and Saulteaux, 75,000 square miles; the Chippewas and Swampy Crees, 100,000 square miles; the Blackfeet, 50,000 square miles. Indeed, the title and right of the Indians to all the great region from Lake Superior to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, comprising 2,664,000 square miles, was relinquished for eighty-five Reserves, whose total acreage amounted to 4,200 square miles; or rather these figures will be correct when the very few wanderers (less than 2000) not yet "in treaty" have the wisdom to follow the example of their brother red men.

It must not be thought, however, that the mere exchange above indicated was all the Indians received as compensation for the relinquishment of their territory. The land was a great deal in the eyes of the Indian, but it was not everything. He was starving. Indeed, wherever the chiefs, &c., met the Commissioners to negotiate they had to be fed by the Government while the negotiations were going on. Not only were the Indians starving, but there was no prospect of a brighter future. Year by year they saw the means of subsistence becoming less and less. It was seen that fur-bearing animals and the buffalo were rapidly disappearing. "It appears," said Say-sway-Kees, a dozen years ago, "as if there is only one buffalo left." Had the chief spoken to-day, he could have said not that it appeared so, but that it was so. The Indians therefore demanded provision against starvation. This was too hurriedly assumed by the Commissioners to mean that the Indians wanted always to be fed. It was also explained that such a course was impossible, and that had it been possible would not have been prudent, because it would have been a premium on indolence, as few Indians or any other men would work if they were fed without. The Indians had not, however, demanded anything so humiliating or eleemosynary. What had been asked was in effect, "you are asking us to cease hunting and begin farming, to leave our tents and to live in houses. But we don't know how to build houses, or how to plough, sow, reap, or tend cattle. We must be taught, and we must be provided with the wherewithal to start this new life." The Indians, very naturally, dreaded to face the transition period, during which they might be overtaken with famine. After much haggling the Government agreed to pay perpetual annuities of five dollars per capita to each Indian, man, woman, and child; the payment of an annual salary of twenty-five dollars to each chief and fifteen dollars to each headman, as well as to supply official clothing to the chief and headmen, British flags to fly over the chiefs' tents, and silver medals for the chiefs to wear. Agricultural implements, oxen for ploughing, cattle to form the nuclei of herds, seed grain, twine for fishing nets, and some minor articles were also stipulated

for. The treaties differ in the amounts of this kind of assistance according to the circumstances in each case, but the above is a description sufficiently exact for the present purpose. Afterwards, on the suggestion of the Hon. David Laird, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, it became the settled policy of the Government to appoint "instructors" to each Reserve in proportion to the number of Indians thereon, who teach their charges farming, carpentering, blacksmith work, look after them in the most paternal manner, and with the agents who are over them, have proved themselves to be, and are so recognised by the Indians themselves, their best friends, protectors, and advisers.

There were many other demands made by the Indians which showed that they were not only willing but anxious for civilisation. They asked that their children should be educated. "We want our children to be taught the knowledge of the white men," they urged, and as a consequence the treaties all provide for the establishment of schools for the instruction and industrial training of Indian children. I shall deal with these more particularly when I come to consider the effect of the administration of the treaties. With a still louder voice did the Indians demand that no intoxicating drinks should ever be sold to the Indians. On this point they were as emphatic as the most ardent prohibitionist could wish. "As regards the fire-water," said the chief of the Ojibbeways, "I do not like it, and I do not wish any house to be built to have it sold. Perhaps at times if I should be unwell I might take a drop just for medicine; but shall any one insist on bringing it where we are, I shall break the treaty." He added, "If it was in my midst the fire-water would have spoiled my happiness, and I wish it to be left far away from where I am." The Crees and the Saulteaux insisted upon similar stipulations. "Tell the Great Mother," said a Cree chief, "that we are glad the traders are to be prohibited bringing spirits into our country. When we see it, we want to drink it, and it destroys us; when we do not see it, we do not think about it." The consequence of this was that a stringent Prohibition Act was passed, and although it has failed amongst the white people and has had to be supplanted by a Licensing Act, yet the regulations as regards the supplying of liquor to Indians are still in force. The result is that the Indians cannot obtain either small beer or fire-water. The contrast in this respect between the Indians of the provinces and those of the plains is very marked. There is not the same contact with the pale faces. The prairie is but thinly populated, and the goings in and comings out of both white men and red men are well known. A man's every action is public. This renders vigilance easy and therefore successful. I do not say there are no evasions of the law, but they are few and far between. With no race of men, perhaps, is the desire for strong

drinks greater than with the Indians, and yet, for the reasons above indicated, I do not suppose there are more sober people anywhere on the face of the earth.

At the same time that the Prohibitory Law was passed the North-West Mounted Police was established. This excellent body of men, in which a son of Charles Dickens held a commission, has done good service in the maintenance of law and order. It is mainly through them that the liquor traffic with Indians has been suppressed. At first these red-coats were regarded by the Indians with fear and distrust, but when it was found that they were just to all people—red and white—alike, that they arrested a white man if he robbed an Indian as well as an Indian if he robbed a white man, they came to trust them and to regard them as protectors and friends. Manistokos, the Blood Indian Chief, said publicly: "In the old buffalo days the Indians were rich in robes and horses and had plenty to eat. Whisky made them poor and unhappy, for many were killed. The Mounted Police came, and no longer could we get whisky. The buffalo went away, and we were very poor; but we are happier in our poverty, because the whisky is gone, and we look upon the Mounted Police as our friends." Again, an Ojibbeway Indian trader said: "The change is wonderful. Before the red-coats came we were never safe, and now I can sleep in my tent anywhere, and have no fear. I can go to the Blackfeet and Cree camps, and they treat me as a friend." Red Cow said: "The police have made many promises; they have kept them all—not one of them was ever broken. Everything that the police have done has been good."

Another point strongly urged is somewhat remarkable. The Indians asked that the half-breeds should be included in the treaties. This shows how far removed, indeed, is the East from the West. In India the Eurasian, or half-caste, is regarded as a pariah by the European, and as an outcast by the dusky Oriental. The tawny sons of the East believe that their daughters are contaminated, lost to salvation, by association with the pale-faced infidels. With the Indians of the West the case is different. One of the chiefs declared: "I should not feel happy if I was not to mess with some of my children that are around me—those children that are half-breeds—those that have been born of our women of Indian blood. We wish that they should be counted with us, and have their share of what you have promised. We wish you to accept our demands. It is the half-breeds that are actually living amongst us, those that are married to our women." Other chiefs spoke similarly, but not with the limitation noticeable in the above quotation. This was at first likely to cause a difficulty; indeed, would have done so but for the generosity of the Canadian Government. The half-breeds are of three kinds. First there are those

who had squatted, and had their farms and homes; secondly, those who are entirely identified with the Indians, living with them, and speaking their language; thirdly, those who do not farm, but live the nomadic life of the Indians. As to the first class, the question was an easy one. They were recognised as possessors of their farms, and confirmed by the Government in their holdings. The second class have been recognised as Indians, and when they so wished have passed into the bands among whom they resided. The position of the third class was more difficult. The loss of the means of livelihood by the destruction of the buffalo pressed upon them as upon the Indians. These were not brought under the treaties, but scrip was issued to those who asked for it which entitled them to land, and those that settled down and showed an inclination to enter upon agricultural operations have been assisted to do so. All the Government insisted upon was that the half-breed should not occupy a dual position, that is, he should not become a "ward," and claim treaty money as an Indian, and at the same time demand the full rights of citizenship as an independent half-breed. The policy was wise. The half-breeds are not to be despised. They have done good service to the State. As Lord Dufferin, with his usual keen appreciation of men and facts, pointed out at Winnipeg in 1877, the half-breeds "have been the ambassadors between the East and the West; the interpreters of civilisation and its exigencies to the dwellers on the prairie as well as the exponents to the white men of the consideration justly due to the susceptibilities, the sensitive self-respect, the prejudices, the innate craving for justice of the Indian race. In fact, they have done for the colony what would otherwise have been left unaccomplished, and have introduced between the white population and the red man a traditional feeling of amity and friendship, which but for them it might have been impossible to establish."

I will summarise the other points of the negotiations that culminated in the treaties thus: The Indians objected to compulsory military service in the event of war. They had been told by Americans that the policy of extermination was to be effected by placing them in the front of battle. Their wishes in this respect were granted. One tribe was opposed to capital punishment, or perhaps to hanging only; but the Great Mother would not consent to this. They asked for missionaries to teach them the white man's religion, but were satisfied with the assurance that this was not a question for the Queen, but for the churches, to whom assistance and facilities would be given. The chiefs objected to "red" coats for themselves, and demanded that the colour "should correspond with the sky," but they were told that red was the Queen's colour, and that as they were to accept salaries from the Queen they became her officers and should wear her colour. (The headmen, however,

were blue.) This pleased them. They regarded with contempt some pewter medals that had been distributed, and demanded silver ones, and this was granted. They asked that their debts to the Hudson's Bay Company should be discharged, but this was not agreed to. Many of them asked that the Great Father (the President of the United States) should be consulted, and it was with difficulty they could be made to understand that he had no power whatever in the land. At last they admitted they had been prompted to urge the request by Americans from over the border. They asked that their aged, infirm, and poor should be provided for, but they were urged to self-reliance, and not to lean altogether on the white man, though they were assured that, over and above the treaty, the Queen would do much for them, as acts of grace in exceptional circumstances and times of great distress, as has always been done, and not for the Indians alone, but also for the whites. The Indians further asked that the buffalo should be protected, and legislation on the subject was promised and performed, but, it may as well at once be said, has proved of no avail, nor have the Indians yet learned the wisdom of judiciously slaughtering fur-bearing animals, but kill at all seasons. Finally, the Blackfeet, preferring a pastoral life to one of agriculture, asked for cattle instead of seed and implements, and the treaty with them was framed accordingly.

All these treaties have been carried out with the utmost good faith and the nicest exactness, except that much more has been done for the Indians than was stipulated. The first of the treaties under consideration was signed in 1871, others have followed at short intervals, and the process is still going on. Roughly speaking, therefore, the Indians of the plains have been under treaty for twenty years. What has been the result? In the first place the whole of the Indians have been tranquillised. Not only is there no discontent or disaffection, but the red man has become thoroughly attached to the white man's government. One reason for this is that the Indians had long yearned for what they got, a yearning not the less strong because it was not expressed or formulated. So long ago as 1819 the Indians defined their position when tempted with great bribes to massacre the Red River colonists. "No," said they; "the colonists are our friends." And not only did they refuse, but they warned the colonists of the impending danger. Even during the treaty negotiations, when agents from the United States sought to anticipate the authorities by purchasing land from the Indians at spots not then reached by the surveyors, they met with no encouragement. "Can you stop the flow of that river?" asked a chief of a land speculator. "No," was the reply, and then came the rejoinder: "No more can you stop the progress of the Queen's chief. When he comes on you can drop in behind him and take up all the land claims you want, but I caution you to put up no stakes in our

country." A significant feature in this respect was the conduct of the Blackfeet when their treaty was being arranged. At that time there was an Indian war raging in the United States in close proximity to those in Canada. Emissaries were despatched from those in the States to those in Canada craving assistance. But the Blackfeet were deaf to their entreaties, and this is all the more significant from the fact that more difficulties were expected with the Blackfeet than with any other tribe (except, perhaps, the Bloods) by reason of their turbulent character, and a suspected dislike (since proved to be groundless) to any interference from the whites. The argument is emphasised by the case of the Sioux. This tribe were not Canadian Indians. They were refugees from the United States who sought the protection of the Canadian Government. Though urged with brilliant promises by emissaries from the States to return to their own country, they refused to do so, and at length were taken "into treaty" by Canada. They have proved themselves peaceful and industrious persons. The great fact stands boldly forth that Canada has never fought the Indians, and she will not begin to do so now. Never has Canada had an Indian war; an Indian massacre is unknown in the annals of her history. She is too poor to seek glory by slaughtering the natives born on her soil, and too proud to defame her character or stain her escutcheon. Contrast with this the policy of the United States that is nearly always fighting its red men. Indian wars are very expensive matters to deal with. The small episode of last year, beginning with the Messiah craze and ending with the tragedy at Pine Ridge Agency, covering but a few weeks, cost the United States Government \$2,000,000, besides the lives lost, and in addition unsettled the natives throughout the country. It is to the credit of the Canadian Indians that, although sorely tempted, the Messiah craze had no charms for them. There was in Canada, it is true, Riel's first rebellion, that cost Canada \$7,000,000, and the lives of some of her noblest citizens. But that was not an Indian rising. Nevertheless, it taught both the white men and the red men a lesson. It taught Canada that it would be cheaper to ration all the Indian tribes than to have another rebellion; and it taught the Indian the prowess of the authorities, and this was emphasised by the trips given the Indian chiefs to Ontario, where they beheld tokens of the power, wealth, and glory of the white men.

The Indians, then, are tranquil and contented. Doubtless their material progress has had much to do with that contentment. When the Marquis of Lorne, as Governor-General, visited the Cree Indians in 1881, all he could say was that one tribe had recognised the utility of growing potatoes. He foresaw, however, that the statesmanship of the Dominion was such that "in a few more years no wild Indian would be seen except in the far North." When

Lord Stanley (the present Earl of Derby), visited the same Indians at the Crooked Lake Reserve in 1889, he saw how nearly the prophesy of his predecessor had been realised. Men that a decade ago trusted for living entirely to their rifles or bows and arrows, and lived in tents, now cultivate large farms, and successfully compete against the white man at the shows of agricultural produce. This is not exceptional, it is general. Some of them live in houses equal to any, and superior to many, of those of the British settler. They have organs, melodeons, violins, stocks, sewing machines, pictures, ornaments, and other marks of civilised life. They subscribe to newspapers, and submit to vaccination. In one case the police-barracks has been abandoned, and the building turned into an industrial school; and on the occasion referred to, I heard Chief O'Soup (Back-fat) assure his Excellency that there was not on the Reserve a child of school age that was not being educated. True the Crooked Reserve is in many respects a model Reserve, and its agent, Colonel Macdonald, in every respect a model agent; but many other Reserves could be written of in similar strains. More than this: several of the bands have recognised the importance, from self-interested motives, of each individual possessing the particular piece of land reclaimed, and the improvements made by him thereon. Members of those bands have in consequence taken up their lands in severalty, though the objection to such a partition was at first strenuously opposed by some of the older conservative chiefs. It seems almost a satire on the advanced thought of the East that the communism of the West has failed, as, indeed, it failed in the Europe of long ago. At any rate, it seems essential that before communism can succeed there must be a probationary period of private ownership. Be this as it may, there is no doubt of the success of the experiment on the Canadian Reserves; and ere long more of the bands, and gradually the whole of them, will profit by the example thus set, and the system of communism in the occupancy and cultivation of Reserves will ultimately be abolished. Already a spirit of self-reliance is discovering itself, as well as of prudence and foresight. The Indians have ever elected as their chiefs such men as they knew would be acceptable to their rulers, notwithstanding their strong respect for hereditary succession. They have not been cowed into this like the Oriental; they have done so of their own free will. The tribal institutions, however, are passing away. Soon there will be no elections of chiefs at all. They will be content with the Great Mother. Already the Indians who receive the allotments have developed a sense of individual importance and appreciation of personal power, are beginning to throw off their allegiance to their old chiefs, and are drawing nearer and nearer to full citizenship. The principal Indians not only till the land and raise food, but they store it up for the winter after the

manner of the whites, and they sell that which they do not require. They have improved the breed of their horses and cattle. Some of them have purchased horses at \$400 a team, and they have the most improved agricultural machinery. In short, the Indian now sees that notwithstanding the extinction of the buffalo, he can not only live better than he did, but positively be prosperous.

This state of affairs has had a marked effect on the social conduct of the Indian. His course is marked by manly independence, intelligent enterprise, and unflagging industry. Ghost dances are now a thing of the past, and although sun dances are held, the self-torture inflicted in order to become "braves" is now very rarely practised. In some places, too, the civilised pic-nic has supplanted the sun dance. As to social intercourse with the whites, that cannot be so long as dining together is a feature of intercourse. In India the system of caste keeps the two nations apart. With the red man there is no caste, but there is a barrier just as strong. The Indian still enjoys a dinner of boiled dog, and he cares not whether his veal or pork has been killed by the butcher or died a natural death; or whether his beef be that of an ox or of a horse he has found rotting on the plains. This is not the kind of dinner the white man enjoys. For the rest, the Indian does not, as do the Hindoo, come cringing with his salaams, and his "sahib," the conquered and the conqueror. He addresses the white man as "nīchi" (friend), expects to be so addressed, and enters your house to smoke with you with a consciousness of equality rather than inferiority. It is true the plain Indians are not yet self-supporting, nor could this be expected. Many of them are, however, and their number is rapidly increasing. The drain upon the exchequer, therefore, is becoming less and less every year; the reduction last year being \$76,000, as compared with the year preceding.

A few words must be given to the missionaries who have had much to do with making this state of affairs possible. As has been said, the Indians asked for missionaries, and it is evident, therefore, they were eager for the religion of the whites. To the credit of the missionaries be it said that they have not attempted to bewilder the red man with their "isms" and "ologies." The Roman Catholics, the Church of England, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and the Baptists, have all missionaries amongst the Indians; but they do not interfere with each other. Where one sect or denomination is, 'tis enough. The church to which any band belongs is a mere matter of chance of locality. Anything like rivalry in religion would have perplexed the Indians. Far better was it to consider Christianity in any form from the utilitarian view of an agent of civilisation, rather than to attempt the promulgation of any particular creed. Any Christianity is better than none at all, and although this doctrine may not suit the different factions of Exeter Hall,

yet it is sound common sense. What odds is it whether or not the Indian understands particular "isms" or "ologies." You must teach him the simple creed that you would teach a child. He is gradually becoming civilised, and is not yet ready for the subtleties compounded from the brains of schoolmen and classicists, the tissues that have been woven out of the webs of doubt and inquiry. There may be a time for this afterwards, but the missionaries have seen the wisdom of making the Indian a good man, before they attempted to make him a good Christian. They knew, too, that they had excellent material upon which to work. They recognised that the Indian, although he had many faults, had also some virtues, and innumerable wants. They have preached against the first; and by their own personal influence as much as by anything else, they have developed the second, and done something towards showing the Indians how to remedy the third. Last January two Indian chiefs, on behalf of their respective bands, presented an address to the Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba, in which they said: "Our religion has changed not only ourselves, but almost everything about us. Our tents have been turned into houses, and our dog trains into horse sleighs. Our food used to come largely from nets and snares, but now it comes largely from the land. There has been a power to do all this, and that power is the power of the great Book. . . . We would like to remind you of a thing that we think is very well known, that among all the people we represent, this great Book and its teachings have been able to keep us, in all times of trouble, law-keeping Indians."

The education of the Indian children is not appreciated on all the Reserves as much as could be wished. Taking the whole of the Dominion, considerably less than one-half only of the Indian children of school age are on the rôle; the exact figure for 1892 being—children of school age 15,385, on the rôle 6350, average daily attendance 3630. One chief gave as a reason for this, that they did not wish to adopt "too many" of the customs of the whites at once; they wanted first to be taught how to earn their livings. The real reason, however, has been the great distances the children had to travel to the schools. This is now being obviated by the establishment of boarding schools, where the children are fed as well as educated; and by no means the least of the advantages of this plan is that the pupils are removed from the deleterious influences of Indian life and are trained to civilised home life, as well as instructed in provident habits and domestic economy. They are thus taught tidiness and the value of time, two items unknown to the Indian. Doubtless one reason of inefficiency as regards education is that the Government does not vote enough money for the work. They do not offer sufficient pay to induce competent persons to relinquish the charms of social life and devote themselves to monotonous exist-

ence on an Indian Reserve. Indeed, so meagre is the pay of the teachers by the Government that, were it not that additions are made thereto by the respective religious denominations under which the schools are conducted, the poor teachers would not have enough to live on. Even the Indians themselves see this, and the two chiefs already quoted who spoke last January said: "Our people would like us to say that we thank those who have given us schools and we feel glad that our young people are profiting by them. But we think the schools might be better managed. The men you send are too small. We do not find fault with small men, but these seem to be the smallest men you have. We think this is because you give them so little. Sometimes we feed them with rabbits and other things, for we don't like to see them starving. Cannot you send us bigger men; men that you can pay a little better?" An objection to subsidies from the missionary bodies has been raised by, and has caused some friction amongst, the Baptists, who are adverse to State aid to denominational education. As all the sects are treated with equal justice the point is somewhat strained. The missionaries have done and are doing a great deal to civilise the Indian, and as their work is national they deserve national support. The man who stops to reckon the exact degree of connection with the Church which these grants are supposed to involve cares a great deal more about the theories of government than the practice of the Christian religion. The same objectors advocate compulsory education. This shows how little they understand the Indian's character. The Indian is easily pleased, easily led. He will make a bargain and he will stick to it; but you can never "compel" him to do anything, and were such a thing attempted he would be found as stolid as Carlyle's Dutchman.

The industrial schools are a great success, though there is not enough of them. Here the male youths are taught farming, the mechanical arts, shoemaking, and other useful things; and the girls, needlework, household work, &c. Both are trained to music, and have produced very efficient choirs and brass bands. A question that is troubling people just now is what is to become of the pupils after they leave school. Are they to go back to their homes, and if so, will the effect be that they will carry there the good influences of the school; or will they lose what they have learned, and degenerate to what they were? At present there seems to be a tendency for the product of the schools to go into the world and earn their own livings, the boys principally as farm hands, the girls as domestic servants, at which employment they earn from \$4 a month to \$12. In the East, the Hindoo will do for 10 rupees a month the work for which a European will be paid 10 rupees a day. It is not so with the Indians of the West. They are not adverse to doing white men's work, but when they do they expect, and they receive, white

men's pay. And quite right too! Thus, Indian harvest hands get as much a day as, a few years ago, agricultural labourers got per week in England.

A 'great deal of the success in the treatment of the Indians of Canada is to be attributed to the way in which the treaties have been administered. There have been some very unpleasant revelations lately in regard to the departmental matters of the Canadian Government; but no one has had a single word to say against the Indian department. It is free from "boodling," corruption, or even extravagance. Perhaps it is the only department of which this can be said. There is political patronage, certainly: that is the unfortunate practice of the country; but as regards the Indian department it holds but the second place. There is no thrusting round men into square holes merely to satisfy party fidelity or political friendship. The men must be fit for the positions they occupy, first of all; and their partisanship for those in power ranks but as an additional qualification. The result is that the Indian commissioners, inspectors, and agents are not mere figure heads, or arrogant officials, who care everything for themselves and nothing for the Indians. They are gentlemen of experience and culture, who have been selected because they understand the Indians, and because the Indians understand them. The agents are men who—they and their families—sacrifice the delights of refined society for a life far away on the prairie, cooped up on a Reserve with Indians for neighbours, and no other society to enjoy. And to all this is to be added that the salaries (only about £300 a year) are not big enough to be tempting. They have, however, their reward, not only in the consciousness of the good work they are doing, but in the knowledge that their work is appreciated by those most nearly concerned—viz., the Indians themselves. It is to this friendly relationship between the Indians and the representatives of the Great Mother that we must attribute the loyalty to the Queen that has discovered itself throughout the length and breadth of the land. What I say about these high officials I say about their subordinates. The relation is one of friendliness. I asked an Indian to take a letter for me to his farm instructor, "Mr. Pollock." "You mean Jim Pollock," was his reply; and I have seen an inspector, an officer of high military rank, get a whole band into good humour by dancing with the chief's squaw to the music of the tom-tom.

Compare with this the system in the United States. There the Indian is regarded as we regard rats. An inquiry was made into the causes of the outbreak of the Ogallala and Brule Sioux Indians last year. It was found to be in the bad faith of the Government, due mainly to fraud and injustice, which reduced the Indians to starvation and despair. The condition of the Indians is thus summed up: "Miserably clad, miserably sheltered, half-starved, cowed by

military oppression into sullen obedience." This state of things is a natural sequence of causes for which the United States Government is directly and alone responsible. The treaties that had been made in 1877 were broken in every detail; there were mismanagement and malfeasance on the part of the agents, and continual encroachments by the whites upon the vested interests of the Indians. The official who reported these things was promptly dismissed for his trouble, and the man who was chiefly instrumental in fomenting the rising was appointed in his place. In short, the policy of the United States is first to goad the Indian to rebel, and then to shoot him for rebelling.

It seems to me that the statesmanship of Canada has settled the question how to deal with subject-races such as the Indians. It is my persuasion that in this Canada stands alone. General Sheridan is credited with the atrocious remark that the best Indian is a dead Indian. Canada has shown that the dead Indian is the very worst Indian. In 1892 the Indians of Canada produced 181,740 bushels of wheat and 339,632 bushels of potatoes towards feeding the world, and other crops in proportion, as well as \$1,309,474 worth of fish, furs, and other industries. Dead Indians could not have done these things. It is to the credit of Canada that she is converting what was a danger to the State into a strength to the State. It was not the Indian's fault that he was degenerating—it was his destiny; it is not our fault that we have better uses for the continent than those to which he put it—it is our mission. But it would have been our fault if we had looked on the Indians' vast territories merely as outlets for our surplus population, without considering the claims of the occupiers to our aid, our protection, ay! and to our sympathy, as men with souls and as British subjects with rights. It would have been our fault and our shame if we had regarded the Indians as we regarded the wild beasts, the natural evils of a new country, to be gradually removed in the process of settlement. Canada was kinder and wiser. When the Indian sent up his wail of lamentation, "We are miserable and wretched, our pipes often cold, our tents melancholy," he did not cry to deaf ears. The red man was not allowed to sicken beneath our civilisation and to die amidst our prosperity. Canada has saved the Indians, and in doing so she has profited herself. It is argued by many that, figures notwithstanding, the Indians are dying out. Even if this be so, surely it is better that their last words be words of thankfulness and blessings for the good done to them, rather than imprecations and curses against those whom Destiny has placed to rule over them.

WILLIAM TRANT.

THE PERSISTENCE OF DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.

It has often been pointed out that the advance of astronomical knowledge has been the cause of a radical change in men's notions concerning this earth and its inhabitants. And with the recognition of the futility of the old *geocentric* and *anthropocentric* theories there has naturally been an entire shifting of the standpoint of theological view. The old notion was that man constituted the central fact of the Creation. For him were the heaven and the earth created; for him were the fowls of the air; for him the fishes of the sea; for him the beasts of the earth; and he was to have dominion over them. To give light to his earth the sun and the moon were made, and the stars "set in the firmament of the heaven." In short, the paramount importance of man and his world was the very keystone of the system.

How different is the truth as modern science has revealed it to us! Instead of sun and planets revolving round a central earth, we have learned that our world is but one insignificant member of that family which revolves round our own peculiar sun, while beyond our system, as far as the most powerful telescope can penetrate into the depths of space, we find suns infinite in multitude, transcendent in size and splendour, and each of them, as we may reasonably conceive, the centre of a cluster of worlds which we can never see—worlds which wise men think either have been, are, or will be inhabited, though possibly by beings entirely different from the creatures of our own tiny globe. It is this stupendous thought of an infinity of planetary systems swimming beyond our ken in the infinite depths of space which beyond all things else brings home to us the ridiculous presumption of untutored man, who must needs suppose that the stars were called into existence

"Merely to officiate light
Round this opacous earth,"

and who, conceiving himself to be, as it were, the very pole-star of the system, cried aloud to his brethren, as it has been so happily put, "Come, let us make God in our own image!"

Again, in the field of Biology and Natural History, what a revolution of thought has been brought about by the profound theories

associated with the names of Darwin, Lamarck, Wallace, and Herbert Spencer. Here, too, man has been obliged to "pour contempt on all his pride." Who now believes that all the *flora* and *fauna* of this earth were called into existence by one act of creation, in cut-and-dried species, for the service and delectation of man? That the rose is bright but to please his eye, and sweet but to please his sense of smell? That the nightingale sings but to enchant his ear? That sheep and oxen were created just to provide him with mutton and beef, wool and leather? Evolution has rudely stripped man of his fancied divinity, and in lieu of "Adam the goodliest of all men since born," has presented us to a hairy and repulsive creature, cousin-german of the anthropoid apes, and more likely to browse like Nebuchadnezzar, than to hanker after any fruits of the tree of knowledge. Thus has the "argument from design" become merged in the theory of Natural Selection.

But now turning from these revelations of science to the "Revelation" of the theologians, we are again conscious that a great change has come over the spirit of our dream. For instance, when the present writer was a boy at school he was taught, among other things equally marvellous, that the world was created in the year 4004, B.C. (oh! the humour of that final 4!); that the process was effected in six days: that some thousand or fifteen hundred years later the earth was entirely submerged by a deluge which "covered all the high hills that were under the whole heaven;" that all terrestrial life was thereby destroyed with the exception of Noah, his three sons and their wives, and a certain number of beasts, fowls and creeping things which he took with him into the Ark; that from the small remnant of humanity thus preserved were developed, in an amazingly short space of time, all the various races of mankind: Aryans, Semites, Mongolians, Negroes, Negritos, Australians, Hottentots, Red Indians and the rest; and that similarly all the birds, reptiles and mammals now found distributed over the face of the globe, with all their countless varieties and specific differences, are the lineal descendants of the "pairs" that went up with Father Noah into his miraculous ship.

It is safe to say that but few educated men, who have taken the trouble to think at all, now entertain such beliefs. To begin with, historical records show us that King Menes, who consolidated the kingdoms of upper and lower Egypt, lived at least a thousand years before the date which the good people of my boyhood assigned for "the creation of the world;" and behind him we see long ages of civilisation, and the still longer ages dimly revealed to us by the vestiges of prehistoric and primitive man, to say nothing of the millions of years required by the geologist and the astronomer. As

to the other propositions above indicated, and once revered as divine truths, the most elementary scientific knowledge is sufficient to show that they belong to the sphere of mythology, and are the products not of divine wisdom, but of human ignorance.

This, however, is saying but little to indicate the progress of modern thought upon this matter of Revelation. Simultaneously with the advance of science we have seen the growth of modern Biblical criticism. The publication of Strauss's *Leben Jesu* in 1835 may be said to have marked an epoch in the history of theology. In this country that truly excellent book, considering the date at which it was published, Greg's *Creed of Christendom*, came as a revelation unto many. But since the first appearance of that work we have had Renan's *Vie de Jésus* and *Les Apôtres*, and Bishop Colenso's *Inquiry into the Pentateuch*. We have had, too, the great works of Baur, Reuss, and Volkmar; nor must we omit to mention the admirable and luminous exposition of some of the main results of this modern criticism which is contained in Professor Huxley's invaluable essays on *Hebrew and Christian Tradition*. But these are only some of the leaders of the critical movement which is every day making further advances into the dominion of the old dogmatic theology.

What, then, has been the result of scientific and critical research? It is to establish conclusively, as it seems to me, that that curious and interesting collection of writings which we term "the Bible" (writings differing widely *inter se* in respect of date, value and authority), is to be tried by exactly the same canons and by exactly the same critical and rational methods as we apply to other books—say, for instance, *Homer* or *Herodotus*. Amongst other things it has been proved to demonstration, as I conceive, that the Gospels must not be treated as historical, still less as divinely inspired narratives, but as the embodiments of an oral tradition which is replete (as indeed we should expect it to be) with legendary and mythical elements. As to the stories of the Old Testament, "I can only marvel that any man should seriously suppose that all that is most precious and elevating in his beliefs should be held on the tenure of the acceptance as historical facts of legends only to be paralleled by the stories of folk-lore. I can no more understand that any serious injury can come to my moral nature from disbelief in Samson than from disbelief in Jack the Giant-Killer. I am glad that children should amuse themselves with nursery stories, but it is shocking that they should be ordered to believe in them as solid facts, and then be told that such superstition is essential to morality. It is the more shocking because the idolatry of the Bible deprives it of its strongest interest. It is just by reading what is, strangely, called destructive criticism, that I have at all discovered the unique interest of the Bible. Accept the Jewish legends as historical truths

and you have to believe in a state of things grotesque in itself and absolutely divorced from all living realities.”¹

Now that body of doctrine which has come to be called the orthodox Christian religion teaches that the Deity who created not only this world but infinite systems of worlds throughout infinite space, and upon whose creative will both time and space depend—that this great and “incomprehensible” First Cause consists of three Persons, each Person being God, and all three coequal and coeternal; that at a certain moment in this world’s history, during the reign of the Roman Emperor Augustus, one of these Persons, neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding from the other two, caused a married virgin to conceive; that such conception resulted in the birth of God the Son, who was neither made nor created, but begotten of the Father before all worlds; that this the Second Person of the Trinity thus took “the manhood unto God,” though whether at His birth, or conception, or at the time of His begetting before all worlds, seems somewhat doubtful; that after going through the usual embryonic changes in the prison of the womb, this the Second Person of the Trinity, himself a Duality, being both “perfect God and perfect man of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting,” was born into the world as a babe in the city of Bethlehem; that subsequently He was crucified, in order to avert the wrath of His Father, the First Person of the Trinity (that is of God, that is of *Himself*), and to save men, or, at any rate, to give them a chance of being saved from the effects of Adam’s fall; that having thus suffered and died, God the Son was buried; that He then descended into hell (whatever that may mean); that He rose again from the dead, taking again (as the Church of England Article says) the same human flesh and form, and, after having remained a short time upon this earth, ascended into heaven (apparently situated somewhere above the clouds), where He now sits at the right hand of God the Father; and that He is to come again to this earth in order to judge both those living at that time and also the dead, who are to rise again with their bodies.

This is, I think, a fair statement of the main dogmas of orthodox Christianity, and in making it I have tried to avoid giving unnecessary offence. If theologians tell me that I do not understand, and have therefore misstated, their doctrines, I answer that this may well be; yet I have sincerely endeavoured to understand them for many years of life, and I venture to say that I apprehend them at least as well as 999 out of every 1000 persons forming members of

¹ From Mr. Leslie Stephen’s *An Agnostic’s Apology*. The sentence which I have italicised exactly expresses what I have long felt with regard to the Bible. So long as my reason was unemancipated from the old thralldom as to inspiration, the identity of Jehovah with God, and the rest, so long did the Old Testament, or the greater part of it, appear strangely repulsive to me. Now I have learned to appreciate “the unique interest” of those wonderful old stories. One may say the same, *mutatis mutandis*, of the New Testament.

Christian congregations. At any rate, he who attends the services of the Established Church hears, on fourteen feast days in the year, a very definite, cut-and-dried statement of the whole of these mysteries, and is authoritatively assured that except he believe it faithfully "without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." And although even learned divines at the present day may sometimes shake their heads mournfully at the remorseless dissections of the Athanasian Creed, we are at least justified in saying that this doctrine of the Trinity is the very keystone of the religion of most professed Christians; for Catholics, Roman or Anglican, and the great majority of Nonconformists agree in denying to Unitarians the right to the name of Christian.

Moreover, your orthodox Christian is *certain* as to his religious tenets. Doubts are not for him, for the whole matter has been revealed by God. He is one in whom belief

"Has ripened into Faith, and Faith become
A passionate intuition."

Aye, there we have it; "intuition" and "passion"—Cardinal Newman's "illative sense" ("I know because I know"), coupled with that impatience of contradiction which is too often characteristic of the faith which can swallow, if not remove, mountains! The sceptic, on the other hand, is reproved for a want of humility. "In pride, in reasoning pride, his error lies." And yet how undeserved are such reproaches when applied to the modern agnostic! The agnostic is profoundly convinced that of the eternal, the infinite, the unconditioned, the abstract, the non-relative, he can have no knowledge. Of a Deity he finds that he can predicate nothing without being landed into hopeless antinomies. Any theory of the origin of things brings him into the same *impasse* of inconceivabilities. The agnostic recognises that his knowledge is relative and his understanding finite, and, bowing his head in no affected humility, he confesses that of the supernatural, whereof the theologian makes so certain, he has neither belief nor disbelief, because he has, and can have, no knowledge. Οὐ γὰρ οἶδα ὃ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.

Yet there are some things in the sphere of religious opinion concerning which the agnostic can attain to a practical certainty. Negative certainties, at any rate, are not denied to him in these matters. Therefore, if the devout Churchman assures me that he is certain of his Trinity, I answer that I am certain, as certain as I can be of anything not actually capable of mathematical proof, that this doctrine of his is "a fond thing vainly invented," for I feel not the slightest doubt that this Trinity is the invention of man, an aftergrowth, an accretion, a strange product evolved in the crucible of warring factions over the white heat of the *odium theologicum*. Nay, we can trace clearly enough the history of this unfortunate

dogma, the very name whereof is unknown to any Biblical writer. We can trace it back to its Alexandrian and Neo-Platonic origin, and follow it through its various developments—through the strife of the *Homoousians* and *Homoiousians* and the conflicts that raged around the *filioque* clause—the single or double procession of the Holy Ghost! And how well can we conceive the triumphant delight of the orthodox Athanasian Christians when, 325 years after Christ, the damnable errors of Arius were finally condemned, and the heresiarch himself and all his followers placed under the solemn anathema of the Church. For how nearly had Arius succeeded in defeating them, and how terrible would have been the calamity if Arianism and orthodoxy had become synonymous terms. Verily these Christians would have been more or less than human had they not put the tenets of the victorious faith upon the unassailable rock of rigid definition and uncompromising formula. The Nicene Creed was the *Io triumphæ* and the *Væ Victis* of the conquering sect, the very charter of Athanasian Trinitarianism.¹

I find, then, that it is impossible to believe in the doctrine of the Trinity. Nay, I see not the slightest reason to believe in it, and even the most proselytising of the orthodox will not, I imagine, ask me to believe without finding *some* reason for my belief. It appears to me the most preposterous of all the dogmas which have been fabricated by the perverse ingenuity of theologians. If, indeed, it were proved to me that this doctrine rested upon a revelation from God I would, of course, accept it as truth, though even so I should be subject to the limitation so well expressed by Archbishop Secker: "Let any proposition be delivered to us, as coming from God or from man, we can believe it no further than we understand it; and therefore, if we do not understand it at all, we cannot believe it at all." In this case, however, I am very sure that the dogma is but the invention of man, and to me the marvel is how men of intelligence, after fully and dispassionately considering the matter, can still believe in it.² Yet what are the facts? We find, indeed, that free thought and free inquiry have made the most satisfactory and encouraging advances during the last fifty years, and we may confidently hope that these advances will be even more rapid during the coming century. Nevertheless we find that dogmatic theology still holds its own, if not argumentatively, at any rate numerically. Take the ordinary man of what the Socialists call *bourgeois* society, and inquire as to his religious belief. You will find that in the vast majority of instances he professes the "orthodox" faith. He

¹ I am aware, of course, that "the *filioque* clause" was not superadded till the Council of Toledo. The reader who has not studied the subject might do well to begin with an excellent little book published by the Unitarians—viz., *History of the Origin of the Doctrine of the Trinity in the Christian Church*, by Hugh H. Stannus, with Introduction and Appendix by the Rev. R. Spears.

² "That Jesus," says Renan, "never dreamt of making himself pass for an incarnation of God, is a matter about which there can be no doubt." *Vie de Jésus*, c. xv.

is a regular attendant at church or chapel. He believes not only in the Nicene, but probably also in the (so-called) Athanasian Creed, though he expresses some mild doubts as to the "damnatory clauses" of the latter formulary. He believes (so he will tell you) that the Old Testament, as well as the New, is the revealed Word of God. He believes in the story of the Creation, the Fall, and the Deluge as told in the book of Genesis, though possibly he may admit of some *allegorical* interpretation. He believes that the Creator of the Universe took evening walks in the Garden of Eden, that He showed Himself to and talked with Adam, Moses and others; he believes (to take a few examples) that Elijah went up in a chariot to heaven; that Jonah lived three days and three nights in the belly of a whale under the sea; that dead persons have been frequently brought to life again; that devils have been cast out of men and sent into swine; that multitudes have been fed on a few loaves and fishes. He believes these and a hundred other strange and miraculous things, and he is extremely angry with you if you venture to express the opinion that there is no evidence and, indeed, no foundation in reason to support such beliefs or any of them.

The agnostic then who, although he has come to the negative conclusion that "by the nature of our intelligence we are for ever debarred from forming any conception of the reality which lies behind appearance,"¹ has equally come to the positive conclusion that these doctrines and stories can afford him no assistance in the attempt to solve the enigma of life, resting as they do merely upon a mythological and legendary foundation; the agnostic who can see no reason at all demanding that he should put faith in such stories, or subscribe to such beliefs, but every reason to the contrary, may well inquire how it is that they still retain their hold over, as it would seem, the great majority of men and women even in this reasoning age and in this enlightened country.

Now the devout orthodox may perhaps say that the very fact of the continued prevalence of these beliefs is of itself a proof of their divine origin. We can afford, however, to pass by such an assertion with a smile; for the truth is that so many causes conspire to maintain the existence of dogmatic theology that it would be indeed extraordinary if that existence were not almost indefinitely prolonged. It is all very well to shout *Magnus est veritas et prævalebit*, but a very cursory study of human history is sufficient to show that falsehood, prejudice, passion, ignorance, superstition, and credulity have constantly been victorious over truth, and I much doubt whether the true maxim for this world should not rather be expressed, "Great is error, and it shall prevail!"

Now let us examine some of the influences which are always at work in support of the cause of dogmatic theology.

¹ Mr. Herbert Spencer in the *Fortnightly* for June 1895.

The first of these is a very obvious one, and is found in the fact that there are very few people who ever think for themselves; *very* few, especially, who either can or dare think for themselves in the matter of their religious belief. Secondly, we have the allied fact expressed in the word *Atavism*. Men are what their ancestors have made them, and the human brain is a storehouse of ancestral tendencies. What our fathers believed we too are prone to believe. Infants are endowed with supernaturalism even in the womb, and imbibe faith with their mother's milk. It is thus that, as Renan said, men are ready to accept as sacred truths things which, were it not for *Atavism*, they would simply smile at. It is thus that in the domain of religion men are accustomed to apply entirely different canons of judgment and criticism from those which they make use of and deem necessary in all the other affairs of life. It is indeed a hard thing to shake off, however much we may modify, beliefs which have been held by long generations of men, whose peculiarities, mental and physical, have been transmitted to us according to the mysterious and inevitable laws of heredity.

Again, theology has one of her strongest allies in our system of education. Priests, in all countries and in all ages, have been shrewd enough to see that the surest method for the preservation of their power is to obtain control over the education of the young. The child is trusting, confiding, uncritical. His mind is plastic and receptive. He will believe anything that he is told by his parents or teachers. The marvellous and the supernatural present no difficulties to him, and he is entirely amenable to the twofold influences of love and fear which are brought to bear upon him by those who guide his tottering footsteps into the narrow path of faith. It is then with "the wisdom of serpents" that the Church has acted in laying claim to the infant in his cradle, that he may be received into the fold, by means of a solemn and mysterious "sacrament," at a time when the innocent subject, "muling and puking in his nurse's arms," is all unconscious of what is being done to him. It is with a like wisdom that the clergy have further provided for the exercise of their influence over young boys and girls, at an age before the critical faculty has awakened, and when emotional tendencies are at their strongest, by means of that strange rite which they term *Confirmation* (the *preparation* whereunto so often leads to a deplorable state of nervous excitement miscalled "mental exaltation"), and upon which they insist as a condition precedent for admission to that other and greater mystery invented by the perverse ingenuity of man, wherein they teach that, while eating bread and drinking wine, men may "verily and indeed," whether by actual and constantly recurring miracle, or in some other way equally, if not yet more inexplicable, take and receive the body and blood of the Second Person of their Trinity—the crucified Man-God, Christ.

But it is not alone by means of these mysterious and esoteric rites that the Church entwines the fibres of its ubiquitous influence around emotional and unresisting youth. The schools of the country have been, up to a very recent date, entirely, and still are to a paramount extent, under the direction and subject to the ascendancy of the churches. What chance, then, has the average man of emancipating himself from doctrines to which he was at his very conception made inclined, which he both inherited from his father and sucked from his mother's breast, and which have been from the first carefully nursed, and studiously tended by both parent, priest, and pedagogue? How is the ordinary *bourgeois*—the lawyer, the man of business, the stockbroker, the soldier, the sailor, the politician, the country gentleman—to rise superior to innate ideas such as these, and to emancipate himself from convictions permeating his inmost being, which rest, as he has been taught, upon divine and awful sanctions, and which have been maintained and fortified by all the resources and strategy of the Church militant—that all-pervading Church which has not only thrown her spells around our earliest childhood and ingenuous youth, but which has been careful to impress upon us that we can take no important step in life without her aid; that we can neither be happily married nor hopefully buried except under favour of her ministering sanction?

It is, indeed, almost superfluous to point out that all the power, position, wealth, and prestige of the Establishment, all the tremendous organisation of Rome (to say nothing of the vast forces of Nonconformist Trinitarian churches) are permanently engaged in support of the cause of dogmatic theology. And all these influences are still further strengthened by a vast number of considerations, social, political, and sentimental.

As I have already said, most men cannot or will not think for themselves in these matters. It is a trouble, an exertion to which they have never tried to habituate themselves, and from which they instinctively recoil. And in this case they find that their *vis inertia* is encouraged and approved by their trusted spiritual mentors. They are warned against the pride and the danger of reasoning on these high subjects. They are taught that true Christian humility consists in believing what they are told without inquiry, and "like a little child;" and it is this virtue of *Faith*, they are assured, which shall guide them happily through this world, and save them in the next; whereas scepticism, and what is termed "infidelity," will infallibly bring them to misery both here and hereafter.¹

¹ It was, indeed, a masterly stroke of policy to make belief the chief of the virtues, and doubt a deadly sin. It is thus that the feeble and pusillanimous spirit is induced to "hedge" in this matter of his religion. For, thinks he, if what they term Christianity be true I may hope, if I stand by it, to reap its promised rewards in a future existence; whereas, if I abandon it, everlasting punishment awaits me. If, on the other hand, it is not true, I shall, at any rate, be no worse off because I have been a believer!

By these and other familiar arguments they are dissuaded from the operation of thinking, which is naturally so painful and distasteful to them. But should one of them, here and there, in spite of all these warnings and cautions, so far emancipate himself as to adventure upon the beginnings of independent inquiry, he at once finds, or thinks he finds, that all the dictates of his interest, and of his comfort, are in close alliance with his theological advisers. Orthodoxy is highly respectable; orthodoxy is the professed creed of the great majority, and especially countenanced by the higher, aristocratic, and official classes of society. On the other hand, scepticism, or agnosticism, is very generally suspected and disliked. It is not understood, and owing to influences which have for long ages been at work, it cannot be understood by persons of the ordinary (so-called) "religious" frame of mind. Vast numbers of thoroughly good and earnest Christians are deeply pained when they listen to the avowal of agnostic opinions. These good persons regard the man who follows his reason in such matters as a more or less conscious enemy of all religion and morality. To them agnostics are what the Christians were to the pagan—*hostes humani generis*. Then again, scepticism is associated in the minds of some with Radicalism, Democracy, Socialism and the forces of disorder, real or supposed, and as such it has inveterate prejudices, of a political as well as social nature, to surmount before it can make good its position. It is within the knowledge of most of us that there are many educated men who are entirely sceptical in religious matters, but who nevertheless are constant in their attendance at their parish church (aye, and "communicants," too), and who support the Establishment and all its works, with might and main, as the embodiment of all that is safe and "respectable" in society—all that is most implacably opposed to revolutionary change. It is a hard thing, too, for any man to break with the past. To discard the doctrines of a catechism taught to him in his childhood at his mother's knee. To see, perhaps, wife and children attending the religious services which he feels he cannot join without hypocrisy, and without that offence which comes of listening to those attacks upon reason, which, alas! are so often delivered from the secure fortress of the pulpit—"six feet above the possibility of a reply." For, perchance, "he loves the church where he worshipped in his happy childhood; where his friends and his family worship still; where his grey-haired parents await the resurrection of the just: but where *he* can worship and await no more."¹ To such a man it may be that "the pursuit of truth is a daily martyrdom." In any case, he naturally shrinks from the necessity under which he finds himself, of giving pain to many who are near and dear to him, and from the misunderstanding and obloquy to which he is on all sides exposed. Nor can it bring him much con-

¹ Preface to the *Creed of Christendom*, by W. R. Greg.

solation to feel, in the words of St. Augustine, "Illi in vos sæviant qui nesciunt cum quo labore verum invenietur; qui nesciunt cum quanta difficultate sanetur oculus interioris hominis." Yea, verily, it is harder—almost!—for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for an ordinary member of society to enter into the Kingdom of Agnosticism!

Moreover, if he be a father, great and grievous difficulties perplex him. How are the children to be instructed in this matter of religion? Their early education is entrusted to their mother, and for her the old beliefs are sufficient. Womankind, more emotional than logical, in whom the reasoning powers have been unfortunately allowed to slumber in times past, has always been a great ally of the churches, and the importance of this alliance can hardly be overestimated in considering the forces which tend to support the cause of supernatural religion. The father can only urge that the teaching of his children may be as simple and as primitive as possible. Let it be the religion of the Good Shepherd and of the Lord's Prayer. But by-and-by come teachers and pastors and schools, and with them the Church Catechism and the Nicene Creed. He wishes to give his son the advantage of a public school education, and he knows that at all the great schools—Eton, Winchester, Harrow, Rugby, and the rest—the head master is an ordained priest, and that Trinitarian theology is taught as part of the curriculum. So he probably lets things take their course, thinking that as his children grow older he will let them know his own opinions, and invite them at least to the undogmatic and unmiraculous Christianity of Matthew Arnold and *Robert Elsmere*. Thus, after all, the children are probably left to think, or not to think, for themselves.

So great are the social agencies and conventions, so rooted the prejudices, so overwhelming the influences by which the old faith is supported and defended and preserved among us! I have in this paper merely glanced at some of them; but when we reflect upon them all, and remember also the persecutions of the "infidel" in time past, we shall, I think, cease to wonder that supernatural religion should still hold her own in spite of all the argumentative victories that reason and science are continually gaining over her. Rather shall we marvel that free thought has succeeded in enlisting that small though formidable body of soldiers who now do battle in her cause.

G. G. GREENWOOD.

AN APPRECIATION OF RUSSIAN FICTIONAL LITERATURE.

It is refreshing, in these degenerate days of the modern novel, to turn from the inane indelicacies of fashionable fiction, from the hysterical emanations of the unhealthy imagination of the New Woman and the vapid vapourings of the *fin-de-siècle* young man, to the luminous page of a literature that has in it all the life of true realism, whilst it does not flaunt in our faces those lower phases of human nature which are best left to the imagination of the prurient.

Such a literature is the best Russian fiction of the century; such are the works, both prose and poetry, of Poushkin and Lermontoff, the tales and legends of Gogol, the romances of Tourgenieff and Dostoeffski, the historical and other works of Tolstoi, and the Siberian tales of Korolenko. In the works of all these authors there can be found scarcely a line which could offend the most sensitive reader, whilst at the same time they are instinct with life and energy, they introduce us to the life of the people, they portray in vivid language great historical events, and their descriptions of the beauties of nature are not surpassed in the literature of any country.

There is, indeed, one notable production of Tolstoi's, notable only by reason of its "Zolaism," to which exception may be taken, for, as a work of literary art it is not of much moment.

The Kreutzer Sonata is not pleasant reading, and its author's reputation has not been enhanced by this work; nevertheless those who have lived in the world and seen much of life must acknowledge the truth of Tolstoi's philosophy. This work touches a weak point in human nature which will not bear close investigation, and it had better not have been investigated by means of such a book as *The Kreutzer Sonata*.

Russian authors, and especially those of the first half of the present century, have had many difficulties to contend against, as those who have read my previous paper in this REVIEW¹ can easily understand. In constant fear of the Press Censor, with gloomy dungeons and Siberian prisons for ever before their eyes,

¹ "The Censorship of the Press in Russia."

they have had to curb their fancies, and keep a close watch upon their pens. They were thus limited, both as to choice of subject and as to the manner and even the very words in which they chose to express their thoughts. It must indeed have been galling to an author to receive back his manuscript from the Censor with many of his best lines obliterated, sometimes for the most paltry reasons, even if worse did not befall him for writing in a style that did not meet with the approval of the officials of the Censor's office.

In Russian literature we do not find the exaggerated affectation of some modern writers, nor their technical inaccuracy; neither is there any of that bombastic verbiage which renders most of our historical novels so ridiculous and unreadable. We have here a pure literary style, abounding in appropriate imagery and rich in local colouring, which is unhappily but inadequately rendered in, and is, in fact, generally much libelled by, the unsatisfactory and ungrammatical translations to which those must have recourse who are not so fortunate as to be able to read the originals.

It is, indeed, a great point in favour of Russian fiction, a point evidencing the appreciation in which it is held, that it should have attained such a wide popularity in England, notwithstanding the fact that the greater portion of the reading public is only acquainted with it through the medium of indifferent translations.

The ability to make good translations is second only to that of producing original works, and it is in this matter of translations that our literature is so notably deficient, whilst many gifted Continental writers have not considered it beneath them to apply themselves to the translation of foreign literature, with the result that in France and in Germany there are translations but little inferior to the originals.

At the same time, whilst considering the disadvantages under which Russian authors have laboured, we must not lose sight of those points which have told in their favour and assisted them in their work. It may be said that at the commencement of the present century there was no Russian literature; whilst in Western European countries many subjects had already been exhausted, and authors had, comparatively speaking, some difficulty in producing original work, having less material at their disposal. In Russia there were, indeed, the fables of Kriloff and the poetical works of Zhukovski; but neither of these could be called original, and the productions of the latter consisted for the greater part of translations. Russian authors had thus a vast virgin field for their operations. The palace, the drawing-room, the cottage of the peasant, the romantic history of a nation only then emerging from barbarism, all these, so different from aught else the world has seen, furnished an inexhaustible mine of literary wealth to the Russian author.

Nor has the latter been slow to avail himself of these advantages, or failed in extracting gold from the literary mine.

Many Russian authors have a European reputation, and Tolstoi and Tourgenieff stand in the first rank of the writers of fiction.

In view of the difficulties with which Russian authors have had to contend, it is not surprising that the literature of the country is not voluminous. Forbidden subjects had to be avoided, and in some cases writers of genius flung aside their pens in disgust at the treatment they received, and thus their productions were limited in quantity.

Dostoevski spent ten years of his life as a political prisoner in Siberia, and the horrors he experienced in prison are vividly depicted in his *Letters from the Deadhouse*. There can be little doubt that his mind was unhinged by what he went through, and this surmise is emphasised by his later production, *Crime and Punishment*, which is one of the most remarkable books ever published, depicting, as it does, the intricate workings of a diseased human mind.

It is not a matter of surprise that the great Tourgenieff should have preferred to live and die in voluntary exile rather than pass a crippled existence in the country that gave him birth.

Tolstoi alone stands out, a colossus, indifferent to the Censor of the Press, spared, perhaps, by the generosity of a more enlightened ruler and a more advanced civilisation.

Two great poets, Poushkin and Lermontoff, both disciples of Byron, adorned Russian literature during the first half of the present century. They both came into prominence during the period when Byron's influence was so deeply felt throughout Europe, and they followed him closely, so closely, in fact, that both of them have with some reason incurred the charge of plagiarism.

At the top of the Tverskoi Boulevard, in Moscow, stands the statue of an intellectual and thoughtful-looking man, of an Ethiopian cast of features. This represents Poushkin, a man of African descent, and the greatest of Russian poets. He was not only a poet, but also directed his attention to prose writing with considerable success, and some of his romances are of great dramatic force. *The Captain's Daughter*, a tale of the rebellion raised by the Cossack Pougachoff, is of great historical interest, as depicting the course of one of the most remarkable insurrections recorded in the history of any country.

Others of his works, both prose and poetry, are of considerable interest; some of them have been dramatised, and *The Queen of Spades* forms the subject of one of the best known Russian operas. Poushkin was killed in a duel with a French *émigré* in 1837, when he was but thirty-one years of age, but he had already succeeded in winning the foremost place among Russian poets.

* Lermontoff was first brought into prominent notice by his lines written on the occasion of the tragic death of Poushkin. He was at that time a young subaltern of the Guards, and certain expressions in the above-mentioned lines having aroused disapproval in high quarters, the author was banished, by way of punishment, to a regiment serving in the Caucasus. This event was not altogether distasteful to the poet, except in so far as it brought home to him the want of freedom in his native land, whilst it exercised a most beneficial influence over his writings.

Already, in his early youth, he had spent some months upon the Caucasus, had been impressed with the grandeur and rugged beauty of Elburz and Kazbek, had listened to the rushing of the mountain torrents, and built air-castles of the clouds that floated in fantastic shapes over the snowy peaks that pierced the sapphire skies of those pure regions; and he now produced a series of Eastern tales, abounding in fine descriptions of the mountains, and valleys, and rugged scenes he loved so well.

Lermontoff wrote but little prose: his *Hero of Our Time* is the best known of his prose works, and consists of a most interesting series of tales, partly descriptive of the author's sojourn on the Caucasus.

There are in the gallery of men of action, both in history and in literature, personages before whom we involuntarily pause, attracted more by their personality than by their deeds or works. Such a personality belongs to the poet Lermontoff, whose character and career present an irresistible attraction to the imagination. The poet was of an unhappy disposition, at discord with all the world, by which, with some reason, he felt himself very badly treated, and his tragic and premature death completed the romance of his somewhat eventful life. He was killed in a duel in 1841, whilst undergoing banishment to the Caucasus for a second offence, when only in the twenty-seventh year of his age, but he had already succeeded in gaining a place beside Poushkin in the history of the literature of his country.

Lermontoff had frequent occasion to feel the weight of the heavy hand of the tyrants of his country; he found discipline irksome, and was often confined in the guard-room; yet he preferred a military career to that quiet life which his ample fortune could have accorded him; and the last lines in one of his tales—*The Princess Mary*—are singularly applicable to the poet himself. No doubt he was thinking of himself when he penned these words:

“And now, in this dull fortress, when pondering on the past, I often say to myself: ‘Why did I not wish to take that path, opened to me by fate, where the calm joys of a quiet mind awaited me?’ . . . No—I could not have borne such a lot! I am like a sailor born and bred on the deck of a pirate brig; his soul is bound to battle and storm, and when

ashore he cares not for the shady grove or peaceful sunshine; he paces the livelong day on the sandy shore, listening to the murmur of the waves, and gazing out into the misty distance: does not there flutter on the pale line out there that divides the blue waves from the grey clouds, does there not flutter the long-wished-for sail, at first like the wing of a sea-gull, but little by little separating itself from the foam of the billows, and gliding swiftly but surely towards the desert shore?" . . .

I have been induced to dwell thus long on the subject of the poet Lermontoff owing to that personal attraction of which I have already made mention, and I would willingly devote more space to him, were such within the scope of this article. With his life and poetry, however—and he is better known as a poet than as a prose writer—I propose to deal in a separate paper.

Soon after these two poets Tourgenieff, the most artistic of Russian writers of fiction, commenced his literary work. Although not so well known to English readers as Tolstoi, his works are in most respects far superior to those of the latter author. Tourgenieff was a master of style, and his romances, *Clara Milich*, *First Love*, *Acia*, and in fact all his writings, are practically perfect as works of art and literary excellence; his descriptions, whether of Russian life and character, or of the forests and steppes he loved so well, are beautiful, and it is sad to think that he passed a great part of his life exiled in foreign lands, far from those scenes he described so vividly.

Another eminent Russian author, Gogol, has been described as the Russian Dickens, for his works are both humorous and pathetic, so that if his humour arouses laughter it is laughter through tears. He wrote but little, probably because he was in some degree insane, and composed only during lucid intervals, or, as some say, during his fits of insanity. His *Dead Souls* is the most important of his works; some of his comedies are also excellent, one of them, *Revizor*, *The Inspector*, holding the first place among comedies on the Russian stage, whilst his legends and tales of Cossack life are charming, and it is in some of them that his singularly beautiful descriptions of natural scenery are found. For a picture of Cossack life in the olden days I can recommend *Taras Boolba*, whilst the curious Russian legends are also worth perusing.

Gogol's style is unique and peculiar, but his descriptions, whether of a forest, a river, or a steppe are remarkably fine. Here is a celebrated passage from the legend *A Terrible Revenge*, which I can but imperfectly render into English, describing the river Dnieper, which flows past the author's native town of Kiev.

"Wonderful is Dnieper in fine weather, when he pours his full waters freely and smoothly through forests and hills. He splashes not, nor thunders. You look, and do not know whether the great flood moves or not, and it is all like molten glass, and like a blue mirrored road of immeasurable length, flowing and pouring through the green world. It is

fine then for the burning sun to look down from on high, and pierce with his beams the cold of the glassy waters ; and for the forests on the banks to be reflected in the flood. The forests with green tresses ! They crowd to the waters together with the flowers of the fields, and, bowing down, look into them, and cannot look enough or admire enough with their bright eyes ; and they smile at the river, and greet him, shaking their branches ; in the midst of Dnieper they dare not look : nought, save the sun and the blue sky looks there, and seldom a bird flies to the centre of Dnieper. Superb ! there is no river like unto him on God's earth.

"Wonderful, too, is Dnieper on a warm summer night, when all things slumber—both man, and beast, and bird, and the great God alone sees earth and sky, and majestically shakes His vestments. From the vestments are scattered stars ; stars burn and shine over the world, and all at once are reflected in Dnieper. Dnieper holds them all in his dark bosom : not one flies from him, except to die out in the heavens above ; the black forest, studded with sleeping ravens, and the rugged hills overhanging attempt to hide him with their long shadows ; in vain ! there is nothing on earth that can hide Dnieper.

"Blue, blue, on he smoothly flows in the midst of night as in the midst of day, seen as far as the human eye can reach. Hugging nearer to the banks from the night cold, he looks like a stream of silver, flashing like a blade of Damascus steel ; and then the blue flood awakes. Wonderful again is Dnieper, and he has not his equal on God's earth ! When the blue clouds roll in mountains across the sky, the black forest shakes to the roots, the oaks tremble, and the lightning, breaking through the clouds, lights up the whole world—frightful then is Dnieper ! The watery billows rumble, striking on the hills, and with flash and groan fly back, and weep and melt away in the distance."

Tolstoi is so well known to English readers, that there is no necessity to dwell on his work. His *Peace and War* is probably the first historical novel in any language ; Zola's *Débauché* is but a poor thing compared to it, and there is nothing to approach it in our own literature.

A writer whose works have, I believe, not yet found a translator, is Korolenko, who is still a comparatively young author. His Siberian tales are charming and original, and deserve much wider notice than they have hitherto obtained. His style is simple and unaffected, and appropriate to the subjects he chooses, whilst it is evident that he has great powers of observation, and an intimate knowledge of the people and scenes he describes with such a graphic pen.

I have omitted all mention of many Russian authors of distinction, but if enough has been said to direct the attention of my readers to Russian fiction my object in writing this paper will be attained.

R. G. BURTON.
(CAPTAIN INDIAN STAFF CORPS.)

A NATIONAL WASTE.

A RECENT popular writer on philosophy remarks: "Nature is indifferent to our happiness, indifferent to our morals, but sedulous as to our survival."

Epigrams are amusing. It is unfortunate when they are taken too seriously. We do not know "Nature" intimately enough to know whether she is personally indifferent to our happiness, or to our morals, but we do know that she has laid down an inflexible law that without a certain amount of happiness and without a certain standard of morals—that standard rising in the competitive race of nations—no human community shall survive.

Undeniably there is an inextinguishable "cockiness" in the British nation which makes them seriously believe that their survival is for the benefit of the world.

They may be right. In spite of Mr. Balfour's own particular "Nature," this survival which is to benefit the world will only be maintained by an increasing standard of happiness and morals.

By morals I mean that attitude towards society which tends to its greater solidarity. I do not mean the Christian "counsels of perfection." They are not generally practised. They are preached in order to act as a kind of irritant to promote the digestion of more sustaining food. A nation will not compete less satisfactorily with others for want of Thebaid asceticism, or the divine benevolence of Buddha. Such halos as these round the heads of illustrious individuals enlighten the darkness of the universe; they do not promote the ascendancy of a nation.

The question before us now is a waste of national force, which, if better directed, might produce more happiness, better morals, and a greater chance of national survival. The national force that is being wasted is "woman." Women have often been blamed as an incorrigible source of evil to individual men. They have also been praised as an eternal source of good to individual men. They have been goddesses, or the reverse, just as the balance went up or down; but they have rarely been looked upon as determining half of the political problem.

Literary critics of the last few years—those unhappy sifters of literary rubbish heaps—are uttering a despairing cry. They are sick of reading books about the modern woman—about what she

can, will, may, or ought to do in her sexual relations—whether she should live with a man without marrying him, or whether she should preferably marry him without living with him, and so on.

Her soul and her latch-key are discussed with equal seriousness, until one believes that they are identical. "Let us, for Heaven's sake, go back to Smollett rather than go on to more 'women who did,'" cries the reviewer. But Heaven seems somewhat obdurate. "Healthy" tavern stories do not now raise such a hearty laugh in the average reader as they used to do, and it is the average reader who is Providence to the author.

The world moves on, even if it moves in the wrong direction. Psychological discussions are inevitable. They take the place in the philosophy of the mind that "contemporary history" takes in the philosophy of history. The ordinary gossiping, observing element in human nature needs an outlet, and has no objection to being called scientific.

But apart from any discussion about woman's relations to individual men—interesting no doubt to those personally concerned—there is the question, not frequently enough, and not seriously enough raised, as to her relations to society and the State.

Are women doing their best towards the maintenance and the progress of the nation?

The answer is "No!"

There is a considerable number of persons who having, metaphorically speaking, supplied "woman" with a latch-key, and not having cooled down from their indignation at her having so long been obliged to ring at the front door, maintain the theory that woman has a duty to herself before she has a duty to society.

A brilliant critic of Ibsen has even suggested that woman ought to take her freedom in her hand and chastise society with it till it learns to know better. Without discussing the possible result of this extreme measure—one may allow frankly that there have been, and still will be, moments when society may be more truly served in the long run by being temporarily disobliged. But the question before us is one of increasing public utility, not of fighting against deliberate tyranny under which a mass of individuals are suffering.

However varied are the opinions respecting the "new" or the "old" woman, there are two main ideas which dominate society in spite of anything which may be written in modern fiction or be discussed at the dinner-tables of modern Bohemia.

The first is: That women of the well-to-do classes are to be regarded as wives and mothers actually or potentially. The second is: That women of the working classes are instruments in the production and productive employment of capital.

With regard to the first idea—our practice is dislocated and inconsistent with it. A girl's education is carried on—without one

suspicion of humour—as if she was to become the dull and childless mistress of some much enduring man. While her husband is more or less skilled in his profession, she enters hers as unskilled as any dock labourer.

With regard to the second idea—the women of the working classes generally become mothers. *Tant pis.* The employer of labour has nothing to do with that.

The total result of a practical working of these two ideas is that hundreds of women are idle, and thousands of women are over-worked. And all are more or less unskilled in the profession into which most of them ultimately drift. It may be argued that “men”—most of them—have not the slightest intention of benefiting the State. They abhor the State. The State is a grandmother. The State is a policeman. The State is a Jesuit in disguise. The State is an adventurer, or a scoundrel.

If they clearly saw that the State was themselves—“*L'état c'est nous*”—the look of indignant dislike would relax on their faces, till it assumed the gentle suavity that is supposed to settle on the male physiognomy when the cigars are handed round the table.

It remains a fact that most men are trained to comparatively, sometimes to superlatively, skilful work which benefits the community, while women remain unskilled workers.

They are not unwilling, they are not particularly self-indulgent. They have a large share of the sense of duty, and often a most determined will. But, to use a mixed metaphor, their environment has gone on ahead and they have not yet caught it up. They are badly adjusted to the needs of society.

To review the situation very briefly :

In the good old days—even before Mrs. Lynn Linton was a girl—marriage was a profession for women. It had its compensations and its drawbacks like other professions. Among the wealthy it was a profession of administration combined with actual work. The embroidered sampler was not a piece of obstinate stupidity on the part of our great-grandmothers—it was a sort of diploma of manual ability.

Among the poor the profession involved work, and work alone.

The household was a small community, and it was, comparatively speaking, self-subsisting.

But things have changed since then. Everything that can be done by machinery is done—all work becomes specialised. The household has shrunk, economically speaking. The kernel, at least, has shrunk, but the husk remains as big as ever. A new ideal has come into existence—an ideal that can be afforded by a wealthy man : and wealthy men increase in numbers every day. The ideal is a wife who is solely ornamental. There is in human nature a craving for the unknown, and among the many pranks that women

have been helped to play in order to satisfy this man's craving, this being ornamental and enigmatical has been the latest. And if the "ornamental" wife often develops tiresome ways, from sheer lack of something to do, the fact is put down to some innate peculiarity of the sex, and is borne with gently, or the reverse, as the case may be.

"Look in her face and you'll forget them all,"

sang the poet. But the poet was not thinking of faces that bore the wrinkles of forty. Like the milliner, the poet thinks of articles that are fresh and new.

Certainly the history of our social ideas would be more instructive than pleasing. It was this notion, that steady, capable work made a woman unattractive, which gradually accustomed women themselves to believe that a husband ought to demand no labour from them. They undertook to bring his children into the world, but they undertook nothing else, and to bring children into the world requires no training.

In order to keep up this state of things, men who are struggling into a profession wait to marry until their youth is over. A large number of the picked men of the intellectual world have nothing but a somewhat stale middle-age to offer to the nation as a basis for the future generation.

But this is not all. For a long time now good women who have found time hang heavily on their hands, and who have tender consciences, "make work" for themselves, and die in the odour of sanctity. They play the piano without "touch," paint without imagination, make clothes that are already cut out for them, embroider patterns already traced. They administer charity without the simplest knowledge of economic facts. They teach the Bible to the ignorant, being ignorant themselves.

There is always much shopping to be done in every household, for, instead of making things, you buy them now; and the purchase of a yard of elastic is thought a sufficient morning's employment for a woman who has arms that could milk a cow, or brains that could manage a hotel.

The "home," too, has not of late years been without internal trouble. The "servant question" is in its acutest stage. The woman whose ambition it is to do nothing regularly is often tormented with suspicions that her servants are scamping their work.

Her husband comes home from what he naïvely calls "the conflict of the outer world." He returns imbued, perhaps, with the idea that half the human race are more or less rogues. When the dessert is on the table and the servants have withdrawn, his wife proposes, by a long inductive process, to convince him that the other half is no better. This is what is called "relaxing at home."

There is often a serious belief in the value of the well-to-do

wife's "administration." This administration generally consists in a detailed order for the next day's meals—requiring no knowledge but that which might be obtained by a brief consultation with the greengrocer's boy, who knows whether spinach is in season or not, or of the poulterer's assistant who knows whether ducks are or are not procurable. This "administration" takes less than half an hour. Then comes a visit to the nursery to see the "experienced nurse" and the baby. Then half a dozen notes of invitation and a letter to an uncle in India, and so the day passes. This "administration" is not the result of any special culture, nor of any inherent stupidity, nor of malicious intention, nor of want of health or vitality. It is purely the result of an ethical ideal, founded upon the simple craving for something ornamental. And the power of imagination is so strong in men that they are almost satisfied.

Still, with the aid of comparatively healthy surroundings and the devotion of the nursemaid, children of the well-to-do reach the age of six and seven as tolerable specimens physically and morally. Later on their education is undertaken by experts.

The "working" woman is a sinner of a different sort. She is generally overworked. If she is conscientious, the only pleasure she allows herself is a hasty snatch of stale tea, hot from the hob.

Take an example of the best and happiest "working woman." She is married. She works ceaselessly in the house, rarely doing anything well—generally doing everything badly. She, poor thing, "undertakes" the entire charge of house and children—and knows nothing whatever of the way in which it ought to be done. Since she left school at thirteen she has been a wage-earner—in the fields, the factory, the shop, or, at best, as a domestic servant. She may or may not know how to make her children's clothes; but, unless she has been a cook, she will know nothing about the preparation of food. Her husband, who is a skilled workman, comes home to meals that are cooked on principles of pure ignorance and invincible prejudice.

At a meeting of Liberal women the other day, it was seriously proposed that the husband should be compelled to deliver up his wages to his wife.

I have no doubt that by this drastic measure the rising generation would greatly benefit; but I should suggest also that the wife should be "compelled" to learn how to spend those wages most profitably, and how to use to the best advantage the materials she buys—in other words, that every wife should be skilled in her profession.

As a matter of fact, the standard of domestic responsibility is so low, that a full-grown woman, able-bodied and in her right mind, and with her husband's wages at command, can have in her possession children who are on the verge of starvation, and whose filth it is

better not to describe, and yet a magistrate may be bound in all justice to refrain from punishing her on the ground that "there is no proof that she has been guilty of wilful neglect."

The home of the married factory-hand has often been pictured to the public. It is a "home" in the same sense that the sty is the pig's home. The internal aspect of the pig's home is the result of social and economic causes over which he has no control. Many persons are under the impression that "natural selection" is working satisfactorily among the lower classes—killing off the weak and the incapable, and strengthening the strong. As a matter of fact, the only children of the lower classes who are brought up under really hygienic conditions are the children of paupers and criminals, or of the hopelessly diseased—children in workhouses, industrial schools and private charitable institutions. The children of the self-supporting are killed off, if weakly, but are often killed off even when strong by outrageous violation of natural laws. In towns and manufacturing districts, even those who survive are apt to grow up with an impoverished physique. In the competition of nation against nation, it is of enormous importance to us to have a good standard of health and vitality among the lower classes. At present the army and navy are recruited from agricultural and fishing districts. The towns, even for their workshops and yards, have to be continually supplied with fresh blood from the country. There is an incessant inflow of health from the agricultural districts, and the sources of that health are gradually shrinking.

No force has yet been invented that will make human beings "moral," in the sense already explained, but public opinion. Public opinion is a convenient name for political exigencies, results of scientific discoveries, religious and emotional wants—all solidified under the common law—Acts of Parliament and religious sects. If the Ten Commandments ever had any effect on the children of Israel, Acts of Parliament have effect on us.

Individuals—whether employers or husbands—demand either too much or too little of women. Let us hope that the State in its own interests will demand from women—in this complicated social life—at least the simple knowledge of those duties involved in the profession of maternity.

The economic stress that has come upon the middle classes lately has produced a great effect upon unmarried women. Something of the spirit of labour has entered into the life of what the Americans call "ladies." There are still persons who, finding that a "lady" is obliged to do some regular work if she can find no one willing to support her, fall back upon a plan by which to save her womanhood.

This plan is that she should at least not be submitted to the extra degradation of doing that regular work well. The adequate

training of women for trades and professions is still opposed by some people who really wish them well. There is little or no belief in the duty of women to the State, and for these persons it is still harder to believe in the responsibility of married women.

Fortunately the idleness and incapacity of married women in the upper classes is solely a question of "wasted energy." With regard to married women of the lower classes—it is a question of national physique and morals.

Although there has not as yet been any classification of vital facts that could absolutely prove how far the absence of the mother in workshops and factories injured the health and caused the mortality of infants, yet all statisticians of late years have condemned the practice, and the Report of the Labour Commission last year pointed in the same direction.

No hospitals keep any record of the occupation of the mother of their child patients, nor is there much reliable means of finding out the amount of damage done to health in middle life by the labour of women during the weeks before and after childbirth. The general opinion of doctors is always a disputable ground to go upon. I asked privately for an inquiry into ten average cases in a ward in a London hospital for children. The result was: Out of ten cases at that moment in one ward six of the children—not pronounced victims of constitutional disease—were disabled temporarily or permanently from neglect. In all these six cases the mother was employed out of the home. The other four cases were tubercular, and therefore not suitable subjects for investigation.

As far as can be ascertained the employer of labour prefers unmarried to married hands. The regularity and attention to work is greater, and married women are often exhausted by their double duty in the factory and at home—even though they perform both inefficiently. The employment of women at all has lowered wages sufficiently for the purpose of the employer. The employer is not likely to raise opposition to the prohibition of married labour. The question is one which chiefly affects the ratepayer—and national health. How far the State can successfully interfere between husband and wife and between woman and employer will be decided as time goes on. But one thing is certain, that interference is necessary if the national wellbeing is to be considered.

ELLEN S. H. RITCHIE.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF NONCONFORMITY.

WE hear from time to time, from Grindelwald and more important places, that Christian reunion is in the air; that there is a growing desire on the part of Christians of different denominations to try to find some means of sinking their differences, of obliterating distinctions, of casting down divisions, and a hope of organising, if not a homogeneous, at least a united Christendom. It is felt that this reunion, whether realisable or not, is a "consummation devoutly to be wished." There are difficulties in the way, of course. None of the denominations are willing to give up everything which marks them off from the rest, but it appears to be hoped that each denomination may be willing to pass a kind of self-denying ordinance, renounce some portion of its own cherished peculiarities, and perhaps adopt some portion of its neighbours', and thus, by a general compromise, a certain amount of uniformity may be attained, and a kind of unity become practicable. It is thought, or faintly hoped, that the Anglican and Greek Churches might, in a measure, be united, that the Baptists and Independents and Presbyterians might form a union, and that the various Methodist bodies might coalesce; though how, further, the differences between these new unions could be overcome it is not easy to see. The methods of Church organisation might prove more formidable obstacles than doctrinal variations are. The Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Congregational methods of Church government cannot be reconciled, and, as a rule, the adherents of each form are too much attached to it, or attach too much importance to it, to be willing to abandon it for either one of the others. We have not mentioned the Church of Rome because, according to the highest authorities, it will not entertain any proposals for reunion, it will not recognise any other Church, and absolute submission to its claims is the only condition of reconciliation it offers.

Underlying these general suggestions for reunion there is the sentiment that division is a bad thing, that Nonconformity is an evil, and that one Church, a homogeneous body of Christians throughout Europe, if not throughout the world, alone can realise the Christian ideal.

It appears to us, on the contrary, that there is much to be said in justification of existing divisions, and that to obliterate them

would not be to attain to a higher form of religion, but to revert to a lower ecclesiastical type. All early forms of religion were based upon a corporate idea, in them individualism was allowed no scope; nonconformity was undreamed of, and if any solitary individual was daring enough to depart from the ancestral religion he ran the risk of losing his life. Christianity introduced a new *régime*, that of individualism in religion; and St. Paul vigorously resisted the attempts of those who wished to impose a new uniformity upon the early Christians: "For freedom did Christ set us free—stand fast, therefore, and be not entangled again in a yoke of bondage." So he wrote to the Galatians. But, notwithstanding the individualistic basis of Christianity, in a few centuries it succumbed to the influence of the old corporate idea, out of which arose the Holy Catholic Church.

In these days, when everything is being investigated from an evolutionary point of view, and explained by the theory of evolution, it is not likely that the Church would escape a treatment which is being applied to all human institutions. And defenders of Church systems have themselves attempted to turn the theory to their own account, and sought philosophical support for the existence of ecclesiastical institutions which lack a Scriptural basis. So the differences between the Churches of the first century and the Church of the fourth and subsequent centuries is supposed to be explained and justified by development; but it appears to us to be a development away from the lines of origin and not upon them.

It can scarcely be disputed that in primitive Christianity there was no idea of a general, much less of a universal, Church. We gather from the Acts of the Apostles, and from St. Paul's letters, that there were many Churches, but no Church in the sense in which the word is now commonly used. There was a Church at Antioch, at Corinth, at Rome, Ephesus, Jerusalem, and so on; each being a little organisation complete in itself. There was fraternity between these isolated and independent Churches, but no bond beyond that which was due to a common faith and common aims. There was a measure of union but not unity. The idealising author of the Epistle to the Ephesians became possessed of the notion of a mystical Church, of which Christ was the head, and all believers were the body. This Church had no local habitation, and no external organisation; but it followed from an inevitable tendency in human nature that attempts were made to give it a visible form, and to embody it in concrete ecclesiastical institutions modelled more or less upon the political institutions of the time, and so the hierarchy came into existence. Patriarch or pope, archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons controlled spiritual affairs as emperors, governors, and their subordinates controlled temporal affairs; and in this way, we

are told, the evolution of the Church was, broadly speaking, accomplished.

The first conception of a Church was only that of a separate, local, self-governed Christian community.

The second conception, the Ephesian, as we may call it, was that of a mystical body of which Christ was the head. This conception still obtains in some quarters, and is thus expressed by Dr. Moeller in his *History of the Christian Church*: "The Christian Church is the community of believers in Jesus Christ, which participates in the benefits of the kingdom of God announced and brought in by Him. That which produces it is the Gospel; that which internally holds it together, the Holy Spirit; its invisible form is the body of Christ, the organic connection of all living believers with Christ the Head."

The third conception is that of the visible Catholic organisation: "The true Church of Christ on earth is the union of the faithful, who communicate one with another by profession of the same faith, by the participation of the same sacraments, and who are subject to their own bishops, and in a special manner to the Roman Pontiff, who is the visible centre of all Catholic union."¹

But this definition limits the Catholic Church to those who are subject to Rome.

If we speak of the Church, the Universal Church, it is clear that only the second definition, that of the Mystical Church, fulfils the ideal. No visible Church has ever been a universal Church. No Church has ever been equivalent to Christianity; no Church has ever embraced all believers, still less all mankind.

And yet the dream of such a Church has often fascinated a certain type of religious men—men at least who were sometimes under the influence of semi-political ideas, though, perhaps, unconsciously. They have desired the establishment of a universal religion, a truly Catholic Church, a visible Kingdom of God on earth. But there has generally been one fatal defect in these aspirations. The men who conceived this unification always desired it to be fashioned after some pattern of their own. The universal religion was to be their religion, the Catholic Church was to be organised upon their plan, the Kingdom of God was to have a human, a visible, head of their selection. They have succeeded at times in partially realising their aspirations, but such a realisation has always owed more to coercion than to spiritual affinity.

It is no doubt a beautiful as well as a pious dream to imagine all humanity united in one great religious faith and brotherhood, intelligently worshipping One God, using the same ritual, guided by the same symbols, rendering allegiance to One Head.

The Jews indulged in this dream, and the Roman Catholics believe, that so far as their Church extends, it has been realised.

¹ *Catholic Belief*, by the Very Rev. J. Faà Di Bruno, D.D.

The Jews hoped that Jerusalem would become, politically and religiously, the centre of the world, that all nations would come to its light, and kings to the brightness of its rising, that Jehovah would literally make it His dwelling-place, and that the knowledge of Him would cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. It was not to be. Neither their ambition nor their pious hopes could be realised. They were too narrow, too egotistical, too superstitious. Jerusalem is in ruins, and Judaism is the religion of an exclusive race.

Religiously speaking Rome is built upon the ruins of Jerusalem. The same ambition, the same desire for religious supremacy that characterised ancient Judaism is characteristic of the Church of Rome. The Church of Rome is large, widespread and united, but it is not a Catholic Church, it is a particularly exclusive one. And this, which is true of the Roman Church, is true also of all other strictly organised Churches, and what Catholicity there is in the world is one of spirit and not of form. We sometimes use the words "Catholic Church," or "Church of God," in a still wider sense than any of those yet referred to in this paper. We speak of a Catholic Church which embraces all the pure, and true, and just and loving men and women in the world; but this is only a poetical way of speaking, and is seldom used except by poets. It describes an affinity and not a unity. It is only in spirit and not in form that this so-called Church exists. The good of all times and nations do indeed form a true Communion of Saints, a holy brotherhood, a divine kingdom, and even Christianity is not a word large enough to embrace them all. Christianity we may take to mean all those who have been led into this brotherhood through the words and life of Christ, but other sheep there are that are not of this fold.

We have spoken of the evolution of the Church, and so its growing and widespread organisation has been called, and yet this is wholly at variance with the scientific theory of evolution. It is reversion, the going back to a lower type.

Mr. Herbert Spencer tells us that that which constitutes the universe has passed by a process of evolution from a simple to a complex state, from a condition of homogeneity to a condition of heterogeneity. That is to say, from a condition in which it was all alike, to a condition in which it appears in innumerable different forms. Evolution is manifested in an increasing differentiation and individualisation, and now for all marks of distinction to be obliterated and all differentiation to be lost again in a universal homogeneity would not be evolution but retrogression. And so with the Church; for all its members to be moulded after the same pattern, all to obey one head, all to profess the same creed, all to perform the same acts, all to be moved by the same emotions in the same way, would be a retrogression and not an advance.

There is another type of Christian fellowship, the characteristics of which are more in harmony with those of the general process of evolution, and therefore of a higher order than those of one great homogeneous Church. Churches of this type each form a separate religious community, in which its own individuality is preserved. This is the justification of Nonconformity. Notwithstanding the power and influence of the Catholic idea and the Catholic system, this individualistic spirit has always rebelled against it, and has made a struggle and a successful struggle for existence. It was out of this spirit that all the so-called heresies of the early Church originated; it is out of this that all the diversities of Churches—Greek, Roman, Lutheran, Anglican, Presbyterian, and all the forms of dissent—have sprung. It is sometimes made an occasion of scornful criticism that English dissent appears in so great a number of forms; but, from our point of view, it is really a good sign, a sign of life and progress, and the result is the survival of the fittest.

There is only one obstacle to the complete success of this process, and that is the interference with the natural working of it by the selection of one form of religion as the Church of the State. This artificial selection of one type has to some extent arrested the development of the best. But as it is, these different denominations meet the differing mental and religious conditions of different men; while the Roman Church, for instance, can only meet the wants of men, however numerous they may be, whose minds are cast more or less in the same mould, or who have voluntarily consented to suppress their individuality; and all laws for the suppression of Nonconformity, such as formerly existed in England, and which are still enforced in Russia, aim at the extinction of religious individualism.

This, then, is really the explanation of English Nonconformity. It naturally arose amongst a race of men so characteristically individualistic as we are; we never could submit to be all cut down to the same pattern. The first historic movement of what we may call the modern type was that of the Separatists, then came the Puritans, Presbyterian and Independent; then followed the Nonconformity which was created by the Act of Uniformity. The best men were ejected from the Church, but it is the Church which has been the chief sufferer, for, as Green says, "If the issues of St. Bartholomew's day have been harmful to the spiritual life of the English Church, they have been in the highest degree advantageous to the cause of religious liberty." "With the Act of Uniformity and the expulsion of the Puritan clergy a new element in our religious and political history, the element of dissent, the influence of the Nonconformist Churches, comes first into play." It is only amongst the Nonconformists there has been any development or progress; the Act of Uniformity fatally arrested the development of the National

Church. "From that time to this the Episcopal Church has been unable to meet the varying spiritual needs of its adherents by any modification of its government or its worship. It stands alone among all the religious bodies of Western Christendom in its failure through two hundred years to devise a single new service of prayer or praise."¹

Since the passing of the Act of Uniformity it is the Nonconformists only who have exercised any progressive influence, religiously, politically, and educationally in the country; the State Church has always opposed every measure of reform and every extension of liberty.

And to what is the success of the Nonconformists due? Not simply to their dissent from the State Church, but because they represent a higher form of life, a more completely developed individualism. Every Nonconformist Church is a comparatively small body of persons, each again retaining his individuality, but still all united, earnest, compact, loving religion, but loving their freedom no less. There is, therefore, infinitely more to be hoped for from these numerous independent local Churches than from a great homogeneous body subject to one authority. The Nonconformist Churches, though outwardly many, are at least one in their loyalty to freedom, which is the necessary condition of all human improvement.

WALTER LLOYD.

¹ Green: *Short History*, c. ix.

HUXLEY AS EVOLUTIONIST.

Few men of science were better known to the general public than he whose loss we all now so deeply deplore, T. H. Huxley. Even his life-long friend, Darwin, although known by name to so many, was of so retiring a disposition, and such a victim to ill-health, that few had the privilege of personal communication with him. Huxley, however, whether owing to the frequent lectures which he delivered, the public positions which he occupied, or the scientific controversies into which he entered with so much ability and success, became known to most scientific men at an early stage in the battle which raged round the doctrine of evolution. Now that the conflict is over, few who did not take part in it can realise the large amount of personal animus and of irrelevant religious prejudice that were introduced into what was, or should have been, a simple discussion of a scientific question.

As early as 1849 Huxley had already shown, as the result of careful biological investigations, that the ectoderm and entoderm of the medusæ resembled, both morphologically and physiologically, the same parts in the ovum of the vertebrata. Following up the embryonic development of mammals, he proved subsequently that it is only in the later stages of development that the young human being presents marked differences from the young ape, while the latter departs from the dog in its developments as the man does. These observations were confirmed and developed by Ernst Hæckel, of Jena, of whose *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte* Darwin wrote: "If this work had appeared before my essay (*Origin of Species*) had been written, I should probably never have completed it." All lovers of Nature will feel truly grateful that Hæckel's celebrated work did not anticipate, but succeeded and amplified, that of Darwin. The author of the *Origin of Species* did not, in the first instance, publicly apply the theory of natural selection to man, although it was evident that any law which affected the whole organic world must necessarily include the highest member of it. Indeed, Darwin himself afterwards wrote: "As soon as I had become, in the year 1837 or 1838, convinced that species were mutable productions, I could not avoid the belief that man must come under the same law."

It was, however, Huxley who in 1863 boldly stepped to the front and publicly applied this theory to the human race. His work,

Man's place in Nature, published in that year, is a masterpiece of scientific research and incisive reasoning. In clear and concise language the author proved that man could not, by virtue of any exceptional physiological peculiarities, claim a special position outside or above all other organisms. It had already been proved that nearly every part of the human skeleton had its counterpart in the osseous framework of the anthropoid apes, and the opponents of the Descent of Man, or what we would prefer to call the Ascent of Man, had been forced to rely on certain alleged structural differences between the skulls of men and apes. These points of difference were, in their turn, shown to be of a very minor character, and the upholders of the old view of man's exceptional position above the rest of the animal world appealed to the structure of the brain itself as evidence of dissimilarity. Huxley, after clearly describing the comparative anatomy of the various brains, enunciated the following proposition, which has finally disposed of all scientific opposition to the application of evolution to man. "So far as cerebral structure goes, it is clear that man differs less from the chimpanzee or the orang than these do even from the monkeys, and that the difference between the brain of the chimpanzee and of man is almost insignificant, when compared with that between the chimpanzee brain and that of a lemur."

In a chapter on the structure of the brain, written for the *Descent of Man*, Huxley subsequently amplified this statement. He says: "Taking the facts as they now stand, it appears to me that the order of the appearance of the sulci and gyri in the fetal human brain is in perfect harmony with the general doctrine of evolution, and with the view that man has been evolved from some ape-like form; though there can be no doubt that that form was, in many respects, different from any member of the *Primates* now living." This work of Huxley's on the brain was the outcome of a pledge given in 1860, when Sir R. Owen incautiously made the statement that the brain of the gorilla "presented more differences, as compared with the brain of man, than it did when compared with the brains of the very lowest and most problematical of the (*Quadrumana*." Huxley met this remark with a direct negative, promising to publish the detailed evidence subsequently, a promise which he more than fulfilled. It was a most fortunate thing for the spread of the doctrine of evolution that Darwin was from the first so efficiently supported by able men, such as Huxley and Haeckel, who possessed precisely those qualities in which he himself was deficient. For instance, he says in his Autobiography: "I have no great quickness of apprehension or wit which is so remarkable in some clever men, for instance, Huxley." He was exceedingly averse to controversy in any shape or form, and did all he could to dissuade his friends from taking up the cudgels on his behalf. To Haeckel he wrote: "I do not at all like that you, towards whom I feel so much friend-

ship, should unnecessarily make enemies, and there is pain and vexation enough in the world without more being caused."

This reference to pain involuntarily recalls to our memory the suffering philosopher at Down, physically unable to work more than two or three hours a day, and yet, in the aggregate, producing work which has revolutionised modern science. The secret of this lies in his own words: "*Nothing* is so intolerable as idleness." Those who knew Huxley personally will not be surprised to hear that his brilliant conversational powers were a source of great delight to Darwin, who would frequently exclaim after his departure: "What splendid fun Huxley is!"

Although the great mass of evidence adduced in favour of evolution by Darwin and others was sufficient to convince most scientific men, yet with many members of the *genus homo* the power of speech has been far more extensively developed than that of thought, and a wordy warfare continued, and still continues on minor points, although evolution as a main principle is generally accepted throughout the world. At the meeting of the British Association at Oxford in 1860 the opponents of evolution appeared in strong force, and a well-known bishop, turning round to Huxley, asked him whether he was related by his grandfather's or grandmother's side to an ape. To this personal attack Huxley made the following scathing reply: "I asserted, and I repeat, that a man has no reason to be ashamed of having an ape for his grandfather. If there were an ancestor whom I should feel shame in recalling, it would be a *man*, a man of restless and versatile intellect, who, not content with an equivocal success in his own sphere of activity, plunges into scientific questions with which he has no real acquaintance, only to obscure them by an aimless rhetoric, and distract the attention of his hearers from the real point at issue by eloquent digressions, and skilled appeals to religious prejudice."

Huxley had been quite prepared for opposition of this kind, for in 1859, on the publication of the *Origin of Species*, he wrote to the author: "I trust you will not allow yourself to be in any way disgusted or annoyed by the considerable abuse and misrepresentation which, unless I greatly mistake, is in store for you. Depend upon it, you have earned the lasting gratitude of all thoughtful men. As to the curs which will bark and yelp, you must recollect that some of your friends, at any rate, are endowed with an amount of combativeness which (though you have so often and justly rebuked it) may stand you in good stead."

The religious animus which prompted many opponents of evolution was clearly foreshadowed by Huxley, for in his critique on the *Origin of Species* in the *Times* of December 26, 1859, he says: "This hypothesis may or may not be sustainable hereafter; it may give way to something else, and higher sciences may reverse what

science has here built up with so much skill and patience ; but its sufficiency must be tried by the tests of science *alone*, if we are to maintain our position as the heirs of Bacon and the acquitters of Galileo." Yet there are still some, with whom sentiment and invective take the place of science, to whom the very name of Darwin is anathema ; it is true that they have in very few cases read his works. There is much pathos in his remark in a letter to Huxley : "It will be a long battle, after we are dead and gone. Great is the power of misrepresentation." Now that such an enormous number of facts in favour of evolution have been accumulated, there can be less excuse for unreasoning opposition than might have been found in the earlier days when the theory itself was new and confirmatory evidence scanty. Even Huxley himself was not immediately convinced. In his interesting chapter on the "Reception of the Origin of Species" in the *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, he says : "Thus, looking back into the past, it seems to me that my own position of critical expectancy was just and reasonable, and must have been taken up, on the same grounds, by many other persons." It is thus evident that Huxley was no instantaneous convert, struck by the novelty of the theory ; but that, after full deliberation, and due consideration of all the facts which his own extensive experience enabled him to collect, he deliberately accepted evolution as the only possible explanation of those facts. To those who have followed the doctrine of evolution from its birth, it is doubtful whether Huxley has not done more to spread and maintain its principles than even Darwin himself. Endowed with a ready wit and exceptional facility of expression, he was able, at a critical time, to draw the attention of the whole world to the new theory which his own masterly researches have done so much to establish upon a firm foundation. Like that of his friend Darwin, his tomb will be for centuries a place of pilgrimage for scientific men of all nations, and greater and greater will be the number of those who will re-echo the words of his epitaph :

"And if there be no meeting past the grave,
If all is darkness, silence, yet 'tis rest.
Be not afraid, ye waiting hearts that weep,
For God still 'giveth His beloved sleep,'
And if an endless sleep He wills—so best."

WALTER F. REID.

MODERN TROUBADOURS.

If the courtly race of troubadours could rise from the dead and take a view of the world as it exists to-day, they would be like beings from another planet who had suddenly dropped upon this earth and found nothing resembling them, or akin to them in the slightest particular, with which they might claim friendship or alliance. Other representatives of human art or human energy of a past age, of an age, in fact, as remote as the days of Babylon, might walk earth once more and shake hands with their fellow representatives. Soldiers, priests, artificers, dancers, musicians, tradesmen, agriculturists, or what not, might still, in different guise and with a different language, recognise one another. But the troubadours have not been dead five centuries, and yet not a representative survives. They were epic poets.

There was once a time in English history when epic poetry furnished the main amusement of the populace, and at the same time the main recreation of the refined. "Men like to hear," says a Northumbrian writer of the fourteenth century, whose words we paraphrase, "of Alexander the conqueror, of Julius Cæsar the emperor, of the war 'twixt Greece and Troy, of Prutus who came to Britain, of King Arthur and the knights of his Round Table, of Charlemagne and Roland, of Tristram and Iseult, of Isumbras, and of the thousand princes, prelates, and kings of ancient time whose deeds are set in noble rhyme"—in noble rhyme, we may add, and in long rhyme, in elaborate and artistic forms, in one word, in epic poems.¹

When people were merry-making, as at fairs and festivals, in the fourteenth century, that our author speaks of, there was sure to be found a *jongleur*, or minstrel, who would stand on an elevated platform and soon get an interested crowd around him by reciting a canto of an epic poem. When a party of lords and ladies had assembled for pleasure, there was sure to be a troubadour, who, taking his guitar from the hands of an attendant minstrel, would strike a few chords on it to attune his voice somewhat, and then would break out into a long impassioned recitation of noble poetry and epic song.

¹ For this and other historical facts in the essay, the reader is referred to the writer's recent work, *The Troubadours and Courts of Love*.

The reason of the complete banishment of such practices and such tastes from life as we find it now, is the extinction of the heroic in fiction and in art. What ideals please people now, and what ideals pleased them then? Whether it was that minds were simpler, and hearts more genuine, and purposes purer, certain it is that in those days the recital of some noble exploit—not necessarily of arms, but of love or daring—would find a score of ready listeners, while to-day it would scarce find one. At the present day we put quite another ideal in the foreground of fiction, and the elaboration of a cunning plot which whets our wits to follow it, the story of some evil or low propensity of human nature, the exaltation of crime which is the tale of a murder, of fraud which is found in the romance of a forgery, of falsehood which may be read in those wonderful stories of deception and mistake which delight modern readers, occupy and engross the whole ground of lighter literature.

Very well. What has been the æsthetic effect of the change? How is it that epic poetry, if it has staggered and fainted for centuries past, may to-day at length be practically pronounced to be dead?

Because exalted ideals, noble stories of heroism and endurance, rouse and string the author's breast to inspiration, and, despite himself, he finds his exaltation float off into song. Base ideals, on the contrary, depress and contaminate his spirits; who could poetise about detectives? Who could sing about gentlemen murderers, or gentlemen burglars, those griffins and hippogriffs of modern romance, who are supposed to mingle freely in aristocratic society, yet have never been seen there; who carry the language and the breeding of a lord in their exterior, and have a pair of knuckle-dusters and a crowbar ever ready in their pocket?

Until fiction alters its ideals—gets rid, that is to say, of its pettiness and what we may call its "police court" surroundings—until it banishes detectives, first and foremost, then murderers, then forgers, then burglars, and one by one all its base and grovelling *dramatis persona* from its pages—not until then will the writers of fiction, who contain in them the true elements of the troubadours, rise to the conception and the realisation of narrative poetry, which is the highest sphere of all literature, and is indeed to ordinary prose fiction what the grand opera is to the spoken play.

The play is all very well, and may, under skilled hands, become in itself noble, great and good. But in its essential character, as an exponent of the best that exalted art can do, it is, and it always must be, inferior to the pompous and musical opera. When emotion—perhaps one ought to say noble emotion—soars above a certain level, it is most appropriately coupled with tune; with that artistic expression of it which can heighten and sustain it. Let the stage preserve as its property the wit of the drawing-room, the intrigues

of fashionable society, the domestic emotions, the pathos, the passion of humble life, and of life, moreover, as it exists and pulsates around us. But for the great events of history, for the representation of heroic and therefore idealised story, let the opera be the vehicle chosen, which can exalt and heighten by song and emotional music the incidents it portrays until it raises them into quite another world, less real perhaps but more ennobling.

So it is with fiction and epic poetry—for it is a mistake to limit the term epic poetry to grave, systematic, laboured productions like *Paradise Lost*. The troubadours never so limited it. They applied the term to all long narrative poems without exception, to such poems as *Aucassin et Nicolette*, which tells of the adventures of a lover and his mistress, as well as to *Alisander* itself, which peals with the exploits of the Macedonian.

Fiction then is like the stage, and epic poetry like the opera. The higher and heroic fiction gains as much in dignity and beauty and impressiveness by being allied to poetry, as does the higher drama by being associated with music. But who is to form the association? Who is to start the new sphere of art, which assuredly will be, must be, a sphere ere long? Who is to be the modern troubadour?

The present writer will tell any aspirants to that position what his own experiences were in relation to an epic poem he published. It was an exalted narrative in the spirit of the Charlemagne Epics of the Troubadours, running to 15,000 lines or upwards. The newspaper critics regarded the poem as a monstrosity, and not one of them acknowledged to have read it. The preface—a page of prose—was freely commented on; but the poem itself, 15,000 lines of verse, was not alluded to, unless it were to remark that the epic contained such and such a number of pages, and each page so many lines. This one remark was considered sufficient to serve its purpose—which was to warn readers off from something ill-omened and accursed, a *bidental*, forbidden ground.

Not a single reviewer took the work seriously. Why? Because it was an epic poem. Had it been a prose novel it would have been accorded a hearing, and the machinations of its smug detective, or of its gentleman burglar, would have been carefully retailed for the benefit of interested readers. But, being an epic poem on the exploits of Roland and Oliver and Charlemagne, it was mocked, it was flouted, it was jeered at.

“When Robert the Bruce was on the banks of Loch Lomond,” says Sir William Tytler in his *Scottish Worthies*, “he beguiled the hours and diverted his companions’ minds from misfortune by listening to the stories of Roland and the unconquered Oliver, and the peers of Charlemagne.”

What suited Robert Bruce could not possibly suit an imagination

and a taste stuffed with the paltry incidents of commonplace life, in whose opinion policemen are heroes and gallows-birds most interesting characters.

Yet we cannot but think that a good time is coming for epic poetry, and that once again a race of modern troubadours will arise, who will repeat, perhaps under more congenial surroundings, the great deeds of their distant progenitors.

In the first place, epic poetry, though ruinously banished and ignored for centuries past, has always been, and we believe still is, a radical taste and passion of the English mind. At the time of the troubadours it was curiously remarked that, while the troubadours of Provence and of Southern France were disposed by nature and inclined by art to sing short poems and to make dainty verses about love and spring and singing birds and streams and all such dainty stuff, the English troubadours appeared to be made of sterner texture and more substantial intellectual frame, and most willingly kept back their efforts for a long time, until their verses were welded into one great and elaborate whole of beauty. To evaporate in little bursts of emotion, to scintillate in gemmed trinkets of verse, to shower out gold-dust and let it float away on the gale—this was not their art or their nature. But—to use the language of Virgil—*condere carmen*, to found a poem as other men would found a city; to build a song; to toil and create a stately architecture of verse, which always implies something heroic to inspire it and calls forth in its maker heroic characteristics for its execution:—this was the English genius even in those remote days. And depend upon it that what was the national genius once must be so always, though temporary and transient circumstances now hinder and now favour the development.

To these long and laboured poems the peasantry listened, the nobles listened, ladies listened, children listened. There was the same universal market for epic poetry then as there is for fiction now. And as we say, we believe that fiction will once again ere long gravitate round to its old form.

Another reason for this belief. The very monotony of subjects in present-day romance must of necessity ensure a change before many years are over. People will not always stand the monotony of homely characters, of common but ingenious incidents, this phalanx of poisoners, bigamists, criminals of every class, and, finally, the everlasting, outrageous detectives which modern writers serve them up. They will sigh for a change, and in getting a change they will get something higher and better, for the very good reason that they could not get anything worse. Surely to lap one's mind round with the stories of vulgar crime, or to enjoy stories which turn on some great and heinous iniquity, is one of the surest means of permanent demoralisation that a nation can foster. And such a thing cannot last long.

Lastly, we have a final and most important reason for thinking that the days of the troubadours are not quite gone for ever. This reason lies in the progress and diffusion of the art of music. Never in known memory, never in known history (that is, in English history) has there been such an illumination, such a sudden and pronounced *Aufschwung*, to use a Germanism, as music has made of late years in England. It has already passed from the hands of professionals to be the dearest delight of thousands of cultivated amateurs, and is fast taking its place as one of the essential elements of the culture of the time.

When that good day arrives of universal musical taste—such as in the days of ancient Athens, when “music bathed in a silver flood the whole life of the time,” or, as in the early days of our own troubadours, when it existed in full flood likewise, though without the sudden springing into being as at present—we say, when that good time comes of a universal taste for music as there is at this moment for reading; then the requirements of cultivated people and, we may add, of uncultivated alike, will no longer be content with prose romance, but will call imperiously for that form of fiction in which music is mingled with the story. And that form, in one word, is epic poetry.

Epic poetry is a story into which music has been infused. The music sorts the sentences into metre and jingles its melody in the rhymes. The fiction is the same, the romance is the same, but music blends with it and exalts it. Under the influence of music the tale has become an epic poem, and when that transformation is accomplished, novelists in like manner will have developed into *modern troubadours*.

J. F. ROWBOTHAM.

ANOTHER CAUSE OF THE COLLAPSE.

MR. WITHY attributes the failure of the Liberal Party to the fact that the late Government was not sufficiently Radical in its measures ; but, in a few words, I wish to submit that this was not the reason.

One of the main causes which led to our defeat at the polls was the Local Veto Bill. It was not so much what the Bill would have done if passed, but what it was represented by the trade it would do. People were told that all the public-houses would be closed, and were asked if it was fair that a man should be deprived of his trade without compensation. This was the *crux* of the situation. The Liberal Party had declared against compensation, and the ordinary man in the street would go no further into the question ; the Liberal Party, said he, is a party which has no sense of *verum* and *verum*. I can't support a party which robs people of their property.

The sting would be taken out of the thing if the Liberal Party would only declare that they are in favour of compensation in a fair degree to those who, through no fault of their own, are deprived of their property. I am not advocating a system of compensation based on the prices that are given by the brewery companies for licensed houses, because this is altogether an inflated and unnatural basis, but a fair system which shall compensate those who really suffer actual loss, and not only a loss of prospective profit in the shape of increased value of a licence or increased trade through the acquisition of a tied house. If the tied houses Bill of Mr. Broadhurst had been taken up instead of the Local Veto Bill I venture to say it would have materially affected the results of the election.

Whilst on this subject I wish to point out that the influence of the liquor trade is increasing year by year, owing to the formation of large public companies and the distribution of their shares through all classes of the community, who thereby become pecuniarily interested in the trade, and are enemies of any attack on its interests. This ascendancy of the trade threatens to become a national danger, but whilst recognising the evils we must deal fairly with them.

Another and important cause of failure was that the programme of the party comprised too many schemes, nearly all of them attacking some vested interest or another. Now, as a matter of policy, it is not wise to make too many enemies at once ; if you make them one at a time and legislate on them you may be able to effect your

purpose by degrees; but when two or three vested interests are attacked simultaneously it is only natural that they should recognise the accuracy of the old proverb, "Union is strength," consequently they promptly join together and present a solid phalanx of opposition, whereas had they been dealt with one by one, those not at the moment attacked would not probably have been excited to action in a matter which was no concern of theirs.

The Liberal party has been the victim of the faddists; it has been afraid to say No, and to stand on a few well-defined principles, and tell all faddists to do their worst; rest assured it would have gained in the long run. A man who has always been a good Liberal said to me after the election, "Now, perhaps, you will give us moderate men a chance;" and there was in his remark what is in the mind of many a man. Rome was not built in a day, neither can you carry out reforms at once. It is by gradually pegging away, step by step, that it is done.

To the minds of many, one of the greatest blunders, certainly from the point of view of policy, was the omission of the Government to proceed with measures dealing with Registration Reform and One Man One Vote. Had those measures been rejected by the Lords, the party could have appealed to the country with some reason, and the country would have responded to the appeal. Instead, however, of doing this, they listened to the faddists, and introduced measures to appease their supporters, and by so doing displayed weakness and lost the confidence of the country.

Mr. Withy suggests that if they followed his advice and imposed a land-tax of 4s. in the pound, gradually raising it until it came to 20s. in the pound, the party would gain support. I venture to state that any such proposal as this, being an attempt at wholesale confiscation would not only not have attracted any votes, but would have absolutely destroyed the hopes of the Liberal party, would have left a small band of extremists without any practical political power, and would have consigned us for years to come to Tory government. There is reason in all things, and no Liberal doubts but that some scheme should be adopted whereby the "unearned increment" should not be wholly appropriated by the landowner; but a proposal like Mr. Withy's, which would mean a general increase in rents, would have quite the contrary effect to that which he suggests.

Politicians are apt to talk of the land as if it were a gold-mine, whereas any one acquainted with dealings in land knows that very frequently it barely pays three per cent. and seldom more than four on the capital outlay. A landlord's position is not always a bed of roses, but very frequently one of thorns. I quite admit that the position of a landlord who owns a large extent of land near a rising town is an enviable one, and it is to a more equal division of the increased value of land classified as building land that the reformer

should turn his attention. Even in landlords and land, distinctions must be drawn, and a wholesale condemnation of the class necessarily works injustice.

To sum up, the cause of defeat can be put down to the readiness of the leaders of the party to listen to faddists, to the misrepresentations about the Local Veto Bill, and the omission of a fair and moderate system of compensation, with the qualification that it should not be provided by further taxation on the general public, and lastly, the failure to deal with registration and electoral reform. The party has had a lesson ; let us hope it will be taken to heart.

SEYMOUR WILLIAMS.

TO W.

ACCIDENTALLY KILLED IN THE PRIME OF YOUTH.

THY life was like a summer day,
Kind, generous, beautiful, and gay.
“A good God watches thee and me,”
I thought, “if such bright spirits be.”

II.

But cruel death with sudden blow
Marred thy fair form and laid thee low.
“If God do love the world and me,”
I thought, “why robbed He us of thee?”

ALICK JAMES.

IMMORAL ETHICS.

IN this *fin de siècle*, when there is too little real purity, too much apparent holiness, when journalists lay a not altogether sacrilegious finger on the innermost sanctuaries of life, this subject needs little apology ; none, if we remember a recent disquisition on the " Tree of Knowledge." It is both more practical and more proper to discuss the code of (so-called) honour which governs our morals, than to deal in veiled truisms on unsavoury subjects. For, if women once understood that there is an unwritten law by which men shape their course, there might be fewer deviations from the path of virtue. In attempting to formulate this creed, let us premise that ignorance and innocence are not always synonymous.

A sharp line of demarcation must be drawn between men who have no serious intentions, good or bad, in their relations with women, and others who enter deliberately on more definite and permanent *liaisons*. This paper is not meant to apply to those whose favourites are ephemeral, forgotten with the fleeting hour, their fancies born but to die ; it refers to a numerically smaller class, and includes those who have not earned the epithets " gay " or " fast," but who once or twice select a temporary wife, their connection with whom is more or less secret, and more or less prolonged ; such men are far more dangerous to society in general, and to the women they tempt in particular, than those of the former class. A weak woman is flattered by the assurance that such a one will forsake all others for her, and feminine vanity lures her on to believe that her reign will last to the end ; nay, more, that for her he will perhaps in time " count the world well lost," and give her the holiest title of all.

To all women we commend the study of these ethics, which they may hear confirmed by any man of the world, if he will speak openly :

(1) That no woman has any right to inquire into, object to, or be revolted by, the past life of either lover or husband.

(2) That permanent fidelity is due to the wife, temporary fidelity to the temporary connection.

(3) That every " good " woman should be ready to aid the male penitent to reform, *even* if the necessary condition of such aid is

that she dispossesses another, who has loved not "wisely, but too well."

(4) That, though a man's past may not be questioned, a woman's *must* be, and, if the record is not spotless, the most immoral man has valid ground for rejecting her as a wife.

Each of these propositions, which we challenge any man to deny, needs some comment.

To the first and the last there is a reply so self-evident, and so convincing, that the wonder is that only now is it beginning to be heard—namely, the manifest injustice of two such diverse rules, applied respectively to men and women. Why should some world-stained *roué*, who perchance has caused the ruin of many, be allowed to express virtuous indignation at the solitary peccadillo of a woman? Nay, instances are not wanting in which the man to whose solicitations she owed her fall has been the first to reproach her for it, in language both coarse and violent. Against such a one society should combine, and treat him according to his deserts as a moral leper, hurling him from his self-assumed pinnacle.

Especially to women should the lesson come home; ignoring all specious arguments, let them absolutely refuse to consider the past as an unknown quantity, but recognise and insist on the fact that he, whose whole life has been vicious, is no fit mate for a pure woman; we would also insist that such men shall have the common decency to descend from the judgment seat, as far as feminine morality is concerned. Let him that is without sin cast the first stone.

Fidelity! Yes, undoubtedly, this is right; but define fidelity, and here men and women shall differ. The male knight-errant will say that to be faithful is to keep the Seventh Commandment, but there are other infidelities than the supreme one. Just as a man can strike as deep and deadly a blow by some act or word as if he used the dagger, so can he be openly, avowedly, unfaithful, and yet respect the Decalogue. Infidelity of words, infidelity of looks, often only end there, because opportunity, or courage, is wanting. Granted that on this score women sin as often as men; but we contend that only exceptional women have any *systematic* sense or code of honour, therefore let the sex, who claim to have one, live up to it. Women, not vaunting its possession, are less to blame in breaking it.

Finally, what of the good work of reform?

Is it always possible to cleanse the Augean stable, or is the game worth the candle? He who reforms must cease to do evil; has he done so, in making for ever an outcast of a woman who perchance is the mother of his children, though an unwedded wife? At the highest tribunal of all will he be counted guiltless who makes the overthrow and desolation of a fellow creature his stepping-stone to salvation?

His code permits it, if he make pecuniary provision for the cast-away. His world rejoices that he is rid of an "entanglement"—he is reformed. No! a thousand times no; he is blacker, more guilty than before; he has tried to condone one sin by falling into another, and a worse one. He adds hypocrisy and cruelty to immorality, in a vain attempt to whitewash his soul.

But what of the "good" woman who aids and rewards this reform? Surely, either a one-sided surface goodness, or to be excused only as almost culpable thoughtlessness. She, or her friends for her, exact a promise that the "former affair" shall finally end. Is this real or sham morality, or must we go back to first principles, and ask what constitutes marriage in the sight of Heaven? To which of these twain women will be finally adjudged the sin of an unhallowed union, marriage but in name? If no such state of things exist, we still ask whether reform of the immoral is worth the dedication—or, it might be called, the sacrifice—of a pure life. Reform is always doubtful, and seldom permanent, while experience teaches that reformed rakes are not *always* the best of husbands. We conclude by urging women to consider this subject, in their own personal interest, and for the sake of purity and truth, of their sex in general, and of all society, lest it become rotten to the core.

A. GILBERTSON.

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

[Under the above title a limited portion of THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW is occasionally set apart for the reception of able Articles, which, though harmonising with the general spirit and aims of the Review, may contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object of the Editors in introducing this department is to facilitate the expression of opinion by writers of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editors and from each other.]

SCIENTISTS AND SOCIAL PURITY.

It seems to be in the nature of things that differences must arise "even in the best regulated families." The first household of which tradition, or history, makes mention was no exception. The quarrel, like so many others of less ancient date, had a religious complexion, and ended in bloodshed—the crime of fratricide being superadded to that of murder. This incident symbolised the fratricidal wars that were ever afterwards, throughout the ages, to deluge the earth with human blood.

All the world knows how "doctors differ," and also how disagreements happen, at times, even between those distinguished personages, the modern Solomons, who are supposed to administer "law and justice" from the judgment-seat. It may be observed, incidentally, that the rewards received by the latter-earthly ones of course that come in the shape of so many thousand pounds sterling per annum, may cause them, perhaps, serious qualms of conscience and make them so scrupulous about the administration of justice, pure and undefiled, that in their desire to avoid falling into error, "even in the estimation of a hair," they often take diametrically opposite views, not generally to the advantage, pecuniary or otherwise, of those who have the privilege, or misfortune, of appearing before them.

It is notorious, too, that legislators, wise or otherwise, who make laws for the rest of mankind, invariably take opposite sides—the ins and the outs—spending most of their time wrangling and jangling amongst themselves, and scarcely ever making up their minds to unanimity upon any one subject whatever.

This being so, it goes without saying that sociologists, scientists,

evolutionists, and other persons of great learning and intellectual power, may have theories and convictions on various subjects as wide apart as earth from heaven ; but one thing is certain, their appreciation of the good and beautiful in nature, however diverse their impressions, theories, or opinions, on certain points may be, forms in some sort a bond of union and sympathy between them which it is to be hoped will prove in the end beneficial to mankind, and fruitful of happy results. Their thoughts seem to be, perhaps insensibly, gravitating towards the great centre of attraction, "The Infinite," "The First Cause," the God of love and truth—the Creator of the universe and of the order and harmony thereof. They may deny the soft impeachment if they like, but the evidences are numerous that the dawn is beginning to streak the horizon of science ; the day of certainty is succeeding the night of scepticism. A miracle is being wrought and the scales are falling from the eyes of these intellectual athletes. One would not be surprised to hear from their lips at any moment a pronouncement of what must be in their inmost hearts : "Credo in unum deum Patrem omnipotentem factorem cœli et terræ visibilium omnium et invisibilium " (" I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible"). Not the least convincing of the evidences referred to is how these learned philosophers differ amongst themselves, not only upon minor points but upon fundamental ones : as, for instance, when Mr. Darwin bases his theory of evolution on " the struggle for life," and Mr. Henry Drummond his upon " the struggle for the life of others," without which, he says, " there can be no struggle for life, and therefore no evolution." It is a happy omen that sociologists, scientists, authors, and lecturers of distinction, professing various forms of religious belief, and, including amongst their numbers some whose ideas about the here and the hereafter, are not only nebulous but agnostic—which may be taken to mean negation of everything not visible to the eye—with the help of a good microscope, are by their scientific researches and discoveries making towards the solution of the great moral question of the age—social purity !

" . . . the feeble hands and helpless,
Groping blindly in the darkness,
Touch God's right hand in that darkness
And are lifted up and strengthened."

Impressed with the loathsomeness of vice in all its aspects, high and low, whether met with in the gilded salons of "society," arrayed in the silkiest of silken robes with all the lacery and tracery and blazing jewels that go to make up the delicately indelicate toilet of fashion, and surrounded by the seductive environments of wealth and luxury ; or festering in the slums and stews of the crowded centres of "civilisation," flaring in the tawdry finery of

vice or shivering in the rags of poverty, with hunger and misery on every side, the secularists in search of "The Holy Grail" of truth realise how immorality debases all those who fall under its baneful influence, and degrades human nature below the level of the brute creation. The evidence of their senses convinces them of the actuality of what they see before them; their scientific researches tell them the existing evil, great as it is, is cumulative and progressive, with an ever downward tendency—they know for certain that the evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit; the law of heredity is inexorable, and from generation to generation, in obedience to that law, this seething mass of debased humanity, when reproductive at all, is continually reproducing itself. Hence these learned truth-seekers are devoting their brilliant talents and varied erudition, according to their respective lights, to show forth before the world the inherent loveliness of personal purity and to demonstrate how it is that more real and lasting enjoyment, even in the worldly sense, can be got out of a good and virtuous life than from the abandonment of body and mind to the unrestrained pursuit of earthly pleasures and the gratification of every sensual impulse and inordinate desire.

On the one side they see virtue and happiness travelling together, hand in hand, along the highway of life, and on the other side vice and misery united and unable to separate. It would seem they have resolved in their own way to endeavour to work towards the elevation of mankind, taking as their text the idea of the Roman historian who, at a time when the pagan city was steeped in iniquity and moral degradation, began his literary labours with the noble lines: "*Omnis homines qui sese student præstare cæteris animalibus summa ope niti decet, ne vitam silentio transeant, veluti pecora, quæ natura prona, atque ventri obedientia finxit*" ("It behoves all men who desire to excel other animals to strive with all their strength not to pass their lives in silence like cattle, which nature has made grovelling and intent upon the gratification of their appetites.")¹

Taking up this text, it is hardly necessary to argue that the influence of high-class literature, even of the secular kind, is as powerful for good as the influence of Holywell Street literature is for evil. The extent to which bad books, especially works of fiction of an immoral character, or even tendency, poison the mind and corrupt the heart can scarcely be exaggerated; but it should be observed that evil-disposed persons who are inclined to degrade themselves by reading such rubbish have first to go in search of it. The newspaper is much more pernicious and deadly in its effects, in so far as it deals with facts, not fictions, and comes to us, bringing daily to the breakfast-table, with the tea and coffee, revelations which, if the ruling powers who have the taxing of the public and

¹ Sallust.

the spending of their money to the tune of a hundred millions annually, were not so stupidly blind or indifferent, should never be permitted to see the light. Some years ago a series of articles appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, making disclosures of a character so hideous and revolting, under the pretence of advocating the cause of social purity, that the public mind was amazed, shocked, and scandalised to an extent never before equalled; for weeks nothing else was talked of, and the paper, it was said, netted a large sum by the transaction. Book literature, however bad, could never do a tithe of the harm done by such newspaper reports; or by the publication of the details of a single odious case in the Divorce or Criminal Courts. The few reprobates who go in search of vile books, as the drunkard goes to the gin-palace to befuddle his brains with alcoholic poison, cannot be made very much worse by the pernicious stuff; not so the tens of thousands of readers whose mental purity may be irreparably blurred by the casual perusal of a newspaper report.

Ecclesiastics of all orders are labouring strenuously no doubt in the cause of social purity; but unfortunately their efforts, for the most part, do not extend beyond the frequenters of their own churches, who obviously must stand less in need of instruction than the countless multitudes of men, women and children to whom religion is a myth, who never bend a knee in prayer or darken the doors of a church from year's end to year's end. Most people of this class look, it is well known, with suspicion, if not downright aversion, on all clergymen, as if they have a sinister motive in view; this is to be deplored for many reasons. The mass of missionary clergy, especially the poorer ones, who devote themselves with admirable self-sacrifice to the service of the people, deserve the respect and veneration due to their personal worth, to their humility, and to the sanctity of their calling. Of course this remark does not apply to the few persons who presume upon their spiritual influence in mundane affairs, of which there are some examples. It has to be observed that in their intercourse with the laity, especially with the humbler ranks, who, as a rule, regard the sacred office with so much reverence, it is not easy to separate the minister of religion from the man, so as to treat the individual as he deserves while paying proper respect to the office of which he is an unworthy representative. Unfortunately for the cause of humanity, it happens there are some clerics who, while essaying to teach others, act as if they had not themselves read "The Sermon upon the Mount," or at all events had not grasped its significance; who appear to think their dignity would be compromised unless upheld by a lofty demeanour and sumptuous surroundings; losing sight of what were the environments of Him who had not "whereon to lay His head." How many such can lay their hands upon their breasts and say truly, "Discite a me quia mites sum et humilis

corde"? ("Learn of me, because I am meek and humble of heart.")

For various reasons, therefore, secularist writers and lecturers who devote themselves, however unconsciously, to work that tends to the material improvement of the human race, and to the cultivation of the higher graces and attributes of the soul, should be regarded as welcome labourers in the field of social reform. Every man and woman who earnestly and truly advocates the principle embodied in the precept, "Cease to do evil, learn to do well," is a benefactor of the human race and of their country; thus much may be said without laying one's self open to the charge of rushing in "where angels fear to tread," or exposing one's self to the imputation of discrediting the evidences of faith, or making light of religious ministrations.

An eminent scientist has recently published in book form his lectures on evolution; the work is so appropriate to my theme, in a certain sense, that I propose to use it freely by way of illustration.¹ Its title, *The Ascent of Man*, is singularly attractive, and it may be conceded that no similar work of equal importance has lately issued from the press. The learned lecturer presents his discourses on the theory of evolution with surpassing eloquence and beauty of language. The fascination of his style and the lucidity with which he makes plain his own meaning, irradiating with the light of genius what in most other hands, from the very nature of the subject, would be of necessity dull and prosy, make *The Ascent of Man* the most delightful reading. Whatever its defects may be, and from my standpoint they are many, there can be no two opinions about its intellectual power, sparkling brilliancy, and the goodness and purity of the motive. It does not appear what creed the author inclines to, but he leaves not the shadow of a doubt as to his Christianity.

He might take as his text and inscribe upon his title-page, Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος ("In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God").

It is impossible in the space available here to do more than allude to a few of the points so minutely and exhaustively dealt with by the distinguished evolutionist, who candidly admits, at the very outset, in his preface, that "the thread which binds the facts is but a hypothesis."² He further tells us, "Without some hypothesis no work can ever be done, and, as everybody knows, many of the greatest contributions to human knowledge have been made by the use of theories either seriously imperfect or demonstrably false."³ Quite so. In other words, those who are either in ignorance or in error upon any given subject whatever, may during the course of their researches and inquiries stumble on the truth at any moment,

¹ *The Ascent of Man*. By Henry Drummond.

² *Ibid.* p. v.

³ *Ibid.* p. 9.

provided they are thoroughly sincere in their search after it, and are ready, regardless of consequences, to adopt it when found.

Mr. Drummond goes on, clearly and emphatically, to show that Darwin, by his great personality and masterful influence, beat down all opposition to his own views, and that consequently "the struggle for life became accepted by the scientific world as the governing factor in development, and the drama of evolution was made to hinge entirely upon its action."¹ Mr. Drummond denies point-blank that the struggle for life "was the sole or even main agent in the progress of evolution."² He assigns a more important place to altruism, and says it asserts its claim to "a sovereignty before which the earlier struggle sinks into insignificance." He interprets altruism to be "the struggle for the life of others;"³ taken in its literal meaning it is the antithesis of selfishness, the sacrifice of self to the interest of others; and here the Divine Founder of Christianity—"Qui propter nos homines, et propter nostrum salutem descendet de cœlis et incarnatus est de spiritu sancto ex Maria Virgine" ("Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and became incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary")—stands revealed, for this is the goal to which Mr. Drummond's theory of evolution has brought him.

In a chapter on "The missing factor of current theories (man)," Mr. Drummond points out that "evolutionary philosophy has gone astray . . . that it has misread nature itself. In fixing on a part whereby to 'reconstruct the ultimate' it has fixed upon a part which is not the most vital part, and the reconstructions, therefore, have come to be wholly out of focus." He proceeds as follows: "Although the reconstructions of the cosmos in the light of evolution are the chief features of the science of our time, in almost no case does even a hint of the true scientific standpoint appear to be perceived." Great admirer as he is of the author of the *Origin of Species*, yet Mr. Drummond says, "The root of the error lies indirectly rather than directly with Mr. Darwin," who "offered to the world what purported to be the final clue to the course of living nature. That clue was the principle of the struggle for life."⁴ Mr. Drummond discusses the wide differences of opinion existing between many eminent scientists, amongst others, Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace, who, "co-discoverer with Darwin of the principle of natural selection though he be, directly opposes his colleague; (and tells us) the powerful attack of Weismann on the Darwinian assumption of the inheritability of acquired characters has opened one of the liveliest controversies of recent years, and the whole field of science is hot with controversies and discussions."⁵

Commenting on these disputations, especially with reference to

¹ *The Ascent of Man*, p. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 15.

² *Ibid.* p. 16.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 15.

³ *Ibid.* p. 17.

"the intrusion of moral ideas and standards which presume to interfere with the cosmic process and sit in judgment upon its results," Mr. Drummond asks, "What if morality be the main product of the cosmical system? . . . what if it can be shown that it is the essential and not the incidental result of it, and that so far from being a by-product, it is immorality that is the by-product?"¹

A firm believer in the inherent goodness of human nature, Mr. Drummond observes, "So long as Schopenhauer sees one thing in the course of nature and Rousseau another, it will always be well to have nature herself to act as referee;" he then quotes Bacon's aphorism "that a little natural philosophy, and the first entrance into it, doth dispose the opinion to atheism, but, on the other side, much natural philosophy, and wading deep into it, will bring about men's minds to religion."

Mr. Drummond thinks, "from the failure to get at the heart of the first principles of evolution the old call to 'follow Nature' has all but become a heresy."² He gives us Mr. Huxley's definition of what the Stoics meant by nature as that "which commands all men to love one another, to return good for evil, to regard one another as citizens of one great state;" and goes on to say, "Live according to nature, so far from having no application to the modern world or no sanction in modern thought, is the *first commandment of natural religion*."³ A little further on he says: "The first step in the reconstruction of sociology will be to escape from the shadow of Darwinism, or rather to complement the Darwinian formula of the struggle for life by a second factor which will turn the darkness into light"; "Et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebræ eam non comprehenderunt" ("And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it"). Shut your eyes to the light, the light is still there, though you cannot see it. The sun of heaven is invisible to the blind, though it shines resplendent upon the whole world. If you *want* to see an object you do not turn your back upon it or look in the opposite direction. What Mr. Drummond calls the first commandment of natural religion, "live according to nature," so far from tending to assist the "ascent of man," must, as long as human nature is what it is, have the opposite effect, and must lead to some such catastrophe as Mr. Huxley hints at. Mr. Drummond refers to the fact that "theories of progress have arisen without any knowledge of its laws," and having indicated that nature, by its infinite conservatism, has neutralised their evils, tells us: "This inadequacy, indeed, of modern sociology to meet the practical problems of our time has become a by-word. Mr. Leslie Stephen pronounces the existing science 'a heap of vague empirical observation, too flimsy to be useful,' and Mr. Huxley, exasperated with the condition in which it leaves the human family, protests that, 'if

¹ *The Ascent of Man*, p. 33.

² *Ibid.* p. 15.

³ *Ibid.* p. 15, 56.

there is no hope of a large improvement' he should 'hail the advent of some kindly comet which would sweep the whole affair away.' In another place, referring to Mr. Huxley's views, he says: "Mr. Huxley, on the other hand, will make no compromise. The struggle for life to him is a portentous fact, uninvestigated and unexplained." Mr. Drummond asks: "How, then, does Mr. Huxley act—for it is instructive to follow out the consequences of an error—in the face of the tremendous problem? He gives it up. There is no solution; nature is without excuse. After framing an indictment against it in the severest language at his command, he turns his back upon nature—sub-human nature, that is—and leaves teleology to settle the score as best it can."¹

It is unnecessary to examine further into the differences of opinion existing between so many professors of the "ologies and isms," men of light and leading in the scientific world, the fact that such differences exist is an established one upon their own showing. We have it on the authority of Mr. Drummond, one of the ablest of them all, that "No man can run up the natural lines of evolution *without coming to Christianity at the top*. One holds no brief (he says) to buttress Christianity in this way, but science has to deal with facts, and with all facts, and the facts and the processes which have received the name of Christian, are continuations of the scientific order." Mr. Drummond, enraptured with his own theory of evolution, exclaims with enthusiasm: "Already, even in these days of its dawn, a sudden and marvellous light has fallen upon earth and heaven. Evolution is less a doctrine than a light." The beauty and excellence of the doctrine of altruism, the sacrifice of self for the good of others, carries him so completely away, he appears to forget that the majority of mankind are not actuated by principles as elevated as his own, but are "of the earth earthy"; that, in short, so far from desiring to sacrifice themselves for the good of others, their aim is to sacrifice the good of others for their own good. The "*auri sacra fames*" ("the accursed hunger for gold") rules the world now as ever; there is not a corner of the earth, especially such corners as are occupied by the weak and the defenceless, untrodden by the foot of the needy, ambitious, and ruthless adventurer who does not scruple to slay his brother in pursuit of gain, only the club of Cain has developed into the Maxim gun, the repeating rifle, and other "resources of civilisation." If history speaks sooth, the brightest and rarest gems that sparkle upon the English crown were looted from their original owners, and are splashed with the blood of princes and potentates who were unable to defend themselves from the spoilers. Altruistic doctrines, as far as mankind is concerned, would seem, therefore, not to be good for much, at least upon secular lines.

¹ *The Ascent of Man*, pp. 27, 28.

² *Ibid.* p. 439.

Mr. Drummond's "first commandment" appears to be opposed to all preconceived ideas of moral obligation. "Live according to nature" opens a terrible vista of moral corruption. If mankind were under even the natural restraints common to all animated nature, except man, it would perhaps not be so bad, but the proneness of humanity to evil makes the suggestion, whatever Mr. Drummond's good intentions may have been, pregnant with fatal consequences. He has led us through all the abstrusities and contrarities of the doctrine of evolution up to its climax—what is the climax? "Christianity," when "men begin to see an undeviating ethical purpose in this material world, a tide, that from eternity has never turned, making for perfectness. In that vast progression of nature, that vision of all things from the first of time, moving from low to high, from incompleteness to completeness, from imperfection to perfection, the moral nature recognises in all its height and depth the claim upon itself—wholeness, perfection, love—these have always been required of man. But never before on the natural plane have they been proclaimed by voices so commanding or enforced by sanctions so great and rational."¹

Can it be possible Mr. Drummond has forgotten all about the stupendous drama enacted in Judea nearly two thousand years ago? Can it be possible the nations have been left so long "groping blindly in the darkness" until his arrival upon the scene to tell them "the facts and processes which have received the name of Christian are the continuation of the scientific order," and to tell them further "we land here not from choice, but from necessity. Christianity—it is not said any particular form of Christianity—but Christianity, is the further evolution." It has been generally thought "The Sermon upon the Mount" laid down, upon the broadest and most explicit lines, the whole gospel of righteousness; that it was proclaimed in language not to be mistaken, by a voice more commanding than any other, and enforced by sanctions not only "great and rational," but Divine—yet all these truths are now apparently discovered for the first time through the study of the theories of evolution and the replacement, or rather the supplementing, of the Darwinian theory of the "struggle for life" by the Drummondian theory of "the struggle for the life of others." Mr. Drummond, carried away by his own splendid enthusiasm, desires to establish a new religion, on the broadest basis and of the most far-reaching design—a religion that shall enclose within a circle the faiths and creeds of the whole world, whose catholicity or universality shall be all-pervading; and whose dogmas, or settled doctrines, shall be received by the learned scientist as well as by the simpler children of earth. He asks, "Is there no ground here where all the faiths and all the creeds may meet—nay, no ground for a final faith

¹ *The Ascent of Man*, p. 437.

and a final creed? For, could all men see the inner meaning and aspiration of the natural order, should we not find at last the universal religion—a religion congruous with the whole past of man, at one with nature, with a working creed which science could accept?"¹ It is a magnificent conception; how and by whom is it to be carried into practical operation? The idea is not, however, quite original, and its realisation may not be indefinitely postponed—we read: "Ego sum pastor bonus; et cognosco meas, et cognoscunt me meæ. . . . Et alias oves habeas quæ non sunt ovili; et illas oportet me adducere et vocem meam audient, et fiet unum ovile et unus pastor" ("I am the good shepherd; and I know mine, and mine know me . . . and other sheep I have that are not of this fold, and them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd").

It is necessary here for a moment to go back a space in order to look into the origin and development of religion—whence it came, and whereto it leads; keeping always in view the broad fact so strongly insisted upon by Mr. Drummond, that "no man can run up the natural lines of evolution without coming to Christianity at the top"; as then Christianity is an inevitable outcome of a study of the theory of evolution, its genesis has to be carefully examined into. Any one who is in doubt about it must try back and explore the way step by step until they reach the point of making sure they are on the right track, and are not deceiving themselves—which, obviously, it is every man's interest to avoid doing.

When satisfied upon this head, the direction to be taken and the method of proceeding must be considered, and the signs, symbols, and finger-posts along the road carefully noted, even as the unlettered savage, who has no other compass, traversing the primeval forest notes the signs and evidences which guide him aright on his way, and the neglect of which would inevitably lead to disaster and death. This course is necessary in order to ascertain whether the "Christianity at the top" is dovetailed into any other form of faith, more ancient than itself—in other words, whether it is the offspring and continuation of another true faith given by the Creator to the first of the human race. Having cleared up this point, it may then be time for the searcher after truth to reflect whether the religion founded upon Calvary and called "Christianity" can be improved on by secularist philosophers in the manner indicated by Mr. Drummond. If, as he admits, Christianity is the climax of evolution, surely it is most reasonable to believe that its Divine Founder did not leave His work unfinished. Surely Mr. Drummond would not claim, either on his own part or on behalf of the other scientists, who he wishes to aid him in establishing a working creed that will be acceptable to everybody, but who cannot agree amongst them-

¹ *The Ascent of Man*, pp. 437, 438.

selves in regard to the results of their own scientific researches, that they were included or hinted at in the mandate, "Euntes ergo docete omnes gentes . . . et ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi" ("Going, therefore, teach all nations, and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world").

It was said just now that no man has any interest in being deceived, especially he has no interest in deceiving himself. St. George Mivart, in his book *On Truth*, says: "A passionate devotion to truth is the well-founded boast of our scientific worthies, who are, above all things, anxious 'not to believe a lie.'" Yes! but, as we have seen, many eminent scientists, and men of letters, undoubtedly lovers of truth, cannot agree amongst themselves where truth is to be found or even how they are to go in search of it. A distinguished writer and statesman published, not long ago, a work entitled *On Compromise*.¹ In his opening chapter we read: "The right of thinking freely and acting independently, of using our minds without excessive awe of authority, and shaping our lives without unquestioning obedience to custom, is now a finally accepted principle, in some sense or other, with every school of thought that has the smallest chance of commanding the future."² This thesis is unquestionably a sound one when applied to the ordinary affairs of life, and especially in political affairs, but when we are told, "The main field of discussion touching compromise in expression and avowal lies in the region of religious belief,"³ I venture, notwithstanding the authority upon which the proposition is made, to assert emphatically that it is on this very matter the idea conveyed by the word "compromise" is absolutely inadmissible. There cannot be a compromise between truth and error any more than there can be a compromise between right and wrong, good and evil. It is not easy for an ordinary understanding to comprehend what the author of *Compromise* is driving at, or what object he had in view in composing such a book. Sometimes he shows himself in the light of a believer of *something*—as one of those self-constituted apostles who, to use his own words, "attempt, in however informal a manner, to construct for themselves some working system of faith, in place of the faith which science and criticism have sapped."⁴ Having referred to what he describes as "the just and necessary revolt of reason against superstition," Mr. Morley makes the admission that, "Christianity was the last great religious synthesis. It is the one nearest to us."⁵ Most people will agree with Mr. Morley in both these affirmations. Christianity gathered together the homogeneous elements of the ancient Jewish faith, with all its signs, symbols, evidences, manifestations, and prophecies, which so plainly prefigured the

¹ Mr. John Morley.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 152.

² *On Compromise*, p. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 153.

³ *Ibid.* p. 143.

coming of the Redeemer of mankind, as pre-ordained from the beginning, and crystallised them into the glorious faith—the faith that, as Mr. Morley himself admits, is now “the nearest to us.” Mr. Morley continues: “Whatever form may be ultimately imposed on our vague religious aspirations by some prophet to come, who shall unite sublime depth of feeling, and lofty purity of life, with strong intellectual grasp and the gifts of a noble eloquence, we may at least be sure of this, that it will stand as closely related to Christianity as Christianity stood closely related to the old Judaic dispensation.”¹ These philosophic thinkers seem to find an insurmountable difficulty in getting away from the Christian idea; it clings to them in spite of themselves.

This pronouncement of Mr. Morley’s reads not altogether unlike Mr. Henry Drummond’s assertion about Christianity being at the top of everything, but on reading further it appears the author of *Compromise* includes himself in the category of free-thinkers, or professors of infidelity. Here are his words: “Not for a single moment do we pretend that, when all the points of contact between virtuous belief and virtuous disbelief are made the most of that good faith will allow, there will not still and after all remain a terrible controversy between those who cling passionately to all the consolations, mysteries, personalities of the orthodox faith, and us who have made up our minds to face the worst, and to shape, as best we can, a life in which the cardinal verities (*sic*) of the common creed shall have no place.”² This is very decisive—there is no note of compromise in these words. The title of Mr. Morley’s book and some of his commentaries would lead one to expect a less adamant state of mind, less stiffness of the neck, less dogmatic assertion of his own creed of infidelity on the part of one who knows thoroughly well that thousands upon thousands of the brightest intellects, the most profound scholars and thinkers, and the purest and most self-sacrificing men and women the world’s history, sacred or profane, has produced from the earliest dawn until now, held contrary opinions. Men and women who sought for the light not in the school of prosperity, pride, presumption, and scepticism, but in that of humility, adversity, and self-denial.

“Lives of great men all remind us,
We should make our lives sublime,
And departing leave behind us,
Footprints on the sands of time.”

Have there been no great men and women who were not professors of infidelity, free thought, or agnosticism, who have left their footprints behind them, not merely on the sands, but indelibly engraven upon the rocks of time?—whose names are beacon-lights

¹ *On Compromise*, pp. 153, 154.

² *Ibid.* p. 156.

set up to guide mankind through dangerous shoals and breakers into a harbour of refuge, not false signals lighted by wild and pitiless wreckers to lure them to destruction? Can any one be so rash as to allege that a gigantic conspiracy has been "run" throughout the ages to mislead and deceive mankind by a sort of "long firm fraud," carried on successfully from the beginning until now? But Mr. Morley is still open to conviction—he is a possible believer in the religion of the future; he says, "Science, when she has accomplished all her triumphs in her own order, will still have to go back, when the time comes, to assist in the building up of a new creed by which men can live." How, according to Mr. Morley, is this new creed of his to be constructed? He tells us, as if the spirit of truth had breathed upon and enlightened him alone above all other men: "The builders will have to seek material in the purified and sublimated ideas, of which the confessions and rites of the Christian Churches have been the grosser expression."¹ Here, again, is the hankering after and harping upon "Christianity." How can the self-elected apostles of "a new creed," not yet even outlined, deceive themselves as they are doing? Most of them profess some sort of belief in some sort of Christianity, but a Christianity that shall come up to their own ideal. In going thus far, of course, they are admitting the divinity of Christ—yet they are not satisfied with the doctrine of Christianity drawn up by the Apostles who were actors in the great drama, who received the mandate, "Euntes in mundum universum prædicate evangelium omni creaturæ" ("Go ye into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature"), who saw with their own eyes Christ expiring upon the cross on Calvary, and who heard with their own ears His last words, "Consummatus est."

To revert back to the subject-matter of this article, the all-important one now engaging so much public attention. Though some people, virtuous unbelievers, as Mr. Morley calls them, may possibly go through life socially pure, the chances are not in their favour. Most people possessed of any knowledge of the world, and who know the tendency of human nature to self-indulgence, will consider the secularisation of society—the removal of all religious restraints—as by no means calculated to improve the morals of a people. At present they are not of an elevated character, particularly in large cities and towns where multitudes are congregated together. To let loose the seven deadly sins, telling the people not to commit them, but at the same time that they are under no religious obligation to refrain from committing them, would scarcely tend to improve public morality or restrain the play of evil passions.

It is stated on a previous page that debased humanity, when reproductive at all, is, in obedience to the inexorable law of heredity,

¹ *On Compromise*, pp. 154, 155.

continually reproducing itself. Every one can recall plenty of instances in all ranks of life, but especially amongst those classes with whom money is abundant, where parents who were in their own day wild, dissolute, and extravagant, have transmitted those characteristics to their descendants. Their sins are visited upon their children, "even to the third and fourth generation." How many princely fortunes have been dissipated in this way by young men who had the taint in their blood? who inherited from their parents the fatal tendency to reckless living, or, as the phrase goes, "had the bad drop in them?" It would be out of place in these pages to specify instances, but they are within the knowledge of all. If there were not another and a brighter side to the picture, the future of mankind would present a gloomy outlook.

The researches of Darwin (*Descent of Man*) have been elsewhere quoted by the writer, on the subject of inheritance, to the effect that the transmission of the most trifling as well as of the most important characters in man and animals goes on from generation to generation. The facts have been so often and so authoritatively proved, it is unnecessary to dwell on them here for more than a moment. Mr. Francis Galton, whose authority is indisputable, says in his work on *Natural Inheritance*, "The persistence in inheritance of trifling characteristics, such as a mole, a white tuft of hair, or multiple fingers, has often been remarked." This being so with regard to mere external or physical peculiarities, how much more certain it is that psychical traits are transmitted. In his work on *Hereditary Genius*, Mr. Galton tells us, "A man's natural abilities are derived by inheritance, under exactly the same limitations as are the form and physical features of the whole organic world." He says further, "Social agencies of an ordinary character, whose influences are little suspected, are at this moment working towards the degradation of human nature, and that others are working towards its improvement." It is to be hoped the good influences will get the upper hand in the long run. It behoves the advocates of social purity of all classes and creeds to work earnestly and untiringly towards that end.

W J. CORBET.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE life of Sonia Kovalevsky is painfully interesting.¹ The story is told by her friend Anna Carlotta Leffler, Duchess of Cagenello; and, owing to the "poetic" treatment of the subject, recommended to the authoress by Henrik Ibsen (marvellous to relate), it is not easy to determine how much of the book is fact and how much fiction, or at least conjecture. Sonia Kovalevsky in her seventeenth year came up with her father and mother from the country to spend the winter in St. Petersburg. About that time a strange movement stirred up the young generation of Russia. Girls anxious for a University career, finding that their parents were opposed to allowing them to indulge their craving for extended knowledge, devised the original plan of going through the form of marriage with sympathetic young men, and then going into Germany or elsewhere in their pseudo-matrimonial character. Sonia, though younger than her sister Aniuta by six years, was the more daring and resolute spirit of the two. She induced a young student named Wolde-mar Kovalevsky to aid her in getting out of Russia, leaving a letter with her father stating that she was with her lover, and asking for his forgiveness and for permission to marry. Her father, though raging with indignation and wounded pride, had to give way, and so Sonia set forth on her career. The marriage was celebrated, and the young girl, then only eighteen, after spending a few months with her "sposo" in St. Petersburg, went to Heidelberg to study mathematics. She and her husband entered their names as students of the University. They afterwards went to England for the summer vacation, and there met George Eliot, Darwin, Huxley, and Herbert Spencer. In George Eliot's diary the young couple are referred to as "*M. and Madame Kovilevsky*" (*George Eliot's Life*, vol. iii. p. 101). At Heidelberg Sonia made wonderful progress in her mathematical studies and won high University honours. She did not settle down to a domestic life with Kovalevsky until she had gone through a more advanced course at Berlin under Professor Weierstrass. How-

¹ *Sonia Kovalevsky. Biography and Autobiography.* By A. C. Leffler, and by Himself. Translated into English by Von Cossel. London: W. Scott.

ever, they eventually lived together as man and wife, and a child was born of their union.

Kovalevsky took out the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Jena. He was a rather unambitious young man, and did not suit Sonia's temperament. Her adventures during the siege of Paris with her sister, who had formed a connection with one of the Communards, are more extraordinary than anything we have read in Russian fiction. Her subsequent life in Stockholm; where she lectured under Professor Mittag Leffler, brother of her biographer, her scientific achievements and literary pursuits, as well as the history of *le grande passion*, which may be said to have led to her premature death, are vividly set forth in this interesting volume. The story appended to the biography is unworthy of Sonia Kovalevsky's reputation. It reads like a poor imitation of George Sand. However, Sonia Kovalevsky possessed scientific rather than literary genius. Her nature was a singular combination of passion and logic, and the conflict of the two elements rendered her life unhappy. Her history is certainly one of the strangest romances in real life to which the nineteenth century has given birth.

The late Dean Church's *Beginning of the Middle Ages*¹ is a work which will be exceedingly valuable to students of history. The author, of course, has presented in a condensed form, historical information already supplied by such great writers as Gibbon, Merivale, Hallam, Milman, Guizot, and Ranke. But he has also embodied much original investigation in his work which, with characteristic modesty, he describes as a mere general sketch. The introductory chapter traces the line of demarcation between ancient and modern history. The next chapters summarise the history of the Vandals and Goths, the career of Attila, the fall of the Western Empire, the rise of the Franks and the Lombards, the Anglo-Saxon conquest of England, the victories of Charlemagne, the Danish invasion of England, and the organisation of the Scandinavian nations. All this historical material is compressed into eleven chapters covering 260 pages.

We have received two additional parts of the *Oxford English Dictionary*,² edited by Dr. James A. H. Murray. The portion of Volume III. (DEPRAVATIVE—DEVELOPMENT), which is now before us, contains 1175 main words, 29 combinations explained under these, and 184 subordinate words—1388 in all. The section extends nearly to the end of the words formed with the Latin (and French) prefix DE. Attention is called by the editor to the theological sense of the word *depravity*, the military sense of *detail*, the philosophical sense of *determine* and *determination*, the Lamarckian sense

¹ *The Beginning of the Middle Ages*. By the late R. W. Church, sometime Dean of St. Paul's. London: Macmillan & Co.

² *The Oxford English Dictionary: a New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Edited by Dr. James A. H. Murray. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Vol. III and IV

of *development*, and the curious change in the use of the word *détritus* by geologists. Some interest attaches to the strange misuse by Sir Walter Scott of the pseudo-archaic expression, *derring-do*. Chaucer originally used the words properly in his *Troilus*, as he gave the object as well as the verb :

“Troilus was neuere vnto no wight
In no degree seconde
In *dorryng don* that longeth to a knyght.”

Lydgate, who imitated Chaucer, wrote “*dorryng do*” (*Chronicles of Troy*), which was misprinted “*derringe*,” and Spenser picked up the phrase in this form, and so misused it in *The Faerie Queene*. Then came Scott, one of the most clumsy of English prose-writers, and he wrote in *Ivanhoe* : “If there be two who can do a deed of such *derring-do*.” This is only one of the many *garicheries* of style in the Waverley Novels.

The section of Volume IV. (FEE—FIELD) contains 962 main words, 229 subordinate words, 183 special combinations explained under the main words, and 271 obvious combinations recorded and illustrated without individual explanation—altogether 1645 words. The ordinary etymology of the words *felon* and *feud* has been corrected in this section.

The life of Nelson will always have an interest for English readers. With all his faults, Nelson was a real hero—perhaps the most heroic Englishman that ever lived. Mr. John Knox Laughton’s book¹ on the great admiral, which forms one of the “English Men of Action” series, contains within the limits of 240 pages, a vast amount of information. In the opening chapter, Nelson’s family history is admirably sketched. Though he came of what may be called a clerical family, Horatio Nelson was, on the mother’s side, a direct descendant of the celebrated Sir John Suckling; and to this fact we may perhaps attribute the element of romance and amorousness in his character. Heredity explains many things, and there is much that needs scientific elucidation in the character of Nelson. The descriptions given of the battle of Cape St. Vincent, the battle of the Nile, and the battle of Copenhagen are vivid and dramatic; and the account of the death of England’s greatest naval commander cannot fail to rivet the reader’s attention. It may be pointed out that Mr. Laughton is inaccurate in stating that the name of the Frenchman who shot Nelson is unknown. We scarcely think that the author has done justice to Lady Hamilton who, in spite of her frailty, had some legitimate claims on the gratitude of England. The neglect shown towards her by the nation to whose protection Nelson left her is a matter of which we have no reason to be proud.

¹ *Nelson*. By John Knox Laughton. London: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Under the title of *The Buried Cities of Vesuvius*¹ Dr. John Fletcher Horne has given a short, but very interesting, account of the celebrated cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii. Those who have read Bulwer-Lytton's well-known historical novel will read this little book with some interest. The writer, in his opening chapters, describes Vesuvius, and then relates, with great succinctness, all that is known of the two great cities which were destroyed by the volcanic eruption. The chapters on the literature, art, and social life of the Pompeians show that the inhabitants had reached a high degree of civilisation, although their morals were probably lower than those of ancient Greece. The volume will not only serve the purpose of a handy guide-book, but will interest the student of history and the archaeologist. Dr. Horne is evidently a scholar and a man of refined tastes. His observations on the artistic aspect of the subject evince a very extensive acquaintance with matters which are entirely outside the ken of the average man in these days of cheap education and pretentious ignorance.

BELLES LETTRES.

UNDER the title of *Outre Mer*,² M. Paul Bourget gives us his impressions of America. Apparently this fastidious Frenchman does not like democracy. In the opening pages of his book he calls it some hard names. He refers to universal franchise as "the imbecile tyranny of numbers." Such extravagant language does not bear rigid analysis. What general can dispense with an army? What nation can dispense with the rank and file of its population? France would not be able to preserve its liberty long if it were entirely composed of Paul Bourget's. The so-called "common herd" cannot be treated as mere nonentities; therefore, why should not all persons capable of discharging the duties of citizens have votes? As for M. Bourget's complaints about "the loss of the Ideal in modern Europe," we must confess that we find it hard to understand what he means. The ideals of our time are certainly preferable to the pseudo-divine, pseudo-diabolic ideals of the Middle Ages.

As regards America itself, M. Bourget is forced to admit that the problem of getting races from all countries to live together in peace appears to have succeeded in the Great Republic of the West.

It is needless to say that the style in which the book is written is excellent, for, in spite of his somewhat effeminate turn of mind,

¹ *The Buried Cities of Vesuvius*. By John Fletcher Horne, M.D. London: Bell, Watson & Viney, Limited.

² *Outre Mer: Impressions of America*. By Paul Bourget. London: T. Fisher & Win.

M. Bourget is a master of style. We might quote many passages if the limits of space permitted. The description of the arrival in New York is, indeed, admirable, though perhaps a little too grandiose. Here is a portion of it :

"Leaning over the ship's rail on the side towards New York, I succeed in distinguishing a mass of diminutive houses, an ocean of low buildings, from the midst of which arise, like cliff-bound islets, brick buildings, so daringly colossal that, even at this distance, their height overpowers my vision. I count the stories above the level of the roofs, one has ten, another twelve. Another, not yet finished, has a vast iron framework; outlining upon the sky the plan of six more stories above the eight already built. Gigantic, colossal, enormous, daring, there are no words—words are inadequate to this apparition, this landscape, in which the vast outlet of the river serves as a frame for the display of still vaster energy. Reaching such a pitch of collective effort, this energy has become an element of Nature itself. To deepen this impression history adds the ferocious truth of figures. In 1624, not much more than two hundred and fifty years ago, the Indians were selling to a Westphalian the extreme tip of Manhattan Island. He founded this city which lies here before me. It is the poetry of Democracy, and these sproutings forth of popular vitality are a poem, where the individual is lost sight of, and personal effort is only a note in an immense concert. Verily, this is not the Parthenon—that little temple on a little hill, in which the Hellenes summed up their ideal, with hardly anything of the material, and of the spirit enough to animate it with measure and harmony down to its smallest atoms. But it is the obscure and tremendous poetry of the modern world, and it gives you a tragic shudder; there is in it so much of mad and wilful humanity in a horizon like that of this morning—and it is the same every day!"

M. Bourget's comparison between the orderliness of French life—which is in many respects only the orderliness of a puppet show—and the wild whirl of life in New York must be taken *cum grano salis*. The Americans are more "go-a-head" than the French, though they are not perhaps such slaves of system. We sympathise with the author's artistic disgust at the ugliness of the American houses. However, we regret his incapacity for "roughing it."

A curious remark is made by M. Bourget as to the value of money in New York, "It is too evident," he says, "that money cannot have much value here. There is too much of it." This way of regarding things shows that the ingenious author of *Crime d'Amour* is quite at sea when he comes to deal with economical questions. We have no doubt the millionaires of New York do not fail to appreciate the full value of their dollars.

In his chapter on Newport society, M. Bourget draws attention

to the fact that the *demi-monde* has been exercised from social circles in America. The courtesan has become a mere instrument of pleasure. It is not quite clear from the observations in the book whether the author prefers the wider toleration of French society to American exclusiveness. "It is possible," he says, "that the sentimentality which gives a touch of tenderness to gallantry in France is in some respects more human."

M. Bourget's remarks on American women and girls are exceedingly shrewd, and probably not unjust. He points out that owing to female independence, and the extraordinary facility for divorce, American ladies maintain all through their married lives a kind of "soul celibacy."

The portion of the book dealing with "the lower orders" contains much with which educated Americans will probably disagree. However, the distinguished Frenchman's mode of grappling with questions which are scarcely congenial to him cannot fail to interest and amuse most readers.

We have received the "third edition" of "a poem of fifty years ago," on *Matters and Men*.¹ This third edition is "the first to be published," as the impressions of 1845 and 1848 were limited to 500 copies, "which were wholly pre-engaged and gratuitously distributed amongst personal friends and political associates of the Author." Even this is incomplete, as more than 150 stanzas are wanting, only an imperfect copy of the "*Revise*" of 1848 being available. "It is the record of a man, now just an octogenarian, started in life more than sixty-five years ago—with thorough rudimentary teaching—as to his surviving impressions of 'MATTERS AND MEN.' . . ." A recurring figure in the notes is, curiously enough, "W.E.G.," and a very pretty examination in English political history of the century might be made from deciphering the names of which only nicknames or initial and final letters are printed in the verses :

"YOUR 'PEEPING JEMMY' and your 'MIXING JOHN';
Your G-or-e A-g-ust-s P-r-cy—S-dn-y S-m-yt-e—
High sounding names for every eldest son,—
And such as every one should christen with :—
Your 'BABBLING BEN,'—unheeded prattling on,
With much of rancour, but with little pith ;—
Your 'WANDERING BILLY,'—poor ex-Newark member,—
Who writes such touching letters,—you remember."

The only equal to this are the many lines concerning the clergy :

"Ye People! have they not yet sucked and bled ye!"

¹ *Matters and Men*. By Edward-Gibbon Swann, C.M.E. Burgess Hill, Sussex : Charles N. Blanchard. 1895.

ART.

THE successor of Fétis as director of the Conservatoire of Brussels, the composer of *Quentin Durward* and other not unsuccessful operas of a quarter of a century ago, has turned his attention during the past twenty years to the study of the history of his art. The first ten years of his investigations resulted in two volumes on the *History and Theory of the Music of Antiquity*. In these M. Gevaert summed up the researches of the sixty years since fragments of the Greek music have been recovered and successfully analysed; and he added to what was already known much that was new. The seven diatonic tones are no plainer to him than the thirteen Aristoxenean modes and the fifteen neo-Aristoxenean tones. The varieties of harp and hautbois (it seems they were not marvels in execution), the instruments of percussion and metal instruments, have no secrets for him. He knows the irruption of a florid Asiatic instrumentation among the over-civilised and decadent Greeks, the subjection of Rome the destroyer by the musicians of Corinth the destroyed, the establishment of Conservatoires and of theatrical agencies for transmitting the artistes of the capital to the provincial cities of the empire. It remained for him to trace the descent of the musical art from antiquity to the middle age which connects it with our own. This, after another ten years, he has done in an octavo volume of nearly five hundred pages—*The Melodic Art of Antiquity in the Chant of the Latin Church*.¹

The new work is satisfactory on the whole, technically in spite of its controversies, historically because of them. A list of the matters treated, omitting the Introduction for the present, will show how much there is, amid details of only technical interest, for the general reader interested in the evolution of art.

The first chapter is given up to an orderly exposition of the Greco-Roman modes and tones, from the constitution of the common scale (diatonic and chromatic) and the Greek modes of the classical period to the transposition of these seven modal scales into the Greco-Roman tonal scales of Aristoxenes. The latter were adapted to the freer and more varied use of both voices and instruments. From them, so M. Gevaert maintains with a great show of reason, Boetius started the mistaken made-up nomenclature for the authentic and plagal modes which obtain until this present in the ecclesiastical plain chant—unfortunately, since Boetius was a good mathematician but mediocre in music. Our author, the musical reader should keep in mind, employs the well-known names, not in the sense of the last twelve hundred years, but in that of Aristoxenes, who worked out

¹ *La Mélodie antique dans le chant de l'Eglise Latine*. Par Fr. Aug. Gevaert. Paris: Librairie Alph. Picard et Fils. 1895.

the principle which Sebastian Bach applied after centuries of oblivion in the *Wohltemperirtes Clavier*. Throughout this chapter, as indeed through the whole work, the bibliographical references are of the greatest interest to the student of the archæology, not only of music, but of education also and social institutions.

The second chapter deals with the characteristic music of the Roman Empire—the accompaniment of song by the cithara. Of this kind of music we have not only technical explanations of the time, but also chants of undoubted authenticity, besides various fragments. These are given, reduced to modern notation, in the section devoted to “the remains of pagan art.” An exhaustive appendix treats of the remains of Greek music discovered since 1880, and the new Delphic hymn is to be examined in a special *brochure* (for binding up with the present volume), as soon as M. Théodore Reinach publishes it. It is hard to understand how classical teachers of Pindar and Euripides can excuse their ignorance of these investigations, which help more to explain the puzzles of Greek prosody than the schemes actually in use.

The third chapter deals with the Hymnody of the Latin Church, especially in that final and perfect form which St. Ambrose gave them almost from the beginning. With the fourth chapter, our author comes to the special object of his work, the anthems or antiphons of the Roman Office of the Hours. These are usually verses of Scripture intoned before and repeated in full chorus after each psalm. Their importance is from the fact that they serve to give the tone (*tune*) or mode or melody of the psalm to be sung. They are the oldest examples of the modes of the ecclesiastical chant; they have been the least altered, as is shown by the earliest manuscripts, and they consequently represent the most nearly the descendance of Greek music. With what patient analysis M. Gevaert has worked out his favourite thesis—that the modal system of the Roman plain chant came in with the Syro-Hellenic popes from the East, and not from a legendary reform of St. Gregory the Great a century previous—can be appreciated only by a careful student of the work. The remaining three chapters of this first part of the book continue the detailed history of the antiphons in their musical facture, chronology, and alterations up to the ninth century. The second part, which is purely technical, is taken up with a *catalogue thématique* of the anthems known by musical documents of the ninth and tenth centuries.

It would be impossible to note the riches of information dropped by the way—of Arabo-Persian melodies overlapping the Greek modes in the Eastern Church, of Basque harmony and Scotchmen still singing by tradition in these modes which explain the whole history of music, and are not to be laughed at since they culminated in Bach, of the origin of the instrumentation by Pro-

testant organists between the stanzas of their hymns from the *cantorial linto* of the Renaissance—and all the rest, to make us regret that no “comparative” and “evolutionary” history of music has yet been written. From the long Introduction, in which M. Gœvaert brings up to date his perennial controversy with the Benedictine monks about plain chant as “Gregorian,” there also results an important lesson in history which Sir Henry Maine was fond of considering. It is the capacity for bearing witness to the past of a great body like the Church which enshrines tradition—a dead music as a dead language.

We have received the second of the eight proposed volumes of *English Minstrelsie*—“a national monument of English song.”¹ It fully bears out the promise of the first volume, which was lately reviewed in these pages. The merits are the same, all on the side of deserved popularity. The defects concern rather folklorists and musical archæologists, for whom, after all, the book is not written. The new accompaniments to old airs, which have stirred some technical critics, are certainly both easy and pleasing. The notes of Mr. Baring-Gould are, as usual, interesting; and, with anecdotes and portraits, they help to an understanding of the fashionable as well as popular singing of other days. See especially “A Fine Old English Gentlemen,” “A Right Little, Tight Little Island,” where we learn who Thomas Dibdin was, and “Black-eyed Susan,” with Incledon’s substitute for a duel. We must still make at times a wry face at the words which the reverend editor gives in place of the original “objectionable” lines; but then—in England we cannot expect to be either folklorists or French.

¹ *English Minstrelsie*. Edited by S. Baring-Gould, M.A. Volume II. Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack. 1895.

PAUL BOURGET :

NOVELIST, POET, AND CRITIC.

THE appearance of M. Paul Bourget's *Impressions of America*, which cannot fail to arouse interest among English-speaking people, affords a suitable occasion for attempting an estimate of a many-sided writer, who is the special favourite of the fair and gentle sex among the Latin and Slavonic races. French writers of fiction are more appreciated on the Continent than those of any other people, and M. Paul Bourget, who has been a constant traveller in foreign countries, unlike the greater part of his countrymen, may be considered by this time European. The scene of *Cosmopolis*, one of his chief works, is laid in Rome, and the leading characters come from all quarters of the world, and bear the impress of each individual race. Thus the Marquis de Montfanon is a French officer; Lincoln Maitland an American painter; Hafner a German Jew; and Alba Steno, the daughter of a Polish father and an Italian mother.

M. Bourget was influenced in his student days by the admirable Hippolyte Taine, one of the few travellers whose notes on a foreign country possess any serious or permanent value. Perhaps he acquired from him the rare habit of interesting himself in the life and thought of other lands, especially of England and Germany, the two that differ most from the land of his birth. At an early period of his career, before he had acquired so large a fame outside France, he chose to go and reside in Oxford, and mixed freely with undergraduates. One who knew him there has told me they treated him as one of themselves, and got him to enter into all their tastes and amusements. Once, as he dined at the high table of a college, he abruptly sprung the question, "Avez-vous lu Schopenhauer?" on an Oxford Don, and received a curious answer. He has left a graceful record of his stay in some sixty pages of *Sensations d'Oxford*, reprinted in the second volume of his *Etudes et Portraits*. Part of *Mersonges*—a strange tale of love and sin, which would serve as a modern comment on the old Greek text, *δρασαντι παθειν*—was, as he himself informs us, composed at Shanklin, in the Isle of Wight. His delightful *Sensations d'Italie*, dedicated to his friend the late Lord Lytton, attest his acquaintance with the sunny land which subdues Northern natures, taught, as they have always

been, from earliest years, to look to her as their spiritual mother. Nowhere does the imaginative spirit of the writer, which ought to have lived in an age of mystic but cultured faith, seem more completely at home than among antique churches and pre-Raphaelite pictures. One only requires to open his *Sensations d'Italie*, fresh from the study of Goethe's *Italienische Reise*, to realise the contrast between the temper that cherishes and the temper that turns away from all that is fantastic or mediæval. It is like coming to one of Botticelli's half-human, half-religious representations of the Holy Family directly after a work of Pheidias or Velasquez. No modern writers—not even Italianised Englishmen like J. A. Symonds and Walter Pater—have shown themselves more completely in sympathy with the Italian creative spirit in the early days of the Renaissance, when Science and Poetry, Learning and Romance, Love and Religion formed a strange alliance. Just as Sandro Botticelli bears evidence of the struggle between the old faith and the new culture and blends something of both, so Paul Bourget seems born midway between two worlds, the world of Catholic piety and the world of modern materialism: positivist by reason, but Catholic by temperament. The book teems with "purpurei panni" passages of curious charm, which haunt the memory of one who is acquainted with Italy like the frescoes of Orcagna in the Campo Santo at Pisa. Take the following account of the possible effect of Savonarola's death on the painter Perugino's faith:

"L'ironie tragique et sacrilège de cet apôtre, presque un saint, condamné par un tel juge et au nom de Dieu, fut une redoutable épreuve pour la conscience de toute cette fin du XVe. siècle. Le ciel était donc vide puisqu'une pareille monstruosité avait pu se produire! Il n'y avait donc pas de Père céleste et le Christ était mort en vain! J'entends ce cri sortir de la bouche de ceux qui ont vu ce spectacle de honte épouvantable. S'il en est aussi pourquoi espérer un autre monde? Faisons de l'argent et encore de l'argent c'est sur ce conseil d'un matérialisme servile que vieillit le Pérugin, lui qui avait le mieux représenté la pureté des vierges sans désirs, la nostalgie tendre des saints amoureux de la Céleste Patrie, l'extase inactive et le soupir des lèvres sans paroles vers l'atmosphère d'en haut."

Take, again, the following passage, dated from Tarentum, the early beloved by Greek and Roman bards, and suggestive of certain stirring events, but now sunken in common-place squalor and seldom visited by travellers:

"Comme Dante a eu raison de le choisir pour son guide dans son mystique voyage, ce doux ce plaintif Virgile? Tous deux, en effet, ont eu l'amour passionné du sol natal. Ils ont été de grands Italiens, blessés jusqu'au cœur par la misère de ce pays, fait pour être si heureux qui a tant souffert."

If M. Bourget is less obviously at home across the ocean, where life is so terribly practical, than in describing Italian ruins or

"la beauté d'artiste en heroïsme" of the recent Italian patriots who suffered in the romantic "Risorgimento"; yet the impressions of a thoughtful writer, who sees a new country with old-world eyes, can hardly fail to be curious. It would probably be as hard for him as for the fastidious Matthew Arnold (who was in other respects utterly unlike him) to take deep or permanent root in any civilisation devoid of sentiment and story. But he has always felt a genuine admiration for the sterling qualities of the Anglo-Saxon race, like his master, M. Taine, and declares a visit to the United States might act like mountain air on many young Europeans who suffer from paralysis of will. If "la brutalité des rues de ses grandes villes" shocks his susceptible nerves and makes him frequently disposed to regret "la douce et lente Europe," the state of politics and society repels him less than that which has prevailed in his own country since the great Revolution. Just as Werther delighted in Homer, and Niebuhr, who was steeped in the fashionable sentimentalism of the Werther period, admired the old Romans by love of contrast, so the introspective spirit of the "fin de siècle" novelist finds much to praise in the fresh, robust life of the new world, where the individual has not yet begun to wither.

M. Paul Bourget may be considered the chief representative of the psychical school of novelists which claims to descend from Balzac and Flaubert. The pessimism of his earlier works seems to be giving way to a more hopeful and healthy view of life. But the charming French quality which gave rise to Balzac's assertion, "Quelque Français plaisanterait sans doute aux grandes assises du jugement dernier," is not exactly his. It would not be unfair to term him a sort of French Hamlet, modified perhaps about as much as M. Mounet Sully's impersonation at the Théâtre Français a few years ago, differs from that which is presented on the English or German stage. What a contrast between him and Alphonse Daudet, the sunny Provençal, who hates sadness more than anything else, and has kept himself conspicuously free from all Germanic influences! Yet it can hardly be doubted that the Germanic spirit has been in the ascendant, particularly in the latter part of the present century, just as the Latin spirit had the upper hand in the two preceding centuries. Many attempts have been made to formulate the chief differences between them. Thus, we are told the Latin spirit is essentially analytic, logical, and regular, while the Germanic spirit is essentially synthetic, speculative, and original. Any reader who opens the writings of typical Germans like Lessing or Hegel, and compares them with the writings of typical Frenchmen, like Voltaire or Michelet, will feel the intensity of this contrast, which faithfully reflects the contrast between the tempers of the two races. Although the Germanic element has been the predominant partner in the shaping of the English character, Norman and Celtic influences have been at

work as well. Since the earliest times two currents, one Germanic the other Latin, have been running in our own literature. Among prose-writers of the present century Macaulay represents the second as unmistakably as Carlyle represents the first. But the influence of German modes of thought on the scholars and critics of France, which has indirectly affected the writers of fiction, is remarkable. Perhaps the humiliation of French national pride in 1870 has tended to drive French thought inward, just as the success of German arms has tended to make the Germans more material and positive. Guy de Maupassant and Pierre Loti (to cite two popular modern novelists) are very far removed from the optimism of Victor Hugo and George Sand, who wrote while France was still the mightiest among nations, inasmuch as she had never been vanquished since the Middle Ages, except by a coalition of several powers. Another cause for the sombre nihilistic current, so alien to the French nature, is to be sought in the decay of religious faith. The old French sceptics—even destructive spirits like Voltaire and Robespierre—anchored on the rock of Deism. If their creed seems pale and abstract beside that wonderful branch of the Christian faith which seems to touch all men and all ages, it is, at any rate, far more conducive to virtue and sacrifice than modern forms of negation. Renan tells a charming story of an aged priest on Mount Lebanon, who conceived an affection for him during his first journey in Syria, but was alarmed by the rumours which reached him of his errors. But when he was told that the brilliant “*prêtre manqué*” believed firmly in God the Father he quietly answered, “*C’est beaucoup*,” as if other articles were of smaller consequence. Perhaps Renan was able to remain serene and happy to the last, like the the Savoyard Vicar in Rousseau’s *Emile*, largely by the help of this imaginative afterglow. His more passionate contemporary, Victor Hugo, was anxious to remove some of the darkest spots in the midst of our civilisation, because he deemed our destiny divine. But the modern naturalistic spirit, which scorns idealism and sympathy as passing dreams, and sees no prospect but annihilation for man and all his works, for good and evil alike, inevitably paralyses joy and effort.

The view of Hartmann, that the world came into being by an irrational act of blind unconscious will, has crept into works of fiction like Guy de Maupassant’s *L’inutile Beauté*. M. Paul Bourget has gracefully laid bare the desolating consequences of the purely physical view of life in one of his happiest bits of writing :

“ Il n’est pas d’immortel baiser, mon ami, pas plus qu’il n’est d’immortel printemps. Après beaucoup et beaucoup d’années cette terre qui soutient ces murs, cet arbre, ces fleurs, qui nous soutient nous-même subira le sort réservé à tout objet comme à toute creature. Dépouillée d’atmosphère et glacée comme la lune dont le mince croissant se dessine maintenant sur l’horizon, elle roulera, globe vide et muet, à travers les espaces. C’est à cause de ces certitudes que le morne Schopenhauer avait raison et avant

lui le Bonddha libérateur, de conseiller à l'âme inquiète la rentrée volontaire et définitive dans le couvent du non-être, eux qui ne croyaient pas au Père qui est au cieux."

Is the writer of this brilliant passage to be classed among believers or sceptics? On his own confession he has spent his life in trying to understand "l'attrait criminel de la negation" as well as "la splendeur de la foi profonde," without resting permanently in either. Yet he invariably pourtrays Faith as beautiful and Naturalism as hideous. In *Le Disciple*, perhaps the most powerful and important of his novels, he traces out the disastrous effects of so-called modern teaching on an exceptional, but not unreal, type of wayward youth. In *Le Saint*, a perfect gem of art, he draws a forbearing, Christ-like priest; in *Cosmopolis*, an enthusiastic and believing soldier, in whom something of the spirit of the French crusaders seems to linger. In *La Terre Promise* we have types of womanly and maiden piety (and where is the beauty of Catholicism more fragrant and perennial?) in a mother and daughter, the one essentially restrained and sober, as though religion were something to fortify and console; the other mystical and exalted, like the saints and martyrs of old, of whom the world was not worthy.

But nowhere does the temper of a writer come out more unmistakably than in his lyrical efforts. If lyrics do not spring from the heart, that is to say from inward experience, they are only literary verse, graceful and elegant perhaps, but not true poetry, such as belongs to the bard, "dear to the Muses and not displeasing to the Nymphs." Some critics are disposed to think that French literature, which boasts the most perfect and monumental prose, has few or no inspired bards to show, such as ancient Greece, Germany, and England have produced. According to Taine, no race is less poetic than the French, and M. Paul Bourget has written much to the same effect in his essay on Flaubert, "Parfaitement donnée pour l'analyse et pour la logique, la tête Française est d'une pauvreté d'imagination qui étonne, lorsqu'on la compare aux têtes du Nord et à leur magique pouvoir de rêve, aux têtes du Midi et à leur magique pouvoir de vision." If his own lyrical efforts can scarcely be termed inspired, in the higher sense, they are at any rate a happy expression of delicate poetic feeling. By his imaginative treatment of old and sacred themes, like Love and Death, he stands apart from the gay company of graceful rhymers and brilliant satirists so congenial to his countrymen. As a specimen of his style and tone, it may be well to quote a small piece entitled "Autour d'une Eglise," from the second volume of his poems.

"L'église s'éveille au soleil levant
Et de bois en bois, de roches en roches,
Le bruit argentin des premières cloches
Se disperse et flotte au souffle du vent.

Au pied de l'église est un cimetière,
 Sur la terre épaisse ou dorment les morts,
 De rouges rosiers poussent, drus et forts,
 Et ce frais jardin rit dans la lumière.

Mais les grandes fleurs et les calmes lieux
 M'étaient en vain leurs beautés sans âme.
 Malgré moi je songe à la douce flamme
 Que les pauvres morts avaient dans les yeux."

To my thinking, these verses are the offspring of a true poetic nature as clearly as Gray's more solemn and stately *Elegy*. But the sensuous French lover, of somewhat Florentine temperament, manages to be less burdensome in his thoughts of Death than our own cold, classic poet of a prosaic age, just as San Miniato, with its rose-trees in the midst of sun-lit marble, makes Death itself seem less terrible than a Northern funeral, with its spectral pageantry and suits of sables. A still shorter lyric, "*Beau Soir*," would seem to imply the poet believed "*Gedenke zu leben*" was the soundest motto after all, in spite of his tenderness cropping up here and there toward the cloistral "*Memento mori*" which Goethe abhorred :

" Lorsque au soleil couchant les rivières sont roses
 Et qu'un tiede frisson court sur les champs de blé,
 Un conseil d'être heureux semble sortir des choses
 Et monter vers le cœur troublé ;

Un conseil de goûter le charme d'être au monde
 Cependant qu'on est jeune et que le soir est beau,
 Car nous en allons, comme s'en va cette onde
 Elle à la mer—nous au tombeau."

The other side of his artistic nature, constraining him to think that man happy who clings consistently to his earliest ideals, or manages to live and die in the sweet ecstasy of child-like faith, "*Sous l'humble abri de son clocher natal*," is expressed in a sonnet called "*Nostalgie de la Croix*." It may be aptly compared with Matthew Arnold's sonnet in East London, "*'Twas August, and the fierce sun overhead*," as expressive of the same sort of pious, but unavailing, regret. I once heard a lettered Pole happily describe M. Paul Bourget as "*Un esprit doutant qui doute de ses doutes*." This mental habit, by which Faith and Scepticism seem to shade into each other, has become common of late in France, as well as in England. But it is very far removed from the robust unbelief of Molière and the joyous iconoclasm of Voltaire, both unquestionably "*French of the French*." To realise the contrast between this fashionable mysticism and the old positive spirit, it is worth while turning to those curious lines of Voltaire, written the day before his death, in which the national "*besoin de rire*" triumphantly asserts itself :

" Tandis que j'ai vécu ou m'a vu hautement,
 Aux badauds effarés dire mon sentiment :
 Je veux le dire encore dans le royaume sombre
 S'ils ont des préjugés j'en guerirai les ombres."

Probably M. Paul Bourget cares as little for Voltaire as did the late Ernest Renan, who summed up his limitations in a remarkable passage. But the words which he has used of Renan's temper may be not unfairly applied to his own, at any rate in his earlier writings, "Une disposition de l'esprit très intelligente à la fois et très voluptueuse, qui nous incline tour à tour vers les formes diverses de la vie et nous conduit à nous prêter à toutes ces formes sans nous donner à aucune." But those who affirm the world is not a spectacle, but a field of battle, will not be disposed to favour this fashionable dilettantism. No one is more alive to the dangers of the purely contemplative view of life, under which egotism has been not untruly said to lurk, than M. Paul Bourget himself. "Vous vouliez n'être qu'un spectateur de la pièce," exclaims the Marquis de Montfanon to the sceptical *litterateur* in *Cosmopolis*, whose conscience had at last been awakened. "Ce n'est pas permis à l'homme ce rôle-là," he continues. "Il faut qu'il agisse et il agit toujours, même quand il croit regarder seulement, même quand il se lave les mains comme Ponce Pilate, ce dilettante aussi et qui disait le mot de vos maîtres et le votre." Qu'est-ce que la vérité? "La vérité, c'est qu'il y a toujours et partout un devoir à remplir."

If M. Paul Bourget sometimes seems to follow Spinoza's famous counsel, not to lament or laugh at or hate things as they are, but simply strive to understand them, the preceding passage shows his admiration of the opposite spirit. The remarkable preface to *Le Disciple* cautions his countrymen against the view of certain decadents, that the struggles and sufferings of countless ages have been of no avail except to provide curious or amusing themes for barren works of art. After all, there may possibly be land beyond the mysterious ocean by which our being is confined.

As a critic and an essayist he takes a high place among contemporaries. If it is possible to point to stronger and more massive writers of that form of prose, few surpass him in delicacy of perception and penetrative grasp. His essay on the great Russian novelist, Ivan Turgenev, is a masterpiece of fine analysis. His sketch of the Emperor Hadrian is peculiarly happy and sympathetic. As a lyric poet he hardly comes within measurable distance of Shelley and Heine (whom he terms the two greatest of the century), but belongs to the pleasing tribe that produces "jewels five-words long" without quite possessing the divine gift of gifts reserved for the chosen few. The partiality of French and other ladies for his writings is not unlike the partiality of German ladies for Paul Hayse and Emanuel Geibel, both men of talent rather than men of genius. But the German poets depend more on their "droppings of warm tears" and "touches of things common" for their seat in the hearts of a womanhood "that believes in duty and reason."

The novel seems to be the most active form of imaginative literature at present, and it is by his novels that M. Paul Bourget is most widely known. There is no disguising the fact that they handle strange subjects from which many virtuous people are disposed to recoil. "C'est affreux mais c'est vrai" was the comment of a cultured Russian countess on the subject-matter of *Mersonges*. In spite of their attractive form *Cruelle Enigme* or *Un Scrupule* could hardly be placed in the library of a flourishing girls' school. Yet he is emphatically sincere, and professes to give a personal impression of life. But he avoids the grosser depths of realism, and has never written anything so revolting as certain unsavoury pages in Zola's *La Curée*. The breezy R. L. Stevenson had a high opinion of him, although his style has been termed too precious, his characters too exceptional, and his sentiment too neurotic. His sinners generally come to an unhappy end, and the moral tone of his works is steadily improving. Those who were shocked by *Un Crime d'Amour* or *L'Irreparable* will be inclined to forgive him for the sake of *Cosmopolis* and *Le Saint*. It is to be hoped he will live to produce fresh novels in his later and less petulant manner. The creator of Hamlet ended his work in the serene contentment of Prospero.

MAURICE TODHUNTER.

A SOCIALIST STATE.

It is often alleged against the advocates of Socialism that, whether their ideas are good or bad in themselves, they are open to one fatal objection—they are utterly impracticable. It is, we are repeatedly assured in the most authoritative tone, merely a Utopian dream to imagine that any State could be worked for a single day on Socialistic lines while human nature remains what it is. Such a co-operative commonwealth as Mr. Bellamy and other writers have sketched out may, we are told, be a very pretty imagination, but bears no more relation to the actual realities of the universe than the romances of Jules Verne.

Positively as these assertions are made, they nevertheless admit of considerable question if we examine them, not from the point of view of what may happen in the future, but in the light of what has actually happened in the past. Startling as the affirmation may appear to many readers, it is an historical fact that there did exist for several centuries a community which may with perfect justice be described as a Socialist State.

Where, many will ask, was so strange a phenomenon to be found? And the answer is, in Peru, under the monarchy of the Incas.

The romantic story of the ancient civilisations of Mexico and Peru was one of the numerous topics said long ago by Macaulay to be familiar to every schoolboy. Since these words were written the subject has been treated by an American historian, quite the equal of the English author in brilliancy, whose writings have attained almost equal popularity. Most of those, however, who have perused with avidity the fascinating pages of Prescott are probably unacquainted with more recent researches and controversies on the aboriginal history of America. They are ignorant of the fact that the claim of the Mexicans and Peruvians to the title of civilised at all has been vehemently questioned. Some have even gone so far as entirely to discredit the early Spanish accounts of the conquered countries, and have sought to reduce the Aztec and Inca sovereigns to the level of ordinary Indian chiefs, and their palaces to mere wigwams. Such views are merely the extravagances of scepticism; but among more sober-minded and philosophical writers the question is largely one of terminology. According to the system of nomenclature adopted by a modern school of scientific anthropologists, the progress of the human race is classified under the three main divi-

sions of savagery, barbarism, and civilisation, and each section is further subdivided into an upper, middle, and lower stage.

Now, it is ruled by these theorists that none of the primitive inhabitants of America had passed beyond the second of the three principal divisions, nor had even attained to the highest stage within it. The Mexicans and Peruvians are considered as having only reached the middle stage of barbarism. It is affirmed that the name of civilised cannot be properly applied to any communities who were destitute of, among other things, the use of iron and of alphabetic writing. It is doubtful whether it is possible or desirable thus to assign a fixed technical sense to words in common use in a vaguer signification, and to many it will seem somewhat pedantic and hypercritical to forbid the employment of the term "civilisation" to nations which would certainly seem to be entitled to it as used in ordinary speech.

There is no doubt that a mistake has often been made by both earlier and later writers in applying names and titles borrowed from the old world to persons and things across the Atlantic. It has certainly been shown to be utterly misleading to describe the Aztec tribal confederacy as if it were a European feudal monarchy, or an Eastern despotic empire. It is clear, when the facts are subjected to a critical examination, that the majority even of the most advanced American communities retained, as their basis of organisation, the tribal system characteristic of the savage Indians. It was, however, somewhat different with the State with which we are now more particularly concerned. The school which denies that true civilisation existed anywhere in the New World at the time of its discovery, admits that the Peruvians were the people who had made the furthest advances in this direction. Some writers have, indeed, given the preference to the Mexicans; but the weight of authority is decidedly the other way. The Aztecs had, it is true, advanced considerably nearer to the invention of alphabetic writing, and were the superiors of their southern competitors in astronomical knowledge. On the other hand, architecture and road-making had been carried to a considerably higher development in Peru than in Mexico; the same appears to have been the case with agriculture, and, as far as we know, the Peruvians were the only American people who ever domesticated any animal except the dog. When, however, we compare the whole social and administrative systems of the two countries, there can remain no doubt as to which was the more advanced. While Mexico, as has been said, was still in the tribal stage, Peru had passed out of it long before the date of the Spanish Conquest. It had become a consolidated monarchy of the Oriental type, and possessed an elaborate governmental organisation without any parallel elsewhere in the New World. And when we come to examine this system in detail, we are startled by finding that its basis can only

be described as essentially Socialistic. It is true that this conclusion has been disputed. One recent writer sees in "the so-called State Socialism of Peru nothing but forced common labour exacted from the peasantry." There no doubt was what may be so described, but this explanation will hardly cover all the facts. We may cite the contrary judgment of a still higher authority than the one just quoted, Mr. Fiske, the well-known American philosophical historian, who declares Peru to have furnished "the most complete illustration of government Socialism that the historian can discover by looking backward." These words recall the title of Mr. Bellamy's well-known romance, and indeed there is a striking resemblance in many particulars between his picture of North America in the twentieth century and the actual state of things in the Southern continent in the fifteenth. The very expression, "industrial army," familiar to all readers of Mr. Bellamy's pages, is more than once employed by Mr. Fiske in his account of ancient Peru.

The Peruvian administrative divisions were arranged symmetrically on a decimal system. The unit of administration may be said to have been the *chunca*, or village community, consisting of ten families. Ten *chuncas* made up a larger division, known as a *pachaca*; ten *pachacas*, one *huaranca*; and ten *huarancas*, one *hunu*, which was a district with a population averaging about 50,000. Each of these subdivisions had its presiding officer, who was responsible to his superior in the official scale, and ultimately to the Inca, as the head of the whole bureaucracy.

The functions of these officials are thus described by an old chronicler, himself of Peruvian blood on the mother's side: "The decurion was obliged to perform two duties in relation to the men composing his division. One was to act as their caterer, to assist them with his diligence and care on all occasions when they required help, reporting their necessities to the Governor or other officer, whose duty it was to supply seeds when they were required for sowing, or cloth for making clothes; or to help to rebuild a house if it fell or was burnt down; or whatever other need they had, great or small. The other duty was to act as a Crown officer, reporting every offence, however slight it might be, committed by his people to his superior, who either pronounced the punishment or referred it to another officer of still higher rank."

The land was considered as the property of the *chunca* or village community, and was divided into small areas called *tupus*, each of which was reckoned as enough for the support of a man and his wife. As among the ancient Germans, there was a periodic redistribution of lands to maintain equality. The produce of the soil was divided into three shares, one of which was assigned to the Inca, one to the priesthood of the Sun, and a third to the people at large. The lands assigned to the Sun were first tilled, and next those of

the old, infirm, sick, widows, orphans, &c., all, in fact, who were unable to work themselves. Then the people cultivated the land assigned for the support of themselves and their families, and lastly, we are rather surprised to find, came the turn of the lands of the Inca. The labours of the day do not seem to have occupied an excessive number of hours, and they are described as being gone through in a joyous spirit, being accompanied with the chanting of popular songs.

Agriculture was naturally by far the most important occupation in Peru, but the same collectivist principle was applied to other industries. The principal manufacture was that of cloth, which was prepared from the wool of the domesticated llama and of one or two wild species. These last were hunted at certain fixed periods by large bodies of men, under the leadership of Government officials. The wool was distributed among each family, and its manufacture was supervised by the heads of the villages. As with the produce of the soil, so the manufactured articles were divided into three portions, and here again care was taken that each family should be provided with sufficient clothing for its own use before they were required to labour for the Inca. The mines of the precious metals, however, were worked for the exclusive benefit of the Inca and the priesthood. There was not much division of labour in such a state of society, and the same person could turn his hand to many things. Again to quote the old Peruvian-Spanish chronicler: "They had no special tradesmen as we have, such as tailors, shoemakers, or weavers, but each man learnt all, so that he could himself make all that he required. All men knew how to weave and make clothes, so that when the Inca gave them wool it was as good as giving them clothes. All could till and manure the land without hiring labourers. All knew how to build houses. And the women knew all these arts also, practising them with great diligence and helping their husbands." Nevertheless, care was taken to entrust to the most competent hands all employments requiring special skill, such as the more delicate kinds of textile and metal work, both of which were carried to a high degree of perfection in Peru.

The elaborate character of the Peruvian administrative machinery aroused the surprise and admiration of the conquerors, and we may well share this feeling. Great pains were taken to secure that every one should work who was able, and that no one should be overworked. The male members of each village community were divided into various classes according to their age, and appropriate duties were assigned to each. The first class of workers comprised those from the age of sixteen to twenty, the second those between twenty and twenty-five, the third those from twenty-five to fifty, and the fourth those between fifty and sixty. To the first and fourth classes light work was assigned, while the main brunt of labour was borne

by the able-bodied men of the second and third divisions. Women were not included in this classification, but had their own household tasks. We cannot fail to be struck by the remarkable analogy which the Peruvian system presents to Mr. Bellamy's industrial army, though he may very probably not have known how closely his ideas had actually been realised in the past.

Though the art of writing was unknown in Peru there was a minute system of State registration. The records were kept by means of variously coloured cords, called *quipus*, and the Government possessed most elaborate statistics of the condition of each district, its soil, climate, and natural productions. In case any community suffered disaster through weather or accident, the fact was soon known at headquarters, and prompt measures were taken to repair the calamity. All necessary help was ordered to be rendered by the neighbouring villages, and in many cases the wants of the afflicted community were relieved out of the surplus stores of the Inca.

We have seen how carefully the interests of those unable to work were safeguarded, and equal pains were taken in the regulation of the hours of labour, especially in arduous and unwholesome occupations, such as mining. "The working of the mines," says a Spanish official, "was so regulated that no one felt it as a hardship, much less was his life shortened." The condition of the miners under European rule presented a lamentable contrast to this statement, and indeed it may be doubted whether a similar assertion could be made with truth concerning the same class of labourers in our own time and country.

There were opportunities for recreation as well as for rest. There were public festivals several times a year, at which there was dancing, singing, and the performance of dramatic compositions, one of which has been preserved to our own day, and is by no means devoid of merit.

The Peruvians, from all accounts, were a happy and contented people. Their Government was as pure a despotism as ever existed in the world, but it really seems to have merited the name of a paternal despotism which, though often talked about, has hardly anywhere else been actually realised except, perhaps, in India in the days of the early Buddhist sovereigns, and again under the great Akbar.

Such were the institutions which at the time of the Spanish Conquest had been universally established throughout a vast territory, extending over 2700 miles of coast, with an average breadth of over 800 miles, and covering altogether an area of more than 800,000 square miles, about as much as Germany, Austria, France, and Spain put together.

Under the sway of the Incas this vast region supported a popu-

lation certainly much larger than at present ; the soil was cultivated to perfection, every inch of available land being utilised, and roads and irrigation works were constructed on a stupendous scale by a people who were destitute of iron tools. The remains of many of these structures are still there to speak for themselves and to satisfy us that there has been no exaggeration in the accounts of the discoverers.

Certainly it may be contended that we have here no very bad example of the fruits of collectivism, and at least the case of Peru demonstrates the possibility of the successful working of the principle. For it can hardly be disputed that the basis of the institutions of this remarkable people was essentially socialistic. The most recent historian of Peru, and admittedly one of the highest authorities on the subject, Mr. C. R. Markham, says :

“ The dreams of Socialists were made a reality in the system which grew up and flourished under the rule of the Incas.”

Of course, from the standpoint of a modern democratic Socialist the defects of the Peruvian institutions are obvious. The fact that two-thirds of the produce of the labour of the community went to support the monarchy and the priesthood evidently indicates a very incomplete approximation to the true collectivist ideal. It is true that the expenses of civil government and of the military establishment were defrayed out of the share assigned to the Inca, and, as we have seen, exceptional necessities were often relieved from the same source ; so that it is claimed by an early writer that a large portion of the Inca's revenues found its way back by one channel or another into the hands of the people. The same, however, can hardly be said of the priesthood's third, and the existence of a considerable idle and unproductive class is a manifest blot on the system.

And yet with all this it might well be argued that Peru furnishes a remarkable illustration of the benefits of collectivism even in a very imperfect form. Though the principle was only applied to a portion of the national wealth, yet the result was, if we are to credit the unanimous testimony of those who saw the Peruvian institutions in actual working, that there was no such thing as actual grinding poverty or destitution. And this notwithstanding that the workers were burdened with the support of a monarchy and a State Church. A Socialist might at least plausibly maintain that this proves his contention that bad as these two may be the private landlord and capitalist are worse enemies of the labourer than either, and appropriate a larger share of his earnings.

While no doubt repudiating any intention of regarding the Inca despotism as an ideal, it might yet, with good reason, be maintained by Socialists that for large classes among our own poor it would be a blessing if they could suddenly be transported into the South

America of four centuries ago. One historian of the Conquest questions if there was a single native "as ill lodged as millions of our poor countrymen are," and we might extend the remark to food and clothing as well as housing. In Peru there was at least no chronic unemployed problem, and the modern advocates of socialism would no doubt lay stress on this as supporting their views concerning the true remedy for the evil. They would consider a country in which the extremes of wealth and poverty were alike unknown, and where the means of a decent livelihood were secured to every man, to be in some important respects in advance of nineteenth century civilisation, even though its inhabitants may in the opinion of philosophers have been only in the "middle stage of barbarism." They would contend that if a people with not a tenth part of the knowledge and resources of our own age, who were ignorant even of the use of iron, and possessed nothing deserving of the name of science, could, nevertheless, so frame their institutions as effectually to prevent any class of the community sinking into actual destitution, it is surely a reproach to us and our boasted civilisation if we cannot follow their example.

The facts of Peruvian history well merit more attention than they have received, considering their obvious bearing on the economic controversy of our day. It is a sound English principle that the foundations of a theory of government should be laid in historical induction, and should not be constructed entirely *a priori*. And yet the question of Socialism and Individualism has on both sides been argued too much on merely theoretical grounds, and neither party seems to have examined with close attention such historical *data* as exist on the subject. The case of Peru must be considered as one of the most remarkable and important of these, and it might very reasonably be appealed to as disposing of many common anti-socialist arguments or rather assertions. To describe Collectivism as a mere idle dream of knaves or fools which could never by any possibility be realised except by a community possessed of talents and virtues far transcending anything which has yet been witnessed upon earth, sounds somewhat ridiculous in the face of the fact that it actually was realised by a people very much less advanced, if judged by the ordinary standard, than the civilised nations of the present era. It is probable that the ground of argument may be shifted, and instead of the contention that Socialism cannot possibly work in any case we may perhaps be told that it might do so under a pure despotism like that of the Incas with a government machinery which regulated every item of daily life, but that no Europeans, certainly no English-speaking people, would ever submit to such a system, and that certainly the working of a collectivist scheme would be impracticable under a democracy. That this line would be taken by many opponents of Socialism is tolerably certain,

indeed it actually has been taken by several writers when discussing the question as one of pure theory.

As will be seen, we have here a considerable climbing down from the former position. It is no longer contended that it would be impossible for any Government, but only for a democratic Government, to secure the physical well-being of all its subjects. It is admitted that a benevolent Russian autocrat might establish institutions which, like those of the Incas, should effectually banish abject poverty and misery from the whole of his vast empire, but that it is hopeless for England, France, or the United States to emulate such an example so long as they retain their free constitutions. This is surely a surprising and disheartening position to be put forward by professed believers in human freedom. If it were to be demonstrated it would by no means prove autocracy to be the best form of government, for "man shall not live by bread alone," but it would be a heavy drawback to democracy if we were obliged to confess that it necessarily involved the physical depression of large sections of the population, and that the slums of the East-end cannot be abolished without first abolishing our parliament. One thing may be safely predicted, that if the masses of the unemployed and suffering once became penetrated with the conviction that their only hope of relief from their miseries lay in the establishment of a despotism, constitutional government would not endure for long. It is quite probable that there are many even now who would welcome the Peruvian system, with all its drawbacks, as an advantageous change in their present situation. They might not necessarily be wise in doing so, but the possibility ought to suggest some serious reflections to all who study with attention the social problems which beset us, as it is encouraging to think, an increasing number of careful observers are doing.

The question forcibly suggests itself: Can we not, with all the immense advantages which we possess over the Peruvians, do at least as much as they did for the material welfare of our population without finding it necessary to imitate their despotic system of government?

It would certainly be a humiliating confession if we were obliged to admit that we cannot do what these people, to whom some deny the name of civilised at all, actually did, but that while they managed to find work for all we must always be burdened with the chronic problem of the unemployed.

It may be admitted that at the outset, the establishment of a collectivist system under a democracy would be attended with difficulties which would not exist if it were imposed at the absolute will of an autocrat, but this is simply what might be said of many other reforms. We all know how it was once contended, and with considerable show of reason, that a democratic Government could

never successfully carry on a great war, and how the experience of America has demonstrated the contrary, and proved that while at the beginning matters did not go so smoothly as they might have done under a despot, yet ultimately the struggle was carried through to the end with an energy and determination which no monarchy has ever surpassed, and few have equalled. Why should we doubt that if the war against poverty were once as earnestly engaged in by the English people on either side of the Atlantic, they would achieve results which would far surpass the fruits of the Inca rule? The contention that democracy cannot exist without the degradation of large masses of the people appears quite as strange as the similar position, once defended with some show of plausibility, that democracy necessarily implied slavery.

Perhaps with all our nineteenth century pride we may yet have something to learn from these American barbarians of the middle stage. We certainly know much of which they were completely ignorant, but can we say that we have turned our great knowledge to such good results for the benefit of our whole population as they did their little knowledge? While they cultivated their soil to perfection, under the operation of our land laws much good land has gone to waste, and between the land monopoly and the railway monopoly things have come to such a pass that many products which our soil and climate are well adapted for, such as fruit, cannot be profitably cultivated, or even brought to market when they have been grown. We may be sure that the simple-minded natives of Peru would have been amazed at such a waste of the bounties of nature as often takes place during a good fruit season in England, and they would fail to comprehend how quantities of wholesome food should be allowed to rot when there were plenty of mouths which would have been glad enough to consume it. If we were, with an air of lofty superiority to rebuke them for their childish and grovelling submission to king and priest, they might retort upon us for allowing the exactions of the ground landlord, the sweater, and the middleman, and could with truth maintain that, man for man, their workers got a larger share of the produce of their labour than ours did, and were decidedly better off. Indeed it is quite probable that future historians may consider that the Peruvians on some important points had reached a higher stage of social evolution than any communities under the *régimé* of unrestricted competition, and that they, Pagans as they were, practically exemplified, as few other nations have ever done, the Christian principle of bearing each other's burdens.

Such an opinion will no doubt excite the ridicule of anti-socialists. They would maintain that the very fact that the Peruvian institutions exhibited so much of the collectivist type was a sufficient proof of the incapacity of the people for true civilisation. They would

regard what a modern historian describes as the monotonous and spiritless regimentation of the Incas as an instance of the "dead level" to which, if it could be carried out, Socialism must necessarily reduce society. No doubt, as we have said, the defect of the Peruvian system was its thoroughly despotic character, which almost annihilated all individual free agency ; and the problem of how to work a collectivist system consistently with the due liberty of each citizen is unquestionably one of some complexity, but there is no reason to assert that it is insoluble.

One cannot help thinking that there is a certain degree of selfishness on the part of those who so loudly denounce the Socialist dead level, and tell us that they much prefer the present picturesque inequalities of society. We feel inclined to say that no one has any right to use such language unless he himself is willing to undergo the utmost extreme of destitution which is, unfortunately, both possible and actual under the present system, rather than be bored with the monotony of a system in which there should be no extremes of wealth or poverty. If he only means that other people ought to be willing to undergo these hardships for his benefit, we are entitled to charge him with selfishness. And it may shrewdly be suspected that the latter rather than the former alternative best represents the real sentiments of many assailants of the dull uniformity of Socialism. Physical well-being is, it is true, by no means the highest end of life ; but such an entire absence of it as numbers among us are condemned to under the present system is not necessarily conducive to moral good. On the contrary, to raise the standard of comfort may often be the first step towards better things generally. There is a hopeful belief now gaining ground that poverty and misery are not to be regarded as indispensable elements of human progress, but that they may be banished as completely as slavery has been in all civilised countries. And there is a growing tendency to look to the establishment of some form of collectivist organisation as the solution of the problem. It may tend to strengthen this conviction to consider the historical facts which have been here brought forward to show that such a system has actually existed and been worked with no small amount of success.

R. SEYMOUR LONG.

THE RULING RACES OF PREHISTORIC TIMES.

MUCH has been written as to the early history of civilisation. The subject is one of perennial interest, and the mystery which surrounds it may heighten its attractiveness for imaginative minds. It is to Asia—the cradle of the human race—that we must look for traces of primeval man. The forest races of Southern India furnish us with a primitive type of government in the village community. The history of the fire-worshipping handicraftsmen of Asia Minor brings our researches a step further. There are, in fact, abundant materials for any scholar who is painstaking enough to collect them.

Mr. J. F. Hewitt's work, *The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*,¹ is an attempt to unveil the early history of the human race with the assistance of mythological and ethnological data. The author shows that even the ages which have hitherto been called prehistoric can be made the subject of intelligent and useful investigation. The scantiness of our information as to the life of primitive man is partially due to the fact that, until of late, antiquarian research has been almost entirely confined to northern countries. Insight into the history of Southern races is necessary, as geologists believe that the earliest relics of civilised man are to be found in countries immediately adjoining the Southern Hemisphere. Mr. Hewitt points out that the village communities had their origin in the South, and that, during the Neolithic age, agriculture was introduced into Europe by immigrants from Southern villages.

The preface to the work is exceedingly instructive. It gives a general survey of the subject, so that the reader may form an idea of the progress of human society from the earliest period. According to Mr. Hewitt, the continuance of local institutions is due to the spirit of conservatism and reverence for the past, which are such strong characteristics of archaic communities. It might be suggested that the retention of old customs is sometimes attributable to accident or to the absence of original minds in a community. However, the history of nearly all ancient peoples reveals a marked antipathy to change or innovation. Mythic tales supply us with a valuable fund of knowledge, and a study of the ritual of Eastern nations confirms

¹ *The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*. By J. F. Hewitt, late Commissioner of Chota Nagpore. Two volumes. London: A. Constable & Co.

many conclusions which may be drawn with more or less certainty from other sources. We agree with Mr. Hewitt as to the importance of the mythological element in history, though it may be dangerous to regard any myth as anything more than evidence of the subjective condition of the race to which it can be traced. It is necessary to remember that the mythological materials, of which such copious use is made in this remarkable work, were preserved not by savages, but by the first founders of civilised existence. Their object was, no doubt, partly educational, for in every village the rising generation was trained by their elders, and from the teaching instinct thus developed folk-tales and national proverbs originated. Nearly all these tales are connected with the explanation of natural phenomena, and are the product of the brains of agricultural or hunting races with keen mercantile instincts.

We find that, whenever these stories have individuals for their heroes, they, as a rule, turn on the idea that the possession of riches necessarily leads to happiness. Some of them are merely nature-myths, explaining the course of the year, a subject of vast importance to the agricultural inhabitants of the countries with which the tales are associated. One of these is that which relates how Proserpine, the daughter of the barley-mother Dēmētēr, was carried off in the autumn, and kept for six months in the underworld by Hades, and the other is the complementary story which describes the god of spring (identified by Mr. Hewitt with St. George) as slaying the dragon of winter. The reference in these myths is, of course, to the two seasons of the early year of the Southern races, after it had been transported to the Northern Hemisphere. This year was divided into two periods of six months each, marked by the appearance of the Pleiades above the horizon at sunset in November, the spring of the South, and their disappearance below it in April, the spring of the North. The story of the Sleeping Beauty symbolises the awakening of the earth under the kiss of Spring. The tale of Cinderella with its variants symbolises Winter defeating her gaudier sisters, Spring and Summer, by marrying the young god of the new year, and leaving her glass shoe of ice as the sign by which she is to be found by all who know her worth.

This mythical method of recording the movements of time prevailed amongst the Kushites; and it was found to serve the purposes of national education amongst a people whose living was gained by the culture of plants. The seven days of the week, the ten and eleven months of gestation and generation, the thirteen months of the lunar, and the twelve months of the solar year, form a most important part of the teaching of ancient myths. In these stories the names of individuals do not appear, such a system of naming being deemed unlucky. The names selected are really those which seemed to the authors of the tales best calculated to

convey to, and to impress on the memory of, those who learned the myth, the meaning of the lessons they wished to inculcate.

When village life expanded into the primeval empire ruled by the Kushika, the village teachers, local priests, and prophetesses, who had the custody of the national traditional tales, became the diviners, interpreters, and accredited framers of verbal histories, and were known amongst the Hindus as Prashastri or sacred teachers. They were trained for the purpose and consecrated to the office, and were regarded as divinely inspired persons, who had not merely retained in their memories records of past events but were also augurs or foretellers of the future. They were the ancestors of the special castes of priestly colleges in India and Egypt, of the Magi of Persia and Assyria, and of the Augurs of Rome. In their hands the national ritual became, like the national tales, a vehicle of historical information, and it was in connection with this branch of their duties that they began to study astronomy as a means of ascertaining and predicting the changing of the seasons and fixing the annual recurrence of the days appointed for public festivals. They were the chief advisers of the kings, or rather second kings themselves, at the time when the office of king and priest, formerly combined amongst the Chaldeans and Egyptians, was divided, and two kings were appointed, like the twin kings of the Spartans and the hereditary Kūgas, and the hereditary Sena-pati, or commanders-in-chief, of the Indian Dravidian races.

There is something extremely curious in the history of the eunuch-priests of South-Western Asia and India. The earliest of the different families of Hindu priests were the Bhri-gu, or priests of the mother-goddess, the earth, and the father, the fire-god. They stood at the basis of the ritualistic system, and corresponded with the Jewish Merari, whose name means "the bitter or unhappy," and who had charge of the pillars of the tabernacle. As Mr. Hewitt shows, the earliest ritualistic worship originated in prayers for rain, and the Merari got their title of "bitter" from the bunch of hyssop, which is the descendant of the rain-making magic wand, the *pras-tara*. These priests became in Phrygian or Akkadian ritual the *laguru* or elders of the Sumerians, also called Kali or "the illustrious," who were the Galli of Phrygia, the priests of the fire-god. They were eunuch-priests; but we learn from Indian ritual that there was a time when the Neshtri, the successors of the consecrated maidens of Istar and the village dancers, the priests of Tvashtar, were not unsexed, while their associate, the Agnīdhra, or priest of the fire-god, was, like his brethren elsewhere, an unmanned priest. The Bhri-gu were succeeded by the Angiras, or officers of burnt offerings, who were the heads of the sacrifices in the Hindu ritual of the Brāhmanas, and the Makkhu or great ones, the priests of the goddess Mūgū, in Akkadian ritual. They were the inter-

preters of messages sent to her votaries by the wonder-working mother of fire through the indications of the sacrificial victims. They were deposed from their supremacy by the Kôhathites, known amongst the Hindus and Zends as the Atharvans or Athravans, the priests of the heavenly fire-god, Atar or Atri, the god of three seasons, the spirit father-god, who subsequently became the Nûn or fish-god of the Akkadians, Jews, and Egyptians, and whose function it was to impregnate the year of three seasons with life. These priests were the pourers of libations, the reciting priests of the ritual of the Brâhmanas, and they took over the work of reciting and preserving history, which had previously been combined with the duties of the Bhri-gu and Angiras, and became the Asipu of the Akkadians, the Prashastri of the Hindus, and the sons of Joseph of the Jews. The Hindu caste of Brahmins and the Hebrew tribe of Levi were formed from the ranks of these three orders.

From the fact that the names in early historical myths were not intended to denote individuals we arrive at the important inference that the names of the fathers and mothers in the primitive genealogies of the Jews were really typical or racial rather than personal. Thus the name Lamech may be referred to the myth of the three mother-seasons, his two wives, Adah and Zillah, representing respectively the Northern winter-mother of the young sun-god, and the Southern mother of the snake-race. Again, Adah and Zillah may be said to correspond with Is-tar and Sar. The name of the latter divinity appears to have the same root as the English word "shard," meaning the wing-case or husk of a beetle, the original form of the word showing itself in the Low German "skaard," the Icelandic "skard," the High German "scharte," which mean, like "sherd" in our "potsherd," a piece of pottery. The Northern races by the invention of pottery supplied themselves with vessels for carrying liquids, which the Southern forest races found ready to hand in gourds and hollow bamboos. Therefore, the goddess-mother of the grain must, before she became associated with an osier basket, have been connected, in an earlier age, with an earthen jar or vessel. The united Northern and Southern races appear in the Mahâbhârata and Brâhmanas as the worshippers of the jar, containing originally both the seed grain and that husked for bread-making; and this became the Drona-kalasha, or vessel in which the Soma, the seed or sap of life, was mixed. Drona, born of the Jar, becomes in the Mahâbhârata the tutor of the young Kaurâvya, or tortoise, and the Pandava, or sun-princes, and he is called the "pot-born" son of Bharad-vâja, the lark, the bird of heaven, born from the seed from the gods, the grain placed in an earthen vessel. It appears clear that the myth, which originated in Asia Minor, and which made the barley and wheat-growing races sons of the seed-grain stored in earthen jars, was brought by them to India.

The great Aryan revolt had the effect of transforming the historical myth. Before this event the impersonality of the myth was due to the communal view of property held by the Southern races. The Northern races, who based property on individual and family possession, did not relish histories which disregarded the names of individuals. The Northern conquerors loved to have their genealogies and achievements enumerated by their bards. These bards superseded the priests of the Indian and Assyrian rituals, and so history, instead of being an account of natural phenomena or of great events in the development of nations, became a series of epics dealing with the exploits of particular heroes. It is thus, according to Mr. Hewitt's exceedingly plausible hypothesis, that the old mythic stories became transformed into poetic chronicles like the "Kalevala" and the "Nibelungen Lied." Such a transformation made some of the old traditional myths seem rather absurd to philosophic minds. We can scarcely wonder at Plato regarding the story of how Kronos, the god of Time, ate his own children, and how Oedipus married his mother, as demoralising. But the philosophers forgot that these extravagant stories were only Aryan travesties of ancient history.

Amongst other changes introduced by the Northern races was the substitution of marriage for the matriarchal system, and the introduction of aggressive wars and slavery. The abandonment of the ancient methods led to the error of trying to explain civilisation as a product of Northern initiative, and neglecting the work done for the cause of human progress by the Southern races.

"The history of the amalgamation of these alien races," says Mr. Hewitt, "has yet to be written." Certainly, his remarkable book supplies the future historian with evidence which throws light on many of the obscurities of archaic life, and shows the true direction in which inquiry into the problems of the past should be made.

His work takes the form of essays, each of which manifests independent and original research. In the first essay he gives the result of investigations made by him while Deputy-Commissioner at Chota Nagpore, into the oldest form of Indian village organisation. He satisfied himself that these village customs were not of Aryan origin, and he came to the conclusion that before their union with alien and heterogeneous people, these southern races had unravelled many of the mysteries of nature and created institutions which they were able to hand down to posterity. Curiously enough, the legend of St. George is, if Mr. Hewitt be accurate, identical with the myth of the god Nāga, who sends the rain which enables the earth to produce life and causes the seed to grow. The cross, we are told, was a sacred symbol in very remote ages. It was assigned to the rain-god by the Mayas, the ancient inhabitants of Mexico, who

inhabited that country long before the Toltecs. It was, with the modification in form of a small circle at the top, the symbol of the fire-god of the Babylonians and Egyptians. Thus we find a curious connection between Christian legend and antique myth.

In the second lecture the primitive village is minutely described, and the author conclusively demonstrates that it is amongst the customs of the Indian people we must look for the first founders of village life. The village community originated amongst a forest race, for it was associated with tree-worship; therefore its home could not be the treeless plains of Assyria or Egypt. It was also impossible that the dwellers in Indian forests could have learned to organise their villages from the forest races of Europe and Asia Minor, for until a comparatively late period there was nothing to tempt the Northern races to leave their own lands and cross mountains and deserts to reach India. As the European village communities closely resembled those of India, we must conclude that they had a common origin, and that the rules of the communistic village were carried by Indian emigrants into Europe. Amongst the Dravidian races the village, and not the family, was the national unit, and the rule of family life was that the mothers and fathers of children born in the villages should never belong to the same village. The children were brought up by their mothers and maternal uncles without the intervention of the father, and were regarded as the children of the village or state in which they were born. Thus each village was ruled by the mothers and maternal uncles of the children who were born in it. These women afterwards took this system with them into Europe, where they became the Amazonian races of Greece and Asia Minor.

A change in the domestic relations in the old Indian village was introduced by some Northern settlers, by a curious arrangement called the Punuluan system, whereby a number of brothers united by blood-brotherhood married a number of sisters belonging to the matriarchal races. This led to the custom of husbands taking their wives to live in their own village, and educating their own children. The result of this was that a man no longer called his sister's son his "son," but his "nephew," and a woman no longer called the boy whom her brother brought up as parent, her "son," but her "nephew." The first civilisers, however, of India were the purely matriarchal races.

The Indian village-communities seem to have made their way into Europe through Palestine, where traces of the communal system still exist. The inhabitants of the early village-communities were industrious and brave, though not fond of war. The reverence for traditional custom prevented tyranny. The Aryans were, on the other hand, a fighting race, who despised labour, and sought to attain greatness by the sword. The conflict and attempted fusion of

two such races is, perhaps, the key to the apparently endless misunderstanding between Eastern and Western nations.

Traces of the advent to Europe of the Southern races may be found in the ritual of the Cymric Druids, and we find a survival of customs which had their origin beyond the Himalayas in All Hallow Eve and All Saints' Day.

We need not follow in detail Mr. Hewitt's history of religion and national growth in India, Egypt, and Assyria, or in his learned account of Akkadian astronomical myths. We may casually observe that, for instance, his notion that the Babylonian custom which required every woman to prostitute herself in the temple on her marriage-night, was a survival of the old village-dance. We need not—and, if we were so disposed, the limits of space do not permit us to—discuss the hypothesis that the belief in the Semite law of righteousness gave birth to the religion of Christ. The readers of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW have already had the opportunity of reading a portion of the ninth essay, dealing with the history of Ia or Yah, the all-wise fish-sun-god, the man-fish, who, according to native tradition, led the Indians to America. It is interesting to find that, in the common worship of the stone-god, the creating fire-stone, and the storm-bird, as well as in the resemblance between the ritual of the rain-god's festival and Hindu Soma, an identity may be traced between American-Indian beliefs and those of Asia and Europe. More curious still, we have in the temple of the sun-horse at Stonehenge proof that the Indian and Asiatic astronomy of the horned-horse was transferred from Asia to Western England. We also find in the story of the evolution of the worship of the never setting star, the Pole star, the ever-present sign of the invisible god of the monotheistic races of South Western Asia, a complete history of the computation of time culminating in its measurement by the sun of the equinoxes and solstices, the sun of Stonehenge. The Pole star of the earliest cultivating races was the five-rayed star of the Egyptians, symbolising the growing plant. This became the six-rayed star of the Hittites and Cypriotes, which was followed by the eight-rayed star, the sign of God and seed to the Appadians and ancient Chinese. It combined the two sacred crosses, the upright cross of St. George and the transverse cross of St. Andrew, marking the path of the sun of the solstices, and was, in the ritual of the corn-growing races, the image of the god of light and life, who ripened their grain.

In conclusion, we must express our sincere admiration for the patience, thoroughness, and intellectual energy which have enabled Mr. Hewitt to produce a work which is certainly a most important—we might almost say, a monumental—contribution to the history of ancient civilisation.

D. F. HANNIGAN.

A SENATE FOR THE EMPIRE.

SIR FREDERICK YOUNG is the well-known expert on the subject of Imperial federation. He styles it, "The Government of the Empire, by the Empire, for the Empire." However difficult the subject seemed to Burke, it is viewed as far more practicable in this day. As the author of *Imperial Federation*, Sir Frederick is in his right place when introducing to the British public the views of his Canadian friend, Mr. Cunningham, who sympathises with the opinions he himself had advocated twenty-five years ago, and has since so consistently and enthusiastically maintained.

Noting the various ideas entertained among the friends of Imperial federation, he properly rebukes those who deemed the Federation League a "body of academical faddists and philosophical dreamers," and declares the principle unchanged in his own mind, and sinking more and more deeply in the hearts of many. He has, therefore, the pleasure of recommending the collected Press articles republished by the Canadian writer.

Mr. Cunningham is right in saying that not one in a hundred knows, or cares to know, much about our colonies. Yet there, more than in the Mother Country, is found an Imperial feeling, with a real pleasure in being styled British subjects. When, in less than fifty years, Canada has 30,000,000 people, it cannot stand in the same relation to England it now does, with any regard to its *amour propre*.

The writer traces the colony from the period when governed directly and solely by the Sovereign, to these days of a responsible Ministry, showing that successive advances of self-government means less and less of British rule. The disintegration will go on until the colonies become absolutely independent, and, possibly, antagonistic, unless something be done to bind them more to the *old home*.

Various projects have been put forth as a remedy. Some suggested an Advisory Board in conference with the Secretary of State; others, a combination of Agents-General as a political force, or as a representation in Parliament. It has been urged that each colony should send elected deputies, with a seat in the House of Commons, already too crowded. The federation principle in Canada led Mr. Cunningham to suggest a local Assembly for each of the three British Isles, with members according to population, to discuss matters strictly local, as each colony now does—but that another

body, as a Senate, should legislate upon Imperial subjects—and to which, proportionate to numbers and progress, colonies, not less than England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, should contribute members.

Local Parliaments might be under a lieutenant-governor or viceroi. The Imperial would consider affairs of the Royal Family, the control of Forces, relations with foreign States, inter-provincial relations, marine and shipping, customs and finance, postal matters, and justice. The various local institutions may be of one Chamber, the Queen in council having a veto; while the House of Lords, with the addition of colonial life Peers, might form a Second Chamber of the Imperial Parliament. Bishops, being local, not Imperial, are not required in the Imperial Senate.

With such a true union in the Empire, the lot of the worker would be advantaged. It would be to the interest of all parties to equalise the condition of labour; and, for the benefit of all, to send out people to places where they were most needed. As Mr. Cunningham puts it: "In a truly unified Empire, the farmer in Kent and the farmer in Manitoba would be *equally* subjects of the Empire." Instead of the several parts contending with each other in hostile, selfish tariffs, there would be supplies amongst them of all requisites of life, without going to the foreigner for these, and emigration would be mutually helpful, without adding to the strength of the rival foreigner.

Difficulties in the accomplishment of this grand ideal have to be weighed, and justly overcome. The proportion of area and population, not less than resources and wealth, would have to be duly considered in the share of government. There must be apportioning of national debts, the adjustment of taxation, and the consideration of the mode of raising revenue, to which subjects such experts as Sir Frederick Young and Mr. Cunningham have given suitable attention. The latter gentleman declares, "The noblest destiny of Canada is federation with England."

The give-and-take system would have to be adopted in making arrangements, and some present sacrifice of individual position, to increase the prosperity and freedom of the whole. These two writers are alive to the fact that Imperial federation yet excites little or no interest among ordinary politicians. The Free Traders in Bright and Cobden's time had need of literature and lectures to inform the people upon the folly of protective duties; and the advocates of an Imperial policy will greatly need long and persistent educational effort before their cause can triumph.

How many mistakes would have been avoided, as in treaties made by the English Government, had colonists been consulted, with their local knowledge, before coming to a decision with foreigners!

JAMES BONWICK.

THE NEED FOR A UNITED PROGRESSIVE PARTY.

“ WE will not have a *limited* control over the drink traffic. We do not care very much about Home Rule. We want social reforms. If we cannot get social reforms from a Liberal Government we will have them from a Conservative Government, even though we have to retain the House of Lords. Anyhow, we will give the Conservatives a turn.”

These are virtually the answers which the electors of Great Britain returned in July last to the appeal which was made to them by the Liberal party for a new lease of power. From a democratic and progressive point of view the answers, with the exception of the first and third, are unsatisfactory enough; even more unsatisfactory in their form than in their substance, inasmuch as they show, by a democracy, a total lack of appreciation of the worth of the democratic principle. Facts, however, must be faced and grappled with. And the first duty of all who desire progress according to democratic methods and principles is to set themselves to the task of removing the difficulties which the facts betoken.

What are those difficulties? I need not waste time and space in referring to mistakes of past policy, save to say that no party which was democratically managed would have left its supporters completely in the dark as to its methods of dealing with that undemocratic institution, the House of Lords; nor would it have appealed to the country with a sectional, inadequate, and what should have been a non-party measure, like the Local Veto Bill, at the head of its programme. Our difficulties lie deeper than in mere mistakes of policy, though these are great enough. They lie in our electoral system itself. Our method of government—to use a phrase of the late Mr. Bagehot—is “government by discussion;” and yet we take care to prevent the results of that discussion being felt in full measure at the polls. To take an example from our religious life—we have learnt, through centuries of conflict and no small amount of bloodshed, the wisdom of allowing men to worship God in their own way, to insist, not merely upon the right, but also the duty of the formation and expression of conscientious thought, and to welcome such thought as a contribution towards the emergence of light and truth. Conflict,

we say, is a test of strength. And in the conflict of ideas we welcome one who is stronger and more clear-sighted than ourselves, because he helps us to see things more clearly; he makes us better than we were before; he benefits us by his keener intellect and more acute perception; he promotes our religious thought and life. Even where our opponent is the weaker we gain an advantage, because he helps us to bring out our own truth in clearer lineaments. Were any one to suggest that we should return to a State theological creed and a State religious policy and ceremonial which should be enforced upon all, ninety-nine out of every hundred of us would smile at the proposal.

And yet this, with a slight variation, is virtually the policy we adopt in our political life. We might liken our two historical political parties to two political State Churches, which unite in saying to their respective adherents: "You must be faithful to our particular Church. You must not form a dissenting body. You must not think of starting a third party—at any rate, not out of *our* ranks. If you do, you shall be *anathema maranatha*." That is political intolerance. As in religion, so in politics; we must welcome the expression of conscientious opinion as a duty, not merely grant it as a right. Let every idea, every opinion, every theory be submitted to the fire of criticism, to the test of private and public discussion. Any attempt to stifle the expression of conscientious views, either on the platform or at the polls, is a betrayal of the highest moral principle of government. It is only by the conflict of ideas, and opinions, and theories, that we can arrive at the best system of administration and legislation.

All this implies the necessity for the fair representation of minorities, second ballots, and, what is equally important, the shedding of all purely doctrinaire theories as to the limits and functions of government. If we are to have a democratic form of government—and that, I think, is generally admitted—we must be prepared to accept the rule of the majority, leaving minorities free scope and fair opportunity for converting themselves into majorities. This implies that no restraint shall be placed on the will of the majority, save that which it imposes on itself. There is danger in this, of course. But the question resolves itself into a choice of dangers, and the greater danger, from a democratic point of view, would be in allowing a minority to place restraints on the will of a majority, rather than in allowing a majority to place restraints on itself, or on the will of a minority. "The end of government is the good of mankind," said Locke, and, unless we prefer an aristocracy or an oligarchy, we must allow the majority to decide what that good is.

One of the causes of the present disunion in the progressive forces of the country lies in the fact that the Liberal party has, until quite recently, shut itself up in certain doctrinaire theories of individual

liberty and the non-intervention of the State. This, at any rate, accounts to some extent for the revolt which has led to the formation of the Independent Labour party. Happily, there are signs, unmistakable in certain administrative reforms of the late Government, that the *laissez-faire* school of political theorists is rapidly passing into the shades of history. What is wanted, then, at the present juncture, is a policy—both political and electoral—which will range all sections of the Progressive party under one banner. We can hardly hope that they can be united in one organisation. We cannot expect, for example, that the Independent Labour party will dissolve itself and merge its clubs and unions in the Liberal and Radical caucuses. Nor is this necessary, however desirable it might be from the caucus point of view. We must meet the facts as they are, and if we require of men the duty of forming and expressing conscientious opinions, we must perforce grant them the right of choosing the methods of organisation by which they seek to carry their opinions into effect.

Where, then, are the hopes and the means of union? They must be found, I say, in political and electoral policy. Take, first, political policy. Not a single member of the rank and file of the Liberal party knows the real intentions of his leaders with reference to the House of Lords. We have heard much of “mending or ending” that institution, and lately, of the abolition of its power of veto, but we are absolutely in the dark as to the meaning the leaders of the party attach to these phrases. If we are to have a united progressive party we must know what we are fighting for. The time for blank cheques is past—they never get filled in for the amount required. A party which is really democratic will never again take office save on condition, or with the primary and determined intention of insisting, that the House of Lords shall not be allowed the last word on any legislative measure. If the country wishes a progressive administration to rule, it must allow it to *rule*, and not submit to be *ruled by* what is neither more nor less than a Conservative oligarchy. The conditions of political conflict are obviously unequal and unfair so long as one party, even when it is defeated at the polls, is allowed a predominant voice in the government of the State, and permitted to checkmate the representatives of the people at every turn. Are the Liberal leaders progressive enough to adopt a definite democratic policy on this question, and to let their supporters know what they really intend?

Take, again, the land question. There is no more empty phrase in the Liberal programme than, “a reform of the land laws.” It may mean anything or nothing, or, indeed, worse than nothing—it may mean absolute retrogression. The last measure in this direction—a Bill for the Enfranchisement of Leaseholds—which emanated from the Liberal party, was essentially conservative in its tendency,

and had to be defeated by Radical votes. Here again, then, there is a lack of definiteness. No party which has any respect for the intelligence of its adherents will attempt to satisfy their aspirations by phrases which convey no meaning. Such a policy might have passed criticism on the hustings ten or fifteen years ago, with some reference to "the abolition of entail and primogeniture," but it excites only contempt in the minds of the more intelligent of the electorate of to-day.

Or take the question of industrial and social legislation, excepting for the moment the Local Veto Bill, which ought never to have been made a party measure. There is not a single intelligent member of any political party who does not wish to abate the evils of the drink traffic, and the wisest course would have been—and would still be—to call a Round-table Conference, with the object of framing a measure of sufficiently wide scope to give municipalities and County Councils power to attempt various experiments in temperance reform and local temperance legislation. "Legislation by experiment" is a growing need of the time. With reference to the administration of the Education Department, and factory and workshop legislation, there has undoubtedly been a genuine attempt at constructive reform. With these exceptions, the social and industrial programme of the party is neither sufficiently definite nor sufficiently comprehensive.

What is wanted, then, is a policy which will serve as a basis of unity. In addition to the official programme, the points of which I need not enumerate, and excluding the temperance question, which should be considered non-party, we want a definite declaration of intentions respecting the House of Lords, so that the country may know under what conditions and with what objects it may return a Progressive party to power. In place of "a reform of the land laws" we desire that the endowments of Nature—the land and the minerals of the country—and also the railways and waterways, shall be worked and utilised for the common benefit, not for private profit. This may be accomplished by a process of taxation, or of gradual nationalisation, or both. In addition to these matters, we require a graduated and differentiated income tax on a much more drastic scale than has hitherto been proposed in Parliament; power granting to the workers in each industry to fix a maximum working-day; and the provision of universal State pensions for the aged. Facilities should be given to employers and employed in each industry to fix a minimum wage, as in the Bedstead Makers' and the Bradford Dyers' Combination, representatives to be appointed by the Board of Trade to watch the interests of consumers. The unemployed problem should be approached with a determination to attempt its solution, and, to this end, greater powers should be conferred upon Boards of Guardians and Town and County Councils, with grants from the Imperial Exchequer, or the imposition of a municipal death duty.

It is only by some such programme as this that all sections of the Progressive party can be united. If "equality of opportunity"—a phrase which Liberal speakers are beginning to use on election platforms—means anything, it certainly means nothing less than the programme outlined above.

Let us now turn our attention to electoral policy, for which the above political programme would help to pave the way. I have already alluded to the fair representation of minorities, and to second ballots, for the latter of which even the official Liberal party will doubtless now see the absolute necessity. Pending the obtainment of these reforms, however, an attempt at union might be made on the basis of the above or some similar programme if all sections of the Progressive party will meet each other in a reasonable frame of mind. I would suggest, then, first, that in those double-member constituencies, like Halifax, where the Labour party is admittedly strong, that party should be allowed to choose one of the two Progressive candidates. This suggestion has already been made by the *Daily News*. Second, that in those larger constituencies, like Leeds, Manchester, and Bradford, which are split into divisions, one at least of the divisions, and that the most democratic, should be allotted to be contested by a Labour candidate. This would bring about the result which might otherwise be attained by proportional representation, which to every reasonable mind is so obviously fair. Every one will recognise the injustice which prevents a party which obtained nearly 50,000 votes from having a single representative in the House. Third, that in the county divisions where there is a preponderating working-class population, a similar arrangement should be entered into. And fourth, that in those single-member constituencies where the Labour party is obviously too weak to secure the return of a representative, the two sections of the Progressive party—the Liberal caucus, and the Labour Union—should each appoint a number of delegates, proportioned to their respective membership, to act as a selection of candidates' committee, and to formulate the main points of the programme which prospective candidates should be pledged to accept.

Of course, extremists on both sides will probably reject these proposals. But let us see what would be gained. We should gain what is an absolute necessity in a democratic Government—a "government by discussion"—namely, the fairer representation of every organised idea; the tolerant discussion and conflict of every represented opinion and theory, out of which the momentarily ideal Government must continually be made into a reality. We should stop the waste of energy which comes of useless conflict, and we should divert it into constructive courses of action. We should induce a fairer, a more reasonable, and a higher temper of mind throughout the Progressive ranks. We should promote the more

equal representation of the different classes in the State, every class other than Labour being now notoriously over-represented. And, above all, we should secure unity of action against retrogressive forces.

To those Liberals who are opposed to any such policy as the one I have indicated, I might quote the opinion of so cautious a thinker as the late John Stuart Mill. In 1871, when the late George Odger had contested Southwark as a working-men's candidate, Mr. Mill addressed to him the following letter: ¹

"Avignon, February 19, 1871.

"DEAR MR. ODGER,

"Although you have not been successful, I congratulate you on the result of the polling in Southwark, as it proves that you have a majority of the Liberal party with you, and that you have called out an increased amount of political feeling in the borough. It is plain that the Whigs intend to monopolise political power as long as they can without coalescing in any degree with the Radicals. The working men are quite right in allowing Tories to get into the House to defeat this exclusive feeling of the Whigs, and may do it without sacrificing any principle. The working-men's policy is to insist upon their own representation, and in default of success to permit Tories to be sent into the House until the Whig majority is seriously threatened, when, of course the Whigs will be happy to compromise and allow a few working men representatives in the House.

"JOHN STUART MILL."

Let us now consider the proposal from the point of view of the Independent Labour party. Here, again, the extremist will probably oppose it and insist upon absolute independence. But every student of politics, every man and woman who has served on a public Board, every co-operator who has sat on his society's directorate, and every trade-unionist who has been appointed as a representative on the lodge or council of his union, knows that absolute independence is impossible. Even Mr. Keir Hardie himself will admit that if a member wishes to do any useful work in the House of Commons he must seek the co-operation of either one party or the other. If honourable co-operation is permissible inside the House of Commons it should be permissible outside the House. There is no word which has been more abused and misunderstood than this word "independent." Whether in individual or in public life, where "independence" is made to mean a dog-in-the-manger policy of isolation, it is not merely a doubtful virtue, it is a positive vice. "The man of independent mind," as Burns puts it, is not a man who refuses co-operation on honourable terms, he is one who, in public or in private life, maintains his honour, dignity, and self-respect. In the programme and the policy I have foreshadowed there is no question of these being sacrificed by either section. Unity is made possible by a programme which secures a definite approximation towards "equality of opportunity," and the way is

¹ Quoted by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb in their *History of Trade Unionism*.

left open for the Collectivists and the Independent Labour party to go on perfecting their organisations, converting the electorate, increasing their strength, and so obtaining greater weight and influence in the councils of the whole Progressive party.

A year or two ago, speaking with Mr. Tom Mann on this question, I asked him whether, if Mr. Acland stood as a candidate for a certain constituency, the Labour party should give him their support and votes. His reply was: "Yes, Mr. Acland is Collectivist." It is but fair to say that since that time Mr. Mann has apparently adopted a more extreme position; but there are many thousands of Collectivists, Trade Unionists, and Labour men whose state of mind his reply would still reflect. They recognise that there are quite as earnest and as able Collectivists and Trade Unionists within the Liberal party as any there are outside it; and they know that it would be the height of folly to fight against these, merely because they call themselves Liberal. They recognise also that a party cannot build itself up on a policy of "smash" and isolation; that whatever else the average elector may be, he is neither an extremist nor an idealist, and that it is the average elector who is to be won.

I do not suppose that the suggestions I have made will be accepted at present by either party; but the time will come when a *rapprochement* must be made. The Liberal party may have return waves of prosperity, but the waves will become weaker and weaker as the forces of disunion grow. It cannot afford to disregard the tendency towards Collectivism both inside and outside its own ranks. The sooner it remodels itself on a democratic basis, and, as in London, strives to unite all the progressive and democratic forces in the country in one electoral—not political—organisation, the better. Like the old Whig and Tory parties, it might fade into history, to re-emerge as a National Progressive party, drawing to its ranks all the best and most vigorous spirits in the younger, middle, and working class. On the other hand, the Independent Labour party may still imagine that it is speedily going to convert the world. It may be reminded that it took Christianity nearly four centuries to convert the Empire, and that it only succeeded, by compromise after compromise. If compromise is necessary in religion, it is indispensable in politics. It is a law of life itself—the adaptation of inner to outer forces. Progress is exceedingly slow, but it comes, "unhasting, unresting." It is well to keep our eyes fixed on the stars, but let us not neglect to trim the homely lamps which light our earthly pathway.

RAMSDEN BALMFORTH.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF ADULT MALE LABOUR IN NEW ZEALAND.

I.—GENERAL DRIFT OF LEGISLATION.

To pass Acts for the purpose of checking the growth of landlordism,¹ to forsake a one-sided free trade for protection tempered by reciprocity, and then to pause in legislation, would indeed be mischievous meddling, and would simply substitute a plutocracy for an aristocracy.

Some countries are saddled with both these sets of masters, and yet enjoy great prosperity of a sort. Out of a favourable insular position, supremacy in the world's mercantile marine, free trade in human lives, in land, and in all products; out of a philanthropy that begins with the whole world and softens gin with missionaries, may evolve a huge, manufacturing, rich, powerful, importing and exporting nation—provided a sufficient mass of workers submit to be brought down to the level of toil and suffering that will fit it to compete with the lowest types of alien humanity. And the result will always be, and now, in the case of England, for example, is, a state of society containing contrasts of luxury and misery so terrible that, in their presence, Christianity stands aghast and helpless.²

The tendency of thought and legislation in the islands of the Britain of the South is not towards such a goal. In that colony, as a logical sequence to the policy of protecting land from the monopolist, has followed the protection of local industries from unfair

¹ *The Land Laws of New Zealand*. WESTMINSTER REVIEW, March 1894.

² "The contrast between the condition of those who are equally God's children becomes unbearable in the light of modern publicity. Many are driven to think that only by the use of force will the poor obtain from the rich the means to develop their capacities for knowing, feeling, and doing" (*The A. F. Z. Circular: An Appeal to the Idle Rich by East London Clergy*, 1887).

"In Great Britain and Ireland, during the reign of Queen Victoria, 1,225,000 persons have died of famine, 3,668,000 have been evicted by landlords, 4,186,000 have emigrated of necessity. . . . During the last twenty years 1,000,000 acres of land have gone out of cultivation. . . . During the last ten years £60,000,000 have been paid to landowners for mining rents and royalties. . . . 710 persons own one-fourth of England, 70 men own one-half of Scotland 13,000 own two-thirds of the whole United Kingdom! Some years ago Mr. Fowler, after enlarging on these facts, stated in the House of Commons that he did not believe such a system could go on much longer" (Address by the Chairman of the Liberal Association, Glasgow, 1891). Admitting a slight improvement in the general condition of employed workers (most marked in the housing of the Scotch), the facts of the above tremendous indictment remain unaltered to this day.

competition with the productions of lower typed races; and both policies have been deliberately adopted, not to enrich a few manufacturers at the expense of the local worker and consumer, but for the express and limited purpose of promoting the greatest happiness of the greatest number *of the nation*. To arrive at such a result, to guard not only against exploitation of the sources, but also against seizure of the tools, of wealth by a few smart persons, legislation for the protection of labour has been deemed to be the next step.

Such is my reading of the set of the current of New Zealand public opinion. I reflect. I do not pretend to enlighten. Discussion on the advantages or disadvantages of such a policy I desire to avoid, principally for the reason that the subject has, in this colony, passed beyond that initial stage into a conviction, a state of life unquestioned. The New Zealand writer who would, say, for example, attempt to resuscitate the arguments of the past generation for and against the advisability of an eight hours' day for constant labour (which may be called the bedrock of protection) would be as great a bore as would be an Englishman who dug up the question of the emancipation of negro slaves and its bearing on the sugar, tobacco, and cotton trades. Notably in the latter case, that blind, cruel, wasteful factory-god, Supply-and-Demand, was compelled to adapt itself to changed circumstances as best it might. Economic law and the murder or enslavement of the unfit may be Nature's body. Justice and mercy, as implanted in her highest development, man, may be Nature's soul. Economic forces which have been made to yield to justice and mercy once, may have to yield twice and thrice, or they may not. Given a public opinion leading to a certain policy which it is not my purpose here to defend, I have simply to exhibit that public opinion, to unfold the measures taken by Parliament for the development of that policy, and to mark the effect of those measures as shown by the present position of labour in New Zealand.

Ancient Peru, by adopting the principle of responsibilities for cultivation and limitation of areas, could give one-third of all the produce of the land to the Inca, one-third to the priests, and, with the remainder, diffuse so much wealth and happiness that poverty and prostitution were unknown, and the Spanish historians wondered. Is a similar result, by modern methods, a vain dream in a modern colony, strong in enfranchised, educated, brave, athletic men and women, in unoccupied lands, and unhampered by emperor, priest,¹ aristocrat, or by vested interest of rents, royalties, or monopolies?

New Zealand, as a British colony, is fifty-five years old, and her European population is 690,000. She boasts the best temperate

¹ The sinister influence of a dominant priesthood in causing antagonism between peasant and artisan, and thus paralysing the progress of the labour movement, is well instanced at the present time in Belgium.

climate, the richest healing mineral springs, the most variedly beautiful and soul-inspiring scenery in the world, a coast-line of 4330 miles, and a rising generation passionately fond of the sea. Her agricultural land yields the largest and finest crops, her pastoral land supports the greatest number of sheep and cattle to the acre. Her people rule themselves by means of the most democratic central Government and 500 local governing bodies. They own collectively 1900 miles of railway, 14,000 miles of telegraph wire, all the telephones, 1300 post offices, 1400 schools, and worship in 1600 churches. They have the most complete system of compulsory, secular, free education, the lowest death rate, the lightest ratio of convictions for drunkenness, the highest standard of comfort, the most perfect land and labour laws in the world. It is not a vain dream for such a colony!

And yet in her dream, in her aspirations, in her determined policy to stop the production of penury, New Zealand stands alone, and almost outside the pale of the sympathy of Christian England! Being alone, and far ahead on that which it deems to be the right road, our small band of men and women gets little guidance from the superior culture and experience of the Mother Country, of the Great Republic,¹ or even of other colonies. What analogy can there be between a policy which starts from the principle² that the land and all its hidden wealth belongs to the nation now, and a policy which does not?

I have stood behind John Burns, on the massive base of the column in Trafalgar Square, and have seen the sympathetic magnetism of his eloquence sweep like a ripple of light across the sea of upturned eyes and lips that filled the space below. If, by the raising of a finger, all he so passionately yearned for could be

¹ Many enlightened Americans admit this, The United States Consul writes home to America from Auckland, New Zealand: "The land laws of this country (New Zealand) are unique, having no parallel in the modern world that I am aware of. The tendency of legislation is to force the earth-grabber to either sell, subdivide, or improve his land so it will produce what Nature intended it should, thereby administering to the wants of the people, and placing the land within the reach of those who desire homes. . . . to check, if not absolutely prevent, the acquisition of vast estates in the hands of individuals or companies, to the detriment of the people, but without directly interfering with the laudable accumulation of thrift and industry. . . . The poor, the working man, and the struggling small farmer and mechanic are relieved from the burdens of taxation as much as possible. . . . The hours of labour are shortened to eight per day, and to the constant worker is given a half holiday in every week, besides at least half-a-dozen full holidays in the year, under full pay, thus affording him more time for rest, recreation, and intellectual development than is enjoyed by his fellow-workers in any part of the world. . . . The admission of pure air and genial sunshine into the workroom and factory is compelled under Government supervision. . . . There is a general diffusion of wealth, no great poverty, and not a single millionaire, as far as I know. . . . The men who have inaugurated these honest Christian reforms are animated by a sincere desire to promote the universal welfare, to resist the aggression of the strong, and lend a helping hand to the weak and lowly. You may call these principles by any name you choose, but the facts are as herein related. . . . The people of New Zealand are blessed beyond all others."—Several newspapers, U.S.A., 1895.

² The principle of responsibilities for cultivation and limitation of areas. See Period II. in Table, on p. 306 WESTMINSTER REVIEW, March 1894.

granted, and if all the unemployed in town and country were at work to-morrow, who would be the gainer in twelve months' time? Who, beyond the owner of the land holding in his grasp the breath of the toilers' life? Could General Booth rub Aladdin's lamp and transport three millions of paupers into Africa to-night, how easily, under a glad, fresh turn of the screw of rents, royalties, and monopolies, would gush forth more wealth for the few, and a new submerged tenth!

In place of honest, real justice and mercy, and lawful means to work out his own salvation, what avails the alms-giving, be it £20,000,000 or £70,000,000 per annum, that in its working effect is naught but the subsidy paid by the rich to keep the pauper poor and conveniently at command?

Say, for the sake of illustration, that a practical man places now before 100 persons opportunities, as far as existing social machinery will permit, for dividing £100 among themselves according to their abilities for inter-division and their various capacities for usefulness to the community. What lesson can he learn from the arithmetician who, starting with the assumption that £75 belong by right to 10 of these persons, threshes the impossible in vain attempt to do justice to the other 90, and rings learned changes on the subdivision of the remaining £25 among them?—or from the Communist or pure Anarchist, who, in despair of statesmanlike resource of land and labour reform, tries to sweep away the results, good and bad together, of past experience, and build a new Constitution on brand new theories?

For this reason, on account of this dissimilarity of immediate practical starting-point, this diversity of aim, much that has been written and said on such subjects as free trade and protection, supply and demand, trades unions and combinations of capitalists, universal life insurance, old age pensions, the rich as useful or useless mediums for the distribution of wealth and culture, on the one view, and as individualism, collectivism, pure anarchism, communism, anarchic communism, socialism,¹ social democratic communism, and perfect future states on the other, seems to many New Zealanders not to fit their case.

About four years ago, I was present at a meeting of the Fabian Society in London, to hear Stepniak, the Russian Nihilist, lecture on "pure Anarchism." The Fabian Society was just coming into fashion, and women from the West End affected great interest in its proceedings. The audience was a motley crush of well-dressed ladies and gentlemen, earnest workmen, journalists, and fierce, dark foreigners. After the lecture was over, and we had been given to understand that pure Anarchism was a sort of refined Christianity

¹ For two of the numerous ambiguous meanings attributed to this unhappy word compare p. 144 with pp. 212-13 of *Fabian Essays in Socialism*, 1889.

whereby, in some undefined future state, everybody was to do right without control by anybody else, another man rose to inform us that he was a social democrat, and entirely differed from the first speaker. A third—a well-dressed young gentleman, with hair parted down the middle—told us he was an anarchic communist, and quite unlike the other two. While he was delivering gracefully turned periods in a refined, deliberate accent, pressing for emphasis, daintily, first on one foot and then on the other, up jumped on to the platform a tall, haggard workman in shirt sleeves and tattered vest—“Mister Chairman, I don’t know nothink about what your social democrats and anarkicking communists is agoing to do by and by. I want work!” he roared, stretching out his clenched fist. “I’ve been looking for work for six weeks, and my wife and children are starving. What are you going to do NOW to give me and my children a chance to live?”

I fear that Mrs. Besant was right. After our cool, critical reception of her theosophy, that gifted lady said with scorn: “There is a want of receptivity in New Zealanders.” Yes! New Zealanders, being of a practical turn of mind, eschew theories for the supposed benefit of unborn millions, and concentrate their whole attention on temperately and constitutionally applying immediate remedies to present evils, conserving abstract individual rights as far as may be practicable, but crushing out of existence, at all hazards even to those rights, such vested interests as inflict gross wrongs on the community. For weal or for woe, this little colony is, and will be for some time to come, a leader, a teacher, and an object lesson.

II.—EXTERNAL POLICY.

Ancient democracies were mostly tempered with slavery; the modern differ in having no slave workman to fall back on; but both have two distinct policies—an unsentimental, unscrupulous, firm, selfish external policy; a sentimental, altruistic internal policy. To this teaching of history New Zealand is no exception. Fortunately protected by the English navy, and by the latent might of Greater Britain, its foreign policy is a sociological one, and may be summed up in four words—*New Zealand for the New Zealanders.*

More powerful is this than any other sentiment in the man of the rising generation, and politicians must trim their sails by it, or be left hopelessly behind. The young New Zealander is quite willing to sympathise with English paupers—at a distance. Let General Booth or any other philanthropist bring 10,000 of them into his beloved land and they will be thrust back without hesitation or remorse. For aliens he knows no law but expediency. He finds it to his present advantage to permit 4000 Chinese to settle in the

colony.¹ Let 2000 more attempt to land, and the poll-tax will be raised to £100—4000 more, and the first step will be to ship them all back to China, leaving the question of treaty rights to be argued afterwards. With interest, such as he may feel when reading about spots on the sun, he peruses the calculations of English economists concerning the precise number of hours of labour that produces the maximum of work. He knows too well that the almond-eyed, wooden visaged, joyless man-machine of the 400,000,000 race at his door, untiring, sober, healthy, cheap to feed as a Spanish mule, can do excellent work at some trades for sixteen hours a day, and be as fresh and contented on the sixteenth as on the eighth; and he cares as little to find out whether eight hours really give better results than ten give, as to ascertain how many generations and how much expenditure of human life and soul would suffice to produce a New Zealander equal to that common Mongolian workman. He simply puts his foot down and decrees: "The man who is determined to work more than eight hours must go elsewhere, or we shall pass a law to compel him; meantime, as the eight hours' system for constant labour is settled by public opinion and the spontaneous action of all the trades unions, with exceptions too insignificant for serious legislation, so much the better; no such law may yet be required." If Austrians, Germans, Italians, and even Australians, attracted, say, by the kauri gumfields, come in such numbers as to oust local gum diggers, his cry is raised—"Has the time come to shut out Austrians, Germans, Italians, Australians? Give preference to New Zealand unemployed, men with families first, single men next, foreigners last, and only then if there be surplus work after our own people be cared for!" If small farmers with capital and experience be wanted, he demands of his Governments, misleadingly called Liberal and Conservative—of both parties alike—"It being to my advantage" (not on any broad principle of freedom or equal right), "persuade them to come, but make them pay their own passages, and look you sharply into their characters, freedom from disease, and the state of their funds."

With this spirit to be encountered, colonial statesmen who strive towards a grand homogeneous Australasia are as men who run against a stone wall. New Zealanders might or might not join a vast confederation of Great and Greater Britons and Americans based on internal free trade with protection against the outer world; but they will not go further towards interim federation with Australians than good neighbourly mutual defence arrangements and commercial and reciprocal relations. There are far more hereditary, climatic, and sociological differences between New Zealanders and Australians

¹ The New Zealand Chinese Immigrants' Act permits shipmasters to land in the Colony one Chinese for every ten register tons of their vessels. The poll-tax levied is £10.

than there are between Englishmen and Americans; and in his exclusive policy the New Zealander is backed up by the sympathy, the personal altruism, the family selfishness; by the intelligence, political influence, and substantial voting power of his womankind. No clear picture of the present position of labour could be presented without first elaborately bringing into view woman's social and political status in the colony. Therefore, in a previous number of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW (January 1895), I depicted what a fitting partner she was in labour, in sympathy, in marching hand in hand with man towards the goal of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Woman's suffrage was honourably acquired, and, as far as is publicly known, has never yet been cast from evil or unworthy motives. But her political horizon is narrower; her prejudices are even greater than those of men, especially in the direction of preferring the immediate welfare of her own children to vague schemes for the benefit of strangers.

Reluctance to federate does not necessarily mean desire to evade responsibilities as an integral part of a great empire. Self-reliance has grave responsibilities as well as advantages. A colony that elects for self-reliance must face the logical consequence of self-defence. To expect the Mother Country to bear all the expense of defending us from foreign invasion while we shut out her undesirable surplus population, raise hostile tariffs against her manufactures, and ignore the spirit of her treaties with powerful alien races, is not only unfair, it is wanting in dignity and self-respect. The chief privilege of a true democracy is that all the men fit to carry arms are bound, without distinction, evasion, or substitution, to defend the nation. To carry out honourably her present policy, New Zealand must be prepared, not only to contribute to the cost of the Imperial navy, but also to train her young men in the use of arms, as a first, free-of-individual-cost, compulsory charge and condition, in return for free, compulsory, secular education. That such a military training of the future worker might become a disturbing element in the development of the labour policy is unquestionable.

To sum up. "New Zealand for the New Zealanders" may be an unscrupulously selfish policy, or it may be that highest practical philanthropy which strives to place humanity on a happier plane, and knows it folly to begin with the whole world. Be it the one or the other, it is about to become the established policy of a wonderful, energetic, young nation, and will have to be reckoned with accordingly.

To whatever degree, therefore, the efforts which I am about to describe—efforts by internal legislation for the promotion of the greatest happiness for the greatest number, may be affected by inherent economic error in the methods, or by the physiological and

psychological idiocracies of the race on whom these methods are brought to bear, it may be predicted that the disturbing element of social invasion will not, without a struggle, be permitted to spoil the experiment.

III.—INTERNAL POLICY.

“ A labour policy made possible by a precedent land policy : that is my whole theme ; and “ a fair day’s wage for a fair day’s work ” is its *crux*.

Five years ago was held the jubilee of the foundation of the colony. In a place of honour, in the foremost carriage of the procession, sat an aged carpenter. Half a century before, on landing in New Zealand, a little band of pioneers had met, and, in the wondrous Anglo-Saxon style of orderly self-government, resolved that eight hours should constitute a fair and reasonable day, as it had done in England in the pre-industrial period, and should be the recognised working day of the new land. He in the procession was the sole survivor of that little band.

The ‘hartists of 1840 are the Conservatives of 1895. What a simple, reasonable demand it seems to us ; what a difficult, unreasonable one it seemed to our fathers ! The fire of enthusiasm raised by the old pioneers was never quenched ; it smouldered and blazed again. Without facilities for settling on land, how could men hold out when times of depression came ? Having no cheap means of producing their own food on which to fall back, the wage-earners were often forced to take what employers offered, or starve. During period I., as previously described, no assistance was given by Government to enable men without, or with little, capital to till the soil ; but, on the contrary, every impediment that large landed proprietors and speculators could devise to stop independent acquirement of small blocks with access to markets was made law. Therefore, from 1840 to nearly 1878, the men had often to yield to necessity ; but many, notably among printers and carpenters, held sturdily to the eight hours day, even at very low wages.

In 1877 the first Land Act attempted to be framed for the benefit of all was passed. In 1878 “ restraint of trade ” by combinations of workers in registered unions was made lawful.¹ In 1879 the changed attitude of authority was made patent by the Governor receiving power to even grant Crown lands for sites for working men’s clubs ! Thus legalised and encouraged, the new trades unions took up the old pioneers’ idea as a cardinal item of their demands. Unflinchingly maintained it has been ever since, in the face of a rapidly increasing immigrant population. To New Zealand now belongs the honour of being the first country in the world where

¹ The Trades Union Act, 1878.

eight hours is voluntarily the standard working day for constant labour.¹

Keeping to what I may style the beaten tracks of labour reform, the next important step, after providing that labourers shall not be compelled to work during excessively long hours, is to prevent them from being robbed of their earnings, their health, and their lives, through greed or carelessness. Men who do manual labour are simple-minded, and become a prey to cunning rogues who pay with one hand and take back with the other. Here voluntary union is of no avail. The law must step in and not wait to punish. Prevention is better than costly cure.

"SUMMARY OF THE ACTS.

"On these lines the first enactment, as it should in an island country, deals with the sailor.² No person unlicensed by the Minister of Marine shall engage or supply seamen. Appointed officers superintend, at a custom-house or office duly appointed, or on board, the engagement and discharge of the men, and see that time-agreements and allotment-notes are in proper form. They muster and inspect crews, and watch that vessels are fully manned by a fixed number of seamen and others to the registered ton.³ Provision is made to prevent the signing away of his right to wages, for recovering the same, and for relief to the sailor's family; for relief and return of the sailor left abroad; for good food and water, medicine, ventilation, and accommodation; 72 cubic and 12 superficial floor feet of space being allotted to each man. He is guarded against solicitation, imposition, and improper lodging-house keepers. Harbour boards and public bodies are empowered to grant sites for sailors' homes. Wages are payable monthly in British coin, and no seaman, incapacitated by illness or accident, may be discharged without specified provision for wages during the remainder of his time agreement (but not exceeding three months), and also for medical attendance and other necessary expenses, not to exceed, on the whole, £50. Great care is taken to inspect ships, and to prevent them from going to sea if unseaworthy, or unless all spars, tackle, machinery, boats, and rafts are in thorough working order. In the next place,⁴ is provided ample compensation for personal injury caused to seamen in New Zealand waters, by reason of

¹ An eight hours Bill has been more than once introduced into Parliament, and only failed to become law on account of the sufficiency of trade union and public opinion. Recent depression of trade having slightly weakened this power of opinion, and some of the very factories which are subsidised by the people having forced their hands to work nine hours, an eight hours Bill is being prepared by Government, and will be introduced next Session. If employers insist on coercing employes, the Bill will pass.

² The Shipping and Seamen's Act 1877, and Amendments 1885, 1890, and 1894.

³ The following excerpts from the schedule of seamen and others, per register ton, required by the Shipping and Seamen's Act 1877 Amendment Act, 1894, are of considerable interest:

Sailing vessels—400 tons register : 6 certificated able seamen ; 1 ordinary seaman.

1500 10 2
Two A.Bs. extra to every 500 tons above 1500. Two apprentices are equivalent to one ordinary seaman.

Steamers —400 to 1250 tons register : 5 A.Bs. ; 4 rated firemen ; 2 trimmers ; 2 greasers.
1500 to 4000 8 9 6 3

One "A.B. extra to every 500" tons above 1500. (Other-sized vessels are scheduled in proportion.)

The Employers' Liability Act 1882 and Amendments 1891 and 1892.

unfitness in the condition of any part of a ship's furniture, and to every other workman (not a domestic servant) from defect in machinery or plant, negligence of employer or any of his servants or sub-contractors, or of a fellow workman, even should the injured person have remained in the service after knowledge of such defect, provided the employer was made aware of it also; nor is the Government as an employer exempt. The well-known evils arising from workmen being paid in any other way than in British coin, or being forced to buy provisions, clothes, board and lodging, from their employer, are successfully attacked.¹ No workman may be dismissed for refusal to make such a contract, which is also prohibited under heavy penalties. No agreement stipulating how wages are to be spent is permissible; no set off for goods supplied is allowable; nor can an employer maintain any action at law for goods or services supplied to an employé, not even for repairing his tools; but the employer may lawfully rent to him a house, supply him with medical attendance, trade implements, and plant and horse food. Seamen and persons engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits are here specially excepted. No female or boy shall be employed in any capacity in or near a coal mine,² and very strict special provisions are made for arbitration in disputes, inspection, ventilation, and protection to the person, in this dangerous occupation. Any accident occurring is deemed to be *prima facie* evidence of neglect; and heavy compensation may be summarily awarded. No wages shall be paid at any public house. In some other mines³ wages enjoy a preferential lien on the mine. Clerks, servants, skilled and unskilled labourers, are allowed preferential claims over all other creditors for services performed during four months preceding the bankruptcy of an employer.⁴ Farm, domestic and other servants seeking employment are guarded against misguidance of unscrupulous registry-office-keepers,⁵ who must be licensed, and must keep for inspection a register of all transactions, and who are subject to bye laws prepared by the local authorities, fixing particulars of information and fees proper to be given and charged. Great care has been taken to give to our workers in 2902 registered factories⁶ the benefit of the best and latest legislation of all manufacturing countries, for the protection of earnings, health, and life, and for the prevention of 'sweating.' The architecture of the building, with its sanitary and working arrangements and space for a specified number of persons must be approved. Records, open to the inspectors, must be kept of the name, age, and address, of each employé and of his performance and earnings, whether he be working inside or outside the factory. All articles 'taken home' or wholly or partially made elsewhere than in the factory, and every such article exposed anywhere for sale must bear the label: 'made by' [*such outside worker, giving his full name and address*] 'in a private dwelling' (*as the case may be*, or) 'in an unregistered workshop.' This label is affixed under the Factory Act.⁷ And every dealer who shall issue material to be so made up, is deemed to be, so far, the occupier of a factory, and liable to all the heavy penalties fixed for breaches of such regulations. There are elaborate provisions for safe-guarding machinery, and preventing accidents; for cleanliness, ventilation, space allowed to each worker, and for drinking water, sanitary conveniences, painting and lime washing of inside walls; for fire escapes, prevention of dust and fumes, and for constant inspection in order that the regulations may not be evaded. No meals are allowed to be taken

¹ The Truck Act, 1891.

² Coal Mines Act, 1891.

³ Mining Act, 1891.

⁴ The Bankruptcy Act, 1892.

⁵ Servants' Registry Office Act, 1892.

⁶ Factories Act, 1894. Some of the most important and interesting clauses of this Act relate to women and youths, and are outside of this review of adult male labour.

where noxious trades are carried on. The sanitary regulations for bake-houses, and for the health and sleeping arrangements of workers therein (matters of vital importance, not only to the men themselves, but also to all who eat bread) are strict, thorough, and voluminous."

"Leaving the beaten tracks of labour legislation, New Zealand now enters on interesting and hitherto unexplored paths. The first new departure is the Government Labour Bureau, instituted in 1891. Englishmen, who know the measure of success that has attended even the praiseworthy little efforts of the Salvation Army to bring together employers and unemployed, hardly need be told in detail what can be done by a Minister of Labour, with an enthusiastic staff under him; with 200 special agencies; with a zealous helper in every magistrate and police constable in the colony, thoroughly knowing, and reporting monthly to him, the character, needs, and capabilities of every unemployed person in every police district, by a Government department having full power to convey men over 2000 miles of railway, or by steamer, or coach, to where employment and the Minister's agents await them; and to recover, out of the future wages of the benefited and grateful labourers, the passage moneys advanced to them and to their wives and little children. Such an organisation is rarely deceived by the undeserving. Confronted by the officers in blue, who know his antecedents, and can show him his whole past history neatly docketted, the moocher, the true loafer, here, at last, meets his match. The Labour Bureau is an admirable institution. It is in its infancy, and will probably show more brilliant results when the system has had time to be perfected. Meanwhile it can boast that, from June 1, 1891, to December 31, 1894, timely succour, unalloyed by the taint of charitable aid, was given to 12,053 deserving workmen, on whom were dependent 27,381 persons. Of the total amount advanced to these persons, for railway and steamboat passages, and other purposes, 81 per cent. has already been refunded.

New Zealand has spent large sums of borrowed money on railways, roads, bridges, harbours, and water races. Government engineers estimated costs and furnished "quantities" to contractors, who, making no independent surveys, simply relied upon the engineer's correctness and honesty, calculated the cost of the materials, the current rates of wages, and tendered (often in collusion with each other) for the work. The successful tenderor immediately set about to increase his legitimate profit by cutting down the wages of the workers. The larger and more numerous the contracts, the more men were attracted to the spot, and the easier became the task of elimination and of "sweating." Only the most expert were employed, even in the simplest earthwork (quite a justifiable course from a contractor's point of view), consequently, alongside of large

expenditure of the people's money in fortunes to middlemen, the difficult question of the unemployed remained unsolved. Why should the engineer's estimates not be accepted by the men as well as by the contractors?" Out of this thought arose the now famous *New Zealand Co-operative Labour System*, which dispenses with contracting middlemen, and lets Government road and railway work in small sections, directly to gangs of not less than six or seven labourers. These groups each elect two head men, or (if preferred) one foreman, who is "ganger" and trustee for the others. He deals directly with the Government, which finds all plant and materials. The system has the financial merit of avoiding large definite liabilities against indefinite estimates of revenue; and operations can be stopped at any point without loss. It has the industrial merit that in the event of temporary abnormal dearth of employment in the open market, room on public works can be made without delay for an increased number of men working half-time. It raises the labourer and teaches him self-reliance. It is being tried cautiously and gradually. It bristles with difficulties. What effort to crush a monopoly or vested interest does not? Expert labourers naturally get together, and earn more, with less supervision, than the inexpert, who, none being allowed to work more than forty-eight hours per week, sometimes grumble at the engineer's estimate and their small fortnightly certificates. On the other hand, opponents of the scheme assert that engineers make too liberal calculations in order to avoid such unpleasantness. Efforts of this kind to solve difficult social problems are ever the 'delight of cavers, who find criticism so much easier than authorship. On the whole, it must be conceded that the results are satisfactory.

So much is this the case that the system is about to be largely extended, and to go hand in hand with settlement of the co-operative workmen on the land. Roads through Crown forests are in future to be made by the unemployed that have passed the test of co-operation. Along the lines of road sections of land, on which they can work for themselves, every alternate fortnight, are to be allotted—men with families being preferred in the first place, as making the best permanent settlers; married men without children in the second; and men engaged to be married in the third. It is proposed to erect saw-mills, which the men will be taught to manage. Trees will be cut into lengths suitable for wood pavement. By Government agency the timber will be carried to and sold in European markets, where the demand is practically inexhaustible, thus not interfering with local trade or private enterprise.

Ordinary methods of preventing workmen from being actively or passively defrauded of their wages and time by dishonest or impecunious employers having proved ineffectual, it is enacted that—

"SUMMARY OF THE ACTS.

"The workman who does work upon any land or structure on land, or upon, or in connection with, a chattel¹ and is not paid his wages, is entitled to a lien, prior to the lien of any contractor, upon the interest of any private employer or owner of that land or chattel, and to a charge upon moneys owing to the contractor or sub-contractor by whom he is employed, or owing to a superior contractor in respect of such work done. Liens may be registered against land, and all moneys that a mortgagee may pay in respect thereof shall be added to his mortgage. To establish his lien, the workman must give notice to the owner of the land or chattel, or to the employer, contractor or sub-contractor, as the case may be, within 30 days after the completion of the work. The recipient of such notice must retain enough (not necessarily exceeding one-fourth) of the contract money to satisfy such claim. If no action at law be taken by the claimant, within 60 days from the completion of the work, the lien is extinguished. All *bonâ fide* progress payments made before notice, up to three-fourths of the contract money, operate as a discharge, *pro tanto*, of the lien or charge, but employers are bound, *in all cases*, to retain the remaining one-fourth in their hands until the expiration of 31 days after the completion of any work. Contractors must give notice to employers of all sub-contracts, the amounts, and modes of payment. When judgment is given in favour of any lien upon a chattel which is affixed to land, the Court may authorise the sale and removal of the chattel from the land, or the sale of the land itself. No assignment by a contractor of, or attachment against, moneys due to him under a contract, are of any effect until all the wages are paid.² Wages are paramount, and a first charge on all such moneys. The entire amount of all wages must be paid weekly, unless otherwise agreed in writing, and all deductions may be sued for within six years. If more than eight days in arrear, workmen can compel production of accounts showing how contractors have disbursed moneys received. No employer or agent may set off payments in advance to contractor against wages, or otherwise evade the law, under heavy penalties. Twenty-four hours after wages are overdue and demanded, workmen may attach moneys owing to contractor in employer's hands; and, as it is the intention that all workmen should share alike, it is provided that all notices so served upon employers within seven days of the first notice shall be deemed to be simultaneous. Shop assistants, and assistants in hotel bars, who work for hire or maintenance, shall be entitled to one hour daily for dinner, and a half-holiday from one o'clock on some appointed working day in each week. No persons employed in banking, insurance, and any other commercial offices (except shipping, tramway, and newspaper offices) shall work later than five o'clock in the afternoon of each week day except Saturday, when the closing hour shall be not later than one o'clock, with certain exceptions for balancing books daily and half-yearly.³ Complete licence, short of sedition, riot, violence, and other indictable offences, is permitted to workmen combining for the furtherance of any trade dispute; but persons may not conspire to leave the duty of supplying gas, electric light, or water, to the public, without giving fourteen days' notice."⁴

Here I pause to make the ever trite remark that all such Acts of Parliament are waste paper, so long as master and man can go to

¹ The Contractors' and Workmen's Lien Act, 1892.

² Workmen's Wages Act, 1893.

³ Shop and Shop Assistants' Act, 1894.

⁴ Conspiracy Law Amendment Act, 1894.

war with each other by lock-out or strike. All honour, therefore, is due to the Government, the Parliament, and the people of New Zealand who have dared to pass the crowning measure of the statute book, *The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, 1894*, the first honest attempt to put an end, by the power of the law, to industrial war and all its accompanying waste, wickedness, and misery. To ask if this enactment be imperfect is supererogation. There are no gods on Government benches, from whose heads leap immaculate conceptions. It will be evaded, possibly do individual injustice, and go through many amendments before it nears perfection.

“SUMMARY OF THE ACT.

“It provides, by means of ‘Boards of Conciliation’ and a Court of Arbitration for the settlement of all disputes among associations of employers or of workmen; also between individual or associated employers and associations of workmen concerning all ‘industrial matter,’ which is defined to be, generally, matters relating to the work, privileges, rights, and duties of employers and workmen, and, particularly, wages, allowances, prices paid for work, hours and conditions of employment, sex, age, qualifications, refusals to employ, dismissals, usages, and agreements. Masters or men, desirous of participating in some of the benefits of this Act, must form themselves into ‘industrial unions’ of not less than seven persons, and register under the Act. Registration makes members individually and collectively liable to all its provisions; but non-registration exempts no one from obedience to its judgments. These ‘unions’ have the privilege of entering for periods not exceeding three years into ‘industrial agreements,’ which are filed in the Supreme Court, and upheld by penalties. District ‘Boards of Conciliation,’ with powers of investigation and decision in disputes referred by either side, are set up and are elected equally, but at separate times, by the ‘unions’ of workers and of employers. The elected members choose a chairman, who must not be one of themselves. ‘Decisions’ without power to enforce them are as ridiculous as men-of-war without guns, consequently the interest of the Act centres in the ‘Court of Arbitration.’ When a ‘Board’ is unable to decide to the satisfaction of both parties, the disputants are handed over to the ‘Court.’ It shall consist of three members in all, appointed for three years by the Governor of the colony: one member recommended by ‘Councils’ of the registered ‘unions’ each of employers and of workmen; the third, a judge of the Supreme Court, to be president. The award of the ‘Court’ must be given within one month. Meantime, ‘*whenever an industrial dispute shall be referred to a Board of Conciliation, or to the Court of Arbitration, no lock-out, or strike, or discontinuance of work without other good cause, is permitted; but each party shall continue to employ or be employed until the award is given.*’ Judgment may be given for a sum of money not exceeding £10 against each member of an association, or £500 in all. The provisions, otherwise, of the award shall be binding on the parties for a period not exceeding two years. To enforce compliance, a duplicate of the award shall be filed in the Supreme Court of the colony on application from either party, and process may be issued and executed against the property of any ‘industrial union,’ whether vested in a trustee or otherwise, and against the property and person of any member thereof, or of any other person affected by the award. Both Boards and Court have ordinary and extraordinary powers of summoning and taking evidence and of search. They are tribunals of equity, and no counsel or solicitor may appear without the consent of both parties, and in no case may the costs of such appearance be allowed.”

As the guns of a man-of-war are made ever larger in order that if possible, no shot need ever be fired, so are the penal powers of this Court of Arbitration made crushing, in the hope that it will never be called upon to use them. Without defined legal standards of right and wrong, however, it is possible that these powers will be used with reluctance, and their severeness may, thereby, become a weakness instead of a strength. Boards of conciliation can easily record their impressions of equity in a decision. A judge of the Supreme Court, sitting as virtually sole arbiter, will have a more onerous duty. Once made, his award cannot be reviewed, and will be immediately removed to the Supreme Court, there to be armed with, and enforced by, the utmost powers of the law. For his guidance in mercantile disputes there exist the standards of previous legal decisions and of old established usage. Where are the legal standards for "industrial disputes"? They have yet to be set up. Five are here suggested as likely, if set up, to influence the Court in its decisions—viz. :

"The wages (*here taken to mean the 'industrial matter' previously defined*) of :

"1. Government employes that do not come under the Act, such as departmental, Customs, post and telegraph, police, printing. These should be the most skilled, the best and most uniformly paid of their classes in the land, and should thus form the highest standard.

"2. Government railway employes who come under the Act when the railways are vested in Railway Commissioners.

"3. Employes of the local governing bodies (Borough and County Councils, Harbour and Road Boards), and under Education Boards.

"4. Labourers working for contractors under Government and local governing bodies, in all whose contracts should be inserted the clause that current rates of wages are to be paid. Actual rates of many classes of wages paid at all periods would thus be ascertainable.

"5. Employes of manufacturers who are supported by protective tariffs. For these employes schedules of minimum wages should be fixed by law."

Such a series of advanced "internal legislation" as I have summarised can be successful only where public opinion is educated to lofty aims, where the mass of the workers is sufficiently enlightened to comprehend, adapt, modify, and enforce the spirit as well as the letter of the laws, and astute enough to know its own true interests. To a weak, degraded *proletariat* these laws might be a curse. To strong, free, clear-headed New Zealand workers time is proving them to be a blessing.

It must not be taken for granted that these further attempts to emancipate the workers, or, in other words, to stop the production of penury, are unopposed. The previously described efforts to emancipate the occupiers of the soil were not made without bitter opposition from persons whose interest lay in an opposite direction. The interests affected are widened, and opposition is made more

bitter, by the new laws. A few large landed proprietors, capitalists, and money-lenders so fiercely resent the attempts to bring down the rates of interest by lending public moneys to farmers on mortgage at 5 per cent., and to interfere, by law, between master and men, as to go the length of refraining, even to their own detriment, from employing labour, and of trying to damage the credit of the colony in England. They openly avow that their object is, by increasing depression, to foment discontent among the working classes, thereby overthrow the present rule, and bring into power men who will drift back to oligarchic grooves. Such a conspiracy is not only a crime; it is a blunder, because it is hopeless. I will not take it into account as a factor in proceeding now to consider what the toiler has gained and is likely to gain by the "drift of legislation" and by the "external" and "internal policy" described.

IV.—SOCIAL RESULTS.

It has been well said that: "Wages are the steady flow of enjoyable things which issues from the exertions of men." All argument resolves itself ultimately into the test-questions: "Is the country prospering?"—and, at the same time—"Is the worker of to-day happier than was he of yesterday?"

The prosperity of New Zealand is patent to all. It needs no further proofs than I have already given, unless I may add that a country which can spend £1 per head of population in public works in four years (1891-4) out of revenue, must be in a thoroughly sound position. The happiness of the worker can only be proved by contrasting the things enjoyed before the inauguration of land and labour reform, with his present condition. Here two important and rather conflicting points must be borne in mind. One is, that a portion of the legislation is of recent date, and has, as yet, had time only to cast forward the shadows of its effects for good or evil; the other, that, if the New Zealand workman has held his own despite the world-wide depression during the last two decades, the legislation of that period must have been, so far, beneficial.

To answer the second test-question, I take the average money-wage, deduct therefrom the portion expended in buying the necessaries of life, and show the surplus available for "enjoyable things." In town or country it is within the labourer's power and means to rent a cottage with enough ground to grow vegetables; and in this magnificent climate to have them in sufficient quantity all the year round. I therefore omit vegetables. Oatmeal is much used as a food. On potatoes at $\frac{3}{4}$ d., and oatmeal at 1d. per lb., in 1895, life can be sustained for much less than my estimate. But, in deference to English prejudice, I take only bread, beef,

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mutton, sugar, tea, butter, cheese, and milk, as the principal necessities of life, and present the result in the following table :

¹ *Average week-day money-wage for constant work of daily wage-earners :*

	1877.	1891.	1894.	1895.
General-labourer's wages	7/6	6/6	6/6	6/3
Daily rations ²	3/2½	2/5¼	2/3¼	1/10¾
Daily surplus.	4/3½	4/0½	4/2½	4/4¼
Artisan's wages	10/6	9/	8/6	8/3
Daily rations	3/2½	2/5¼	2/3½	1/10¾
Daily surplus	7/3½	6/6¼	6/2½	6/4¼

Average Daily Cost of Eight necessary Articles of Food, for a Husband Wife, and average Young Family, exclusive of wage-earning children, equal to in all (at most) four adults, at eight New Zealand centres of population, in the years 1877,² 1891, 1894, and 1895.³

	1877.	1891.	1894.	1895.
4 lb. Bread @ 2½d. per lb. = 9d. 1½d. per lb. = 7d. 1½d. per lb. = 6d. 1¾d. per lb. = 4¾d.				
1 lb. Beef . . . 5½d. „ 5½d. 4½d. „ 4½d. 4½d. „ 4½d. 3¾d. „ 3¾d.				
1 lb. Mutton . . 4d. „ 4d. 3½d. „ 3½d. 3½d. „ 3½d. 2½d. „ 2½d.				
6 oz. Sugar . . . 5½d. „ 2½d. 3½d. „ 1½d. 3d. „ 1½d. 2½d. „ 2½d.				
1 oz. Tea . . . 3- „ 2½d. 2½d. „ 1½d. 2/2 „ 1½d. 1/7 „ 1½d.				
8 oz. Butter . . 1/1 „ 6½d. 9½d. „ 4½d. 9½d. „ 4½d. 8d. „ 4d.				
8 oz. Cheese . . 10d. „ 5d. 5½d. „ 2½d. 6d. „ 5d. 5d. „ 2½d.				
1 quart Milk . . 4½d. per qt. 4½d. 3½d. per qt. 3½d. 3½d. per qt. 3½d. 3d. per qt. 3d.				
Total	3/2½	2/5¼	2/3½	1/10¾

By these figures it is evident that the artisan still has an ample surplus for the comforts of life. He could not expect to maintain the high wages of 1877 in face of the steady fall in the cost of food. The skilled labourer, as a rule, through his trade and financial organisations, is able to take care of himself in any part of the world. He need cause little anxiety to Governments.

On the other hand, the unskilled general daily labourer is the problem of society. From his ranks fall the helpless, the incompetent, the improvident, the dishonest, the drunkard, who make up the sum of pauperdom. In New Zealand he has distinctly bettered himself in eighteen years. Not only has he, for rent, lighting, fuel, clothing, illness, old age, *et cetera*, a surplus

¹ For valuable assistance in the verification of this simple-looking yet really complex little table, I am indebted to the able and courteous Registrar-General of New Zealand, E. Y. von Dadelszen, Esq.

² Returns of wages and prices of the necessities of life were not published by authority till 1877.

³ Calculations for the whole year 1895 are necessarily approximate (June 1895). Meat, sugar, butter, cheese, and milk will probably be lower in the second half of the year. Bread and tea may be higher.

amounting to *ls. 4½d.* as compared with *4s. 3½d.* per working-day in 1877, but his *4s. 4½d.* in 1895 represents far more solid comfort than it could have purchased in the old time. He probably pays the same rent, but he has, in the eight centres of population, a three-roomed house, with gas, water, and a good cooking stove, where, formerly, he lived in two rooms with very inferior conveniences. The present protective duties may hinder his family from buying very cheaply certain kinds of fashionable clothing; but I state on expert authority that plain wear is, at least, 20 per cent. cheaper than it was eighteen years ago. The food that he eats, and for which he pays so much less, is of distinctly better quality.

It is not, however, in the adult workman of to-day that the chief interest centres. It is in him of to-morrow—the youth who is now stepping to manhood under the new laws, the new social ideas. Is he to be the pattern labourer of the future? Probably he is. Accurately describe him here I cannot; his fate is bound up with much interesting legislation for women and youths, for which I have no space in this article, but I will sketch his career:

“Part of the money squandered formerly by his father in the public house is now spent by his mother in buying good clothes for him. ‘Her child must be dressed as well as the best of them,’ for he sits beside their employer’s children at school. There the education, like the legislation for him, is based on common-sense. He is not left to books and his inner consciousness to form ideas of a forest or a factory. He is taken to see them. Free periodical excursions of whole schools by railway are organised. Country children come to town, where they are received by School Committees, who conduct them over museums, newspaper offices, gas works, ocean steamers, and explain everything. A thousand town children see a field of waving yellow wheat reaped and bound, write essays on the matter, and ever after distinguish this grain from barley or oats. Scholarships are for the poorest labourer’s son, if he be clever; technical workshops, if he be of a mechanical turn; state farms, if he lean to agriculture. Built up with good food, good clothes (no trivial item in the formation of character), sound education, athletic games, he emerges from school to join his mates in the Friendly Societies, the Trade Unions, among the ‘Knights of Labour’ of a working world; to make new friends in the handsome working men’s clubs, on cricket and football grounds, at their boating and yachting club balls.¹ On Saturday nights he walks through town or village, his wages in his pocket, his wife by his side, busy with the thoughts of Sunday’s dinner; perhaps a prettily dressed baby-daughter in his arms, or in a handsome go-cart. What does he love more than he loves that child? Had he a half-a-dozen daughters he would not fear for them.

¹ While I write these words the fan and long gloves of our “general servant” are lying on the kitchen dresser. She is an excellent servant, and the dresser is a very clean one. She is going out to-night in full evening costume to the W— Boating Club Ball. This club is composed chiefly of young working men. Her invitation comes through the Captain, a well-known barrister, the Secretary and Treasurer, who will introduce to her plenty of partners—all in swallow-tail coats! I anticipate that her programme will be filled up at once. She will meet there, and may dance in the same set with, the daughters of the Premier of New Zealand and other notable personages.

"Were I to tell him of that bottomless pit for paternal affection—infant life insurance in East London—of the little daughter outwardly in sores and one filthy garment, inwardly clad in cold, hunger, disease, pain, and paternal curses—a soul looking wonderingly through little, sad, unsmiling eyes on a world of gloom and a clutched five-farthingsworth of coals; were I to describe the once-seen-never-forgotten, wolfish embodiments of starvation, father and mother smiling at the approaching rich, fair godmother, Death, as they nursed that ricketty child, insured for the, to them, enormous fortune of 10,000 farthings,¹ the young New Zealand workman would say that it could not be true, that it must be a horrid dream!

"The old-world terror of absolute penury is unknown to him. Ladies-bountiful and idle, rich persons (who, impelled by a pleasurable emotion, miscalled Charity, itch to sharpen the teeth of Benevolence on the bones of Poverty) cease their efforts to degrade him. If he be left without friend or employment he seeks the kindly aid of the Labour Bureau. If there be no room for him in any trade or job, he goes on the land, to the kauri gumfield, to the 'Bush Section,' which Government will partially clear for him, to the State saw-mill of the almost inexhaustible forest. *He cannot starve.*

"Is he likely in this delightful climate, under these good laws, to take to crime for a livelihood?—the seat of professional crime is the empty stomach; to be ashamed of honest labour?—the idle aristocrat is no longer his beau-ideal, but a by-word; to become a drunkard?—he has a new master, 'Self-Respect,' before whom the clumsy giant, 'Prohibition,' vanishes into the limbo for old-fashioned machinery."

In social science we are babes beginning to learn that by bodily instinct, without conscious mental effort of choice, a raised, strengthened nature throws off diseases that are the despair of jailers, almsgivers, doctors, priests, and "teetotalers."

New Zealand society, as I have shown, carries a standard for the guidance of his sister co-worker. It is also for him—the working man of the future. Self-dependent, fearless, strong, these two, working man and working woman,

"With morning faces and morning hearts,
Eager to labour, eager to be happy,"

will now press forward, hand in hand, to the very front among the nations—ever before them that standard with the noble device:
"Integrity, Ability, Education, Good Taste, Good Work."

EDWARD REEVES.

¹ *Poverty in London.* WESTMINSTER REVIEW, September 1892.

POLITICS AND CULTURE.

THERE is an idea much about, voiced not alone in club-land and West-end saloons, but permeating Eastwards the half-protesting masses, that the opinions on politics of the educated and cultured possess or should possess greater weight and authority than those of the many, whether with or without the three R's. Such phrases as : " We educated are not fairly represented ; " " Our proper influence is overborne by the many ; " " Culture is trodden under the hoof of Demos ; " " The respect due to the educated is a thing of the past," are not, at the present day, faint cries from the Society whirlpool, but a regularly caught-on, prolonged wail.

Culture's general effect on the Classes is that of a superb blacking ; it polishes. Sometimes it is something more, and spells replenishment, cramming one's mind with everybody else's ideas except one's own.

Education is supposed to nurse our faculties and bring to light hidden abilities ; in nine cases out of ten, *pace* pedagogues, it does nothing of the sort, but smothers them. One thing it clearly does not do—it cannot extract what is not already there ; where not to the manner born, neither the mechanical, musical, mathematical, artistic, nor even the true political instinct is obtainable thereby.

" When we consider," remarked Fielding the novelist, just a hundred and fifty years ago, " how very injudicious is the education of the better sort in general . . . we shall not expect to find the heart much improved by it. And even, as to the head, how very slightly do we commonly find it improved by what is called a genteel education."¹ This genteel education no doubt often encourages many a goose to spit where he would only hiss, and is responsible for much of the unhealthy type of cerebration now so prevalent among the Classes. The usher at present, however, is in the ascendant ; pedagogue-olatry is a new cult ; and the result of it all in things political remains to be seen.

When Socrates argues that a pilot, a carpenter, or a flute player would be considered foolish and presumptuous, if the first attempted navigation, the second joinery, and the third musical execution without due training and previous preparation ; and that many who do not hesitate to speak on and act in political matters incur this re-

¹ *Amelia*

proach ;¹ we may admit at once in reply the truth of this statement, so far as there always have existed and always will exist frivolous people of all sorts and conditions, who upon all possible subjects, important and unimportant, not omitting politics, speak without a modest modicum of thought and knowledge. Beyond this, however, we are not prepared to go ; but, on the other hand, are decidedly of opinion that to think upon, even to speak upon and act in political affairs does not necessarily require any particular or special training, much less a technical one, but rather these faculties together form a province of activity over which good all-round ordinary ability and a natural common-sense may rightfully and successfully aspire to an almost exclusive sovereignty.

Take the case of the pilot ;² noting the simple character of the inshore seamanship of Socrates' day, when it was the best part of valour and skill to shirk rather than to face a storm, we can imagine our navigator acquiring the ordinary rudimentary knowledge by rote, through slow, gradual experience and practice, under monition from his elders ; just as ashore he might gain as ploughman sufficient handiness at fifth century, B.C., farming without ever an approach to, and in happy ignorance of, the esotericism of technical minutæ indispensable to the successful practice of both navigation and agriculture in our days.

Now, much of the mental stock-in-hand required for our pilot would be energy, caution, foresight, presence of mind, staying power, etc., and, if it is not already included in the foregoing, a large helping of common-sense. But these qualities are the best possible for the successful management of a household, in which supervision and administration are the principal duties. In the domestic household, then, we surely possess a valuable school for statesmen ; for the State is only a bigger household, and this is why women, who are capital housekeepers, ought to make capital politicians.³ In both spheres of duty, special acquirements and technical knowledge are not to be undervalued.⁴ Some acquaintance with law in the one, or with cookery in the other, is welcome but not essential : a woman may be a successful housekeeper but a poor cook ; and a Minister fairly up to the mark as Home Secretary, whose knowledge of legal minutæ is microscopic or non-existent.

Not only are the intellectual and moral qualities, which make a

¹ v. Xenophon's *Memorabilia* of Socrates, book i. chap. 2, and book iv. chap. 2, and elsewhere.

² Both carpentry and flute-playing, in addition to mere technical skill, require certain special gifts of eye and ear, or rather of brain. Logicians may decide whether we have here a *dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter* fallacy, or a false analogy or neither, or what.

³ "Do not, therefore, Nicomachides, despise men skilful in managing a household, for the conduct of private affairs differs from that of public concerns only in magnitude."—*Memorabilia*, book iii. chap. 4, 12.

⁴ "Tactics, how small a part of the qualifications of a general is this ?"—*Ibid.*, book iii., chap. 1, 6.

sound political character not dependent upon education or special training, but they are not particularly improved by special talents, genius, or the subtlety that delights in the consideration of "fine points."¹ The common run of professional men are notoriously wanting in common-sense, especially in the management of their own families and money matters, and anyhow, there is no marked difference in this respect between parsons, doctors, or even barristers, and ordinary folk. That a professor is more often than not a neglegable quantity outside his lecture-room we thought was long ago decided for us by Prince Bismarck and Lord Beaconsfield.

Savants and literati, not only out of but in their own special departments, "plentifully lack" the same quality. The extraordinary licence of fatuity they give way to in their hypotheses our readers may judge for themselves, by dipping into a specimen in the region of Comparative Mythology, viz., *Cox's Solar Theory of Myths*. For utter ignorance of human nature, it certainly beats the record: now it is a matter of wonder that it was once looked upon as established by its favourers. Out of their specialities, Bacon's reception of witchcraft, Johnson's attitude before Joanna Southcote, and Newton's belief in the South Sea scheme and in the orthodox Christianity of his time are memorable examples. It is true that their several occupations make extensive demands upon their time and faculties, but this only goes to strengthen the view that special qualifications tend to draw their possessors out of the common thoroughfare of everyday life, from the sympathies and sensibilities of ordinary existence, consequently to a misreading and misunderstanding of their fellow creatures in general.

In addition to this aloofness from natural causes, there is that stuck-upness of our poor little human nature; the inability to bear with humility the slightest elevation above its surroundings, through office, wealth, or ability. Who does not alight upon the passman, on the high heels of his degree; or come across, some time or other, the fashionable dentist who talks condescendingly of the vulgar, the common people, the small 'hop-keeping class? And yet in their inmost heart of hearts, these very cultured, in peril of their lives and reputations, would much rather trust themselves to the common-sense of an ordinary jury, than to the most concentrated mixture of the "highest intellect." The same sort of human material that is wanted for a successful juryman is indeed sufficient for the politician.²

¹ "The duller class of men, compared with the more talented, generally speaking, manage public affairs better."—Dale's *Thucydides*, III., 37.

² Jurymen were, of course, never meant to be infallible specialists. Their character "in the lump," has been well described by counsel in the State trial of Reg. v. Edmonds and Others (*Reports of State Trials*, edited by Macdonell, vol. I.); "The policy of the law of England says we are rather to reject professional men from juries, and we are rather to go to men of plain minds, whose attention has not been particularly directed to legal studies, or any of those refinements which—I only speak the language of our Constitution when I say—prevent them from a clear and fair

But now let us observe how Culture acquits itself, when its chance comes round of handling the Government reins. Look into some of its successes; take at hazard some of its heroes. There is that model mandarin, that most donnish of rhetoricians, with his cut-throat brigade of the Four Hundred—bloody Antiphon, and not far off peacock-Cicero; then limb-of-the-law, Robespierre, one only of a crowd of attorneys, with their bags bursting with death sentences and paper Constitutions; next, *Æsculapius* Addington, and a little behind doctrinaire Guizot, of civilisation and Spanish marriage fame; then a couple of traitors with literary longings, Harley and Bolingbroke, with the author of *Réveries Politiques* and *La Vie de César* dragging slowly after, and so on. What a mess they all made of it!

It is, however, indisputable that in Culture's survey of mankind from China to Peru, although "we dunno quite w're 'e are," foreign affairs cut a large figure. Here at last it is to be thought, with much leisure at command and facilities for foreign travel, the cultured have a fair chance of out-running the working vulgar—but, of course, they miss it; and as Franco-Russo-Americanophobists snatch themselves instead into hot and cold fits of hatred and panic, which, whilst making us an object of contempt in and outside every foreign lunatic asylum, have a most disastrous effect on our international relations.

Culture further prides itself upon its animated moderations and liberality of sentiment, and yet everybody is ycleped mad, bad, or drunk, who hails from the Liberal or any other camp but its own; upon its enlightenment, in spite of Mahatmas and fortune-telling; upon its breeding, and yet to hiss its young Queen in the Thirties is its recreation;¹ and to boo later on in the Nineties at her veteran Minister, its pet debauch. It is too disgusting, also, how in the refined circles of Culture every mentionable subject of conversation is shadowed by a sort of superior Mrs. Harris, who, upon the subject of woman's rights, for instance, turns out to be some second-rate female novelist, who senilely prates in contempt of the same; but hush! "the Oracle has spoke." In politics, the very biggest bore of all, is some old Eminent, voraciously belched-up, when the argument is getting thin; Plato being the favourite just at present, although he, with his chum Dion, were not particularly successful practical politicians either.

Really, success in politics is congenital—a matter of race. The Argives had no taste for speech, nor for hearing both sides of the question; the Roman boor, on the other hand, steeped in ignorance

judgment." In Economics also, this view will be found correct. The practical city-man, amidst the reefs and shoals of the strange channel of Bimetallism, is well able to dispense with the mental mists and fogs of the present-day professor.

¹ The Tories and Orangemen indulged in this pastime during Lord Melbourne's administration.

and dulness, always possessed the true political instinct; the Athenians also were capital politicians, long before they were cultured; "It was not the maxim at Athens to escape the errors of the people, by calling in the different errors and the sinister interest besides, of an extra-popular or privileged few."¹ They laid the State foundations and raised most of the superstructure before Salamis, and before they took to art-criticism and applauding Euripides and Aristophanes, and then they became half as successful politicians. There are, in fact, successful political races, just as there are successful musical and commercial ones; but because Englishmen have as yet done best in politics, that is no reason why other peoples who lack the perfect gift of working the machine should not have a trial at it; any more than there is why our children should not learn the piano, or sit at a counting-house desk, because we are not all countrymen of Paderewski, nor of the race of Rothschild.

It is also worthy of attention, that when the many don't see their way quite clearly on such technical matters as vaccination, Pasteurism, &c., we find that the experts are not agreed upon their own business, and therefore the material for common-sense to work upon is deficient.

Interdum vulgus rectum videt; est ubi peccat. If the many go astray over Gordon riots, Tichbourne claimants, &c., the good, the honourable, the best, the elegant, the superior, you may be sure, are not far behind or before them as the case may be.

In conclusion, we are of opinion that it is wisest to base the future of felicity in politics rather upon the "three R's," and let "the extras" take care of themselves, a process with which they may be expected in the future as in the past to exhibit a most intimate and absorbing acquaintance. The successful barrister, the brilliant rhetorician, the profound savant, the fashionable physician, the sound city man or clever speculator²—each is possibly and probably a butter-fingers, a grotesque in matters of state-craft. Long since has the theologian with his dogmatic fist been warned off the ground of the political race-course; so should and so shall this be thy fate, O! Culture's slave! O! Professor!

HORACE SEAL.

¹ Grote's *Greece*, vol. iv. p. 84.

² The exceptions are very few.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE LATE DR. R. W. DALE.

THE comparatively recent death of Dr. R. W. Dale, the eminent Evangelical Nonconformist minister, theological author, and influential citizen, of Birmingham, has excited widespread and sympathetic interest throughout the Protestant section of the Anglo-Saxon world. The notice which has been so widely taken of his public career by the Press at home, in the British Colonies, and the United States of America, shows him to have been not only a conspicuous figure in the Congregational body, to which he specially belonged, but to have been recognised, in as well as out of the Established Church of England, as one of the foremost preachers and non-Catholic defenders of supernatural Christianity in this country. It affords a substantial guarantee that a man must have succeeded in building up a great reputation among leading religious communities, that on the day before his remains were consigned to their last resting-place eulogistic references were made to his position and work, in the pulpits of St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey, and in thousands of churches connected with leading Protestant communities wherever the *English language is spoken*. *Not the least interesting testimony* to the universal esteem in which his abilities, character, attainments, and labours were held by divergent Christian bodies is that a number of Roman Catholic priests in the city in which he resided are reported to have attended his funeral side by side with representatives of numerous associations, philanthropic, municipal, political, and religious. Not many weeks after his death a movement was set on foot by distinguished citizens of Birmingham of every creed to perpetuate his memory, as an active supporter of Liberal Unionist politics, as a Governor of King Edward's School, and as one closely identified with Board school and hospital administration, and other forms of usefulness in his borough. The Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, himself a Unitarian, stated at a meeting held to organise a scheme for commemorating Dr. Dale's public virtues, that he was probably the greatest man Birmingham had ever been able to boast of. On the same occasion a letter was read from the late Dr. Thorold, Bishop of Winchester, expressing the hope that an opportunity might be afforded Churchmen to join

in contributing to some lasting public memorial of the deceased, as he considered Dr. Dale "a perfect theologian"; his volume on the *Atonement* having been largely adopted as a text-book by examiners of candidates for holy orders in the Church of England. Indeed, it may be stated without exaggeration that there has been no such extensive, combined, and hearty demonstration of respect for a Nonconformist minister by Churchmen, Dissenters, and Roman Catholics before in English history.

Dr. Dale, as a public man, belonged to a class whose biographies are published, although he has bequeathed no message that cultured posterity will care to welcome. But as the publication of his Memoirs by his son are not looked for before the autumn of next year, some personal recollections of Dr. Dale by one who had made a study of him for upwards of four decades, and who was in somewhat intimate relations with him during a considerable part of that period, may not be unacceptable to those who only knew him by his public doings.

He was born in London in 1829. His father was a humble but worthy tradesman. From his mother he inherited his quick perceptions and religious susceptibilities. Mrs. Dale, her husband, and three children—two sons and a daughter (the last-mentioned having died young)—I have understood, attended the ministry of the late Dr. John Campbell in Whitfield's Chapel, Moorfields. Certainly, Dale himself, as a youth, for some time came under the personal and ministerial influence of Campbell; and it is not improbable that the close dogmatic reasoning of so fiery a champion of Puritan theology may have produced a lasting impression on Dale's opinions and style as a preacher and a theologian. But while the material of the disciple's compositions might appear to popular hearers and readers, now and then, to consist of solid argument, a searching examination by well-instructed and practised reasoners could not fail to show his dominant method to have been rather that of excessive expansion, due to a disproportionate wealth of illustration. There was an absence in his public utterances of those spontaneous flashes of suggestive thought and feeling for which his former admirable and inspiring fellow-townsmen, George Dawson, was distinguished.

When I first met Dale, in the autumn of 1850, he had a swarthy complexion and jet black hair, which seemed to stand inconveniently erect. He had also large whiskers, and a beard of the same colour, which covered the greater part of his face, and made him look at least ten years older than he was. But I always thought his forehead weak in what are called, in the cant of phrenology, the "reflective organs," as it appeared to be neither high nor broad and of a somewhat receding type. Being short-sighted, he wore glasses,

and walked with a round-shouldered stoop, and a sort of swinging gait.

At this stage in his intellectual and religious development he seemed overmastered by a strong tendency to devout sentimentalism. But he had so genuine a human side to his nature that he could at intervals abandon himself to innocent fun and frolic. At the same time he enjoyed and kept abreast of all that was considered popular in literature, not excepting works redolent of the broadest humour. Yet, as in the case of Mr. Gladstone—to compare a lesser with a greater light—Dale showed, then and ever afterwards, a very defective appreciation of the sciences of geology, astronomy, archæology, comparative religion, and biblical criticism as affecting the credibility of the dogmas of historic Christianity. Although there was an undercurrent of religious seriousness in his character, he had no real sympathy in his student days with long-faced solemnity outside strictly pious functions.

His intervals of recreation were quickly followed, at that time, by solitude, contemplation, and introspection. He could turn from the liveliest appreciation of Dickens and Thackeray, Tennyson and Browning, to absorption in the study of the Quietists and Mystics, from Echart and Tauler to Fenelon and Madame Guyon. His discourses and writings retained to the end a tinge of mysticism, whose chief attraction for him was that he fancied it carried him to lofty spiritual ideals. That this mysticism might present a standard of devoutness which involved the repression of perfectly legitimate natural impulses, and even imperilled mental sanity in weaker minds, did not prevent him from aspiring to that standard as affording a powerful stimulus to the culture of what he was wont somewhat vaguely to call “the divine life.” The old orthodox dogmas as expressed in the Nicene Creed, the Westminster Confession, the deliverance of the Synod of Dort, and the Thirty-Nine Articles of the English Church, were hardly meant to bear the strained interpretation to which they were sometimes subjected by Dale in order to meet the demands of his mystical proclivities. While using, *suo more*, the old technical phraseology of the schools to define the “cardinal doctrines,” he breathed into the latter a spirit and meaning which would, with difficulty, be recognisable by their authors. But, despite the strides of science and learned criticism in opposition to the unverified assertions of Christian orthodoxy, I cannot learn that the doctrine of evolution, as expounded by Darwin, Spencer, and Huxley, was ever accepted by him.

So vividly did he picture to his own mind, in his sermons, what self crucifixion for the eternal welfare of mankind was, when he was wafted to the clouds by his own rhapsodical descriptions of religious

life and duty, that he could *act*, unconsciously, an experience which, in practical affairs, he was too sensible to cultivate. While his evangelical ecstasy, with tongue or pen, lasted, he almost worked himself into the belief that his soul had actually undergone the etherealising process to which he so fervently exhorted others to submit. If I may be allowed the expression without offence, Dale was a spiritual Quixote, tilting, within the area of sacred oratory and sentiment, at imaginary spiritual enemies, and soaring to spiritual heights which were simply the creation of his own dreams. But out of the pulpit, and apart from his printed disquisitions on topics beset with temptations to spiritual intoxication, he could be one of the most innocently jovial of men. He could enter with gusto into the smallest talk compatible with self-respect, with men and women who interested him. This odd duality of theoretic asceticism and genuine earthly cheerfulness in the same nature was often a puzzle to those who were interested in him psychologically.

There was no trace in his daily life of that self-immolation which he was accustomed to enjoin on the people who gathered under his ministrations. He always lived well; and as his financial circumstances improved he did just what men of the world, and communicants of evangelical churches, do, without distinction, alike, he lived still better. Nor could he be accused of meanness. Yet he had too wise a perception of the law of proportion, as applied to human interests, to deny himself any reasonable enjoyment for the sake of saints less favourably situated than himself, with whom he hoped to spend eternity in Heaven, or for the sake of converting the heathen—in sending missionaries to whom he took so deep a professional interest. The consciousness of possessing rare power to stir a religious assembly to its depths not unnaturally caused him to delight in using this power. The brief he held, as a cultured Christian advocate, won him popularity, and for that reason—although I cannot doubt that he was influenced by much higher motives—the brief was to his mind.

Before he was out of his teens he earned his living as an assistant teacher in a school near Salisbury, and it was from a Dissenting family resident in that neighbourhood that he chose his wife.

I first met him, forty-five years ago, at the original Springfield College, Birmingham (since transferred, under the name of Mansfield College, to Oxford), before Dale had completed his twenty-first year. He pursued his studies there for six years.

Owing to inefficiency in the theological chair at the College many of the students in this department turned their attention to preparation for matriculation, degrees, and honours, at the London University, and Springhill won a name for University degrees and gold medals in proportion to its numbers, which at that time out-distanced every other Nonconformist College in the kingdom.

But, Dale alone excepted, the Springhill men who were most distinguished in this respect during the period of his curriculum have never risen in life above the position of respectable mediocrities.

He graduated an M.A. in philosophy at the London University, being the gold medallist of his year in that section. He also took the Williams scholarship, involving examinations in Old Testament Hebrew, New Testament Greek, Paley's *Evidences* (now deemed by theologians thoroughly versed in modern learning an anachronism), Butler's *Analogy*, and a number of other theological text-books no less effete.

But any scholarship he displayed in after life was mostly second-hand, and confined to a one-sided study of Christian dogmas which have ceased to have any vital interest for intelligent and educated persons who have bestowed moderate attention on the science of comparative religion, modern Biblical criticism, archæology, and the history of the Old and New Testament Canons.¹ He had never mastered the great rationalist theologians of Germany in their own tongue.

Dale was vain enough, however, to wish the memory of his University successes to be handed down to future generations of Springhill students. The librarian of Springhill College, then situated at Moseley, near Birmingham, once showed me an album containing the portraits of old students, with their names appended to their portraits. But Dale took the unusual course of putting on the back of the photograph he presented for preservation, a full list of his University and other examination honours. The librarian, himself a London University M.A., significantly remarked to me that as Dale had given so much prominence to these particulars, he had put the side of the card on which they were written to the front, the portrait being placed the opposite way and out of sight. Nor did he omit, all through life, to turn frugally to account every event

¹ The following works, cited at random, demonstrate from various points of view that a miraculous revelation of the divine will to mankind is irreconcilable with science and authentic history: Middleton's *Free Inquiry*, Davidson's later volumes on the Old and New Testament Canons, Colenso on *The Pentateuch*, the works of Wellhausen, *Supernatural Religion* (anonymous), *Hibbert Lectures*, by Renan, Burnouf, Hatch, and Pileiderer; Forlong's *Rivers of Life*, Strauss' *Life of Jesus*, and *Old Faith and New*; the *English Life of Jesus* by Thomas Scott, *The Religion of the Semites* by Robertson Smith, Lenormant's *Magic*, Brown's *Dionysiac Myth*, *The Golden Bough*, *Bible Folk Lore*, by the Author of *Rabbi Jeshua*: Dillon's *Sceptics of the Bible*, Draper's *History of the Conflict between Science and Religion*, Darwin's *Origin of Species* and *Descent of Man*, Herbert Spencer's works *passim*, Savage's *Religion in the Light of Darwinian Doctrine*, Lester Ward's *Causes of Belief in Immortality*, Paul Carus's *The Soul of Man: an Investigation of the facts of Physiological and Experimental Psychology*; the works of Soury and Buchner, Wundt's *Soul in Man and Brute*; Will in the *Lower Animals: a Systematic Exposition and Explanation of Animal Instincts and their Origin, Development, and Difference in the Animal Kingdom, as a Basis of a Comparative Doctrine of Volition*, Haeckel's *Natural History of Creation*, *General Morphology*, *Anthropogenie*, *Cell-souls, and Soul-cells*, and *Monism*; Carus Sterne's *Growth and Decay: a Popular History of Development of the Cosmos*; Hugo Spizer's *Contributions towards a Theory of Descent and towards a Methodology of the Sciences of Nature*; Ludwig Feuerbach's *Philosophy of Science and the Philosophical Criticism of the Present Time*.

in his public experience the utilisation of which would be likely to add in any way to his popularity with his admirers in political, social, literary, and religious spheres.

Dale brought to Springhill a marked individuality and an exalted theory, from the Puritan point of view, of what a Christian and a "pastor" ought to be. But although he had a studious look, a splendid voice, a full and varied vocabulary (which, however, was somewhat too Latinistic), a tone and an accent perfectly free from provincialism, and a measured, eloquent, precise, and forcible style of address, there was a rollicking, abrupt, and almost unkempt air about his manners. As life advanced this defect was in some degree overcome, but to the end it more or less obtruded itself.

It was impossible not to be reminded in such a seminary as Springhill, as compared with the old English Universities—from which all who, like him, could not conscientiously subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles were by law in the fifties excluded—of Matthew Arnold's remark, that Evangelical Dissenters are imbued with Hebraic as contrasted with Greek culture, and are "outside the current of national life."¹ It is noteworthy, moreover, that although a goodly proportion of Evangelical Nonconformist ministers now take degrees at Oxford and Cambridge, the effect is not believed to be remarkable in raising the intellectual and social tone of their congregations.

The circumstance which determined Dale's future as a religious teacher and secured for him a *point d'appui* for rapidly gaining public notice as a Nonconformist minister and a citizen, was the high estimate formed of him by the Rev. John Angell James. This venerated representative of a departed generation of Congregational ministers was for fifty-four years the earnest and eloquent minister of Carr's Lane Chapel, Birmingham—from 1805 to 1859. In that position he had gathered round him a well-to-do congregation of about 2000, and had become one of the foremost preachers and writers on practical religious duties in his denomination. When Dale was admitted to Springhill College, in 1847, James was Chairman of the Committee of Management, and he remained head of the governing body to the close of his life. He was over sixty when Dale became a student, and the question of choosing an assistant, who should ultimately become his successor at Carr's Lane, was then beginning to occupy the thought of this venerable divine. After the usual religious service which inaugurated the work of the Springhill annual session in September 1852 James asked Dale to give no undertaking, without consulting him, to become the minister of any congregation during the two remaining years of his residence at the college. Soon afterwards he was invited by James to officiate regularly at the Carr's Lane Sunday morning service once a month

¹ *Anarchy and Culture.*

for the year. This preliminary step was taken for the purpose of testing his fitness for the position of colleague, and to give the congregation ample time to make up their minds as to his qualifications. The result of the experiment was to confirm the high opinion James had formed of the young man's powers. In June 1853 Dale's six years' curriculum at the college came to a close, and with characteristic caution James again engaged him as his assistant-minister for a second year, but on this occasion to conduct one service on each Sunday, and to aid generally in directing the numerous institutions connected with the congregation. The mutual admiration of the young man and his senior for each other was, if possible, greater at the end of the second term than when negotiations for a co-pastorate had been initiated.

The church meeting specially convened for his election was entirely unanimous. It was not, however, to be supposed that all those in the congregation whose age approached that of Mr. James could take the same interest in the ministrations of a man nearly half a century younger than themselves, as in those of one whom they had almost worshipped for forty years and upwards, and who was nearer to their own generation.

The range formerly assigned to the enforcement of religious sanction had greatly widened towards the close of that period in Evangelical circles. The scope of religion as enforced by the Puritans—the ecclesiastical ancestors of the Congregational body—by Wesley and Whitfield, and subsequently by Simeon and Newton, had been of an extremely restricted character. It is true that the fundamentals of James's preaching continued to be substantially those of Dale's to the end, with, however, an important exception. Like the new Dean of Canterbury, Dale substituted the doctrine of "annihilation," or extinction of individual consciousness, for an eternal hell, as the divinely appointed punishment for unbelief. But the younger man's way of putting before the people the doctrines he believed in common with his senior colleague, as might be expected, was widely different from that of the latter. Still, Dale never failed to convey, even to the older class of hearers who were least capable of appreciating him, the impression that he was a man of exceptional power. His popularity with the faithful continued to advance without hindrance until within ten years of his death, when his recognition as the foremost minister in his denomination ceased in some directions to be unchallenged, from causes which will be presently specified.

The expansive tendency of Dale's theology in the first years of his settlement at Carr's Lane was apparent in a bold proposal which he carried out on his own responsibility. He actually arranged a monthly breakfast meeting, at which the Unitarian ministers of Warwickshire and Staffordshire should unite with those of the local Congregational

and Baptist denominations. Each member of this union was expected to extend hospitality to his brethren in turn. The free interchange of theological thought which took place at these fraternal gatherings began, as afterwards appeared, to make serious inroads on what Dale had been accustomed up to that time to regard as unassailable beliefs. He concealed from his friends around this monthly social board the disturbed condition of his faith, caused by discussions which he had himself originated. But no clue to his mental uneasiness was distinctly given until a few years afterwards. All that was noticed at the time was, that when his turn came round to entertain his ministerial friends he sent out no invitations, and no explanation or apology was ever forthcoming for so abrupt a termination of his connection with the movement he had started. He had reached the parting of the ways, and it was hoped that loyalty to the truth would have triumphed in him over expediency. But his moral courage—as in many other examples of theological guides shutting out the light—was found unequal to the occasion.

It was only when Dale's *Memoirs of John Angell James* was published, a considerable time afterwards, that the perplexed Unitarian ministers, whose friendship he had courted, found his unceremonious desertion of them explained. In that book an interview between his veteran colleague and himself is recorded as having taken place about the time when the monthly breakfasts came to an untimely end. Dale appears to have confessed to James that he had grave misgivings as to the possibility of his remaining in the orthodox fold. In the Memoir it is stated that James urged him, as the only means of relief to his doubts, to drop his Unitarian friends, and stick to the Cross.¹ He took the course prescribed, diligently read books in support of the "Christian evidences," preached zealously on the unbroken continuity of the faith from the times of the Apostles, and magnified the importance of the testimony of Polycarp, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, and the rest of the Apostolic and post-Apostolic fathers to his own satisfaction. From that date to the end of his life he seemed to avoid conversation on the historic basis of Christianity, as a system founded on miracles, with any one having a critical acquaintance with the question. He perfectly knew that he could not take a prominent part in political or educational work in Birmingham without meeting cultivated and competent Unitarian ministers and unorthodox laymen, who are prominent there in all spheres of municipal, social, and political activity. But it was noticeable that, in proportion to the amount of public service he had to perform in connection with town affairs during the week with Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and his *entourage*, his sermons on the

¹ Arnold of Rugby, who had himself been harassed with theological doubts, at one period advised his clerical brethren who might be similarly tried to live them down by earnest parish work!

Sunday following were of an exceptionally pronounced Evangelical character.

One or two curious illustrations of the paradoxical character of his mind may be noticed. Notwithstanding his mystical tendencies, he was really at the poles asunder from Papal and Anglican sacerdotalism, and, like the late Mr. Charles Spurgeon, he expressly desired that he should not be addressed by the prefix of "Reverend." He also abjured that clerical badge—a white necktie. Yet his sermons were apparently imbued with the belief that an uncultivated rustic who fervently accepted "the Gospel" was supernaturally permeated with the "Holy Ghost" to a degree of which many a consecrated bishop of a State Church might be experimentally ignorant. Such, indeed, was the impression sometimes made by his highly strung expositions of his views on this subject that I have seen them described in a Rationalist magazine as a species of "High Church Nonconformity." Had they been propounded by an austere ascetic, a pure vegetarian, a rigid abstainer, and a monkish celibate, clad like Father Ignatius, and equally self-denying, the theory and the practice would not strike us as out of harmony. But for a man—strictly upright and tolerant though he always was—who could enjoy a good dinner, a pleasant trip abroad, and a hearty laugh, to pitch his pulpit theories and exhortations on so high a spiritual key, seemed a trifle too much of a strain on one's sense of what was befitting.

Another marked peculiarity in him was that he rarely, if ever, allowed himself to become openly sympathetic with any public movement until he had made sure that it would become popular with Evangelical Dissenters. When the National Educational League was founded in 1868, by Messrs. George Dixon, M.P., Joseph Chamberlain, Jesse Collings, and other prominent Birmingham men, Dale at first stood aloof. Neither Mr. Chamberlain nor Mr. Jesse Collings at that time held a sufficiently important public position in the town to justify one of Dale's acknowledged standing in the religious world in following their lead. This reason he gave the writer himself for not at first joining the new educational movement. These men were not at that time even in the Town Council of Birmingham. Besides, Dale had not been able to emancipate himself from the notion, then very prevalent both among Churchmen and Dissenters, that the Bible should be read and expounded at the public expense in the Government schools which it was proposed to establish. The executive and members of the National Education League, on the other hand, held that it would be unfair to exact from Protestants support for Catholic teaching, or *vice versa*, and that conscientious Secularists and Atheists should be rated for providing with religious instruction in supernatural Christianity the children of Churchmen and Dissenters.

Before Dale felt his ground perfectly safe in identifying himself with the School Board system some years elapsed. This habit of timidly watching the direction of public opinion before he committed himself to it was practically fatal to his inauguration of any public movement, secular or religious.

Once heartily associated with an undertaking, planned by others, however, no one doubts that it was materially benefited by his advocacy.

It was about nine years ago, when his premier position was practically unquestioned in the Evangelical Nonconformist bodies of England, as a leader in all great movements connected with his own denomination, that Dale was induced to take a step which led to the supremacy of his influence as an English Evangelical Nonconformist being permanently shaken. Whatever may have been the attitude of the Presbyterians of Ulster towards the question of Irish Home Rule, there could be no doubt that the great mass of British Nonconformists were heartily in accord with Mr. Gladstone and his Government in 1886, in favour of Ireland being allowed Parliamentary government in respect to her domestic affairs while subject to the Parliament at Westminster as regards Imperial interests. Had Dale been true to his Nonconformist instincts, and entirely free from temptations to flattery by men of great social and political influence outside his own pale—to which his vanity was peculiarly susceptible—he would never have halted in his decision to follow the great statesman who had so thoroughly justified his claim to the loyalty of sincere Nonconformists. But Joseph Chamberlain was the one man in Birmingham to whose smartness, self-assertion, oracular manner, personal wealth, political importance, and local power, Dale would be likely to succumb. The hospitable attentions of Mr. Chamberlain were specially seductive to him, because he firmly believed that the force, tact, assurance, and persistence of the member for West Birmingham would ultimately carry him over the head of Mr. Gladstone himself as a Liberal leader.

Dale made many enemies among Nonconformists by the course he had adopted. The unhappy sequel to the incident alluded to is, that it was not long before he discovered that he had been betrayed into a false position. But he had already stultified himself with the vast majority of his religious and political friends; and ever afterwards he rigidly abstained from politics, making amends, as best he could, for the fatal political mistake into which he had fallen, by preaching sermons still more earnest and solemn on the doctrines of supernatural religion.

Mr. Stead and his friends are of opinion that the pulpit and the religious press should be much more extensively and directly used than they now are to enforce religious earnestness in the reform of parochial abuses; the removal of hindrances to public health;

the social elevation of the people; their fuller instruction in everyday ethics; and the introduction of more enlightened views of public duty in town councils, boards of guardians, school boards, and charity administrations. Dr. Dale stood almost, if not entirely, alone in Birmingham amongst his Nonconformist brethren in opposing the principle of the "Civic Church." He viewed with alarm the devotion of sermons to civic, political, or social questions as a degradation of the loftier functions of the pulpit—the preaching, in fact, of the recognised doctrines of supernatural Christianity. Had Mr. Stead caught him when he had entered on the co-pastorate at Carr's Lane, as a young man, the aim of the Civic Church would just have suited him. His sermons in those unsophisticated days went very far in the direction of giving religion a thoroughly broad and wholesome secular application. But Dale, after retiring from the monthly social gatherings with his Unitarian friends, took his decision for life as to what should be the form and matter of his preaching. He adopted for good, above all things, the rôle of guide through this world as an evil but transient sphere of discipline and preparation for a permanent destiny, limited to believers in supernatural Christianity, in another state of being.

Among the public distinctions which Dale received as an eminent Nonconformist divine, a few of the more prominent may be named. In 1869, when about forty years of age, he was elected to preside over the annual general assembly of the Congregational Union, when he delivered an official address directed against Comte and Positive Philosophy. Some years later he was appointed by the Harvard University, in the United States, to deliver a course of theological lectures. The contents of his work on the *Atonement* first took shape as a series of lectures delivered under the auspices of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. When the late member for Birmingham, Mr. John Bright, delivered his inaugural lecture as Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, Dr. Dale was appointed to preach before the University, when the occasion was marked by the honorary degree of LL.D. being conferred on him.

One of his latest missions abroad was as the guest of the Australian Congregational churches, which he visited officially with Mr. Albert Spicer, M.P., in 1887. One competent to judge, who heard him during his stay in Melbourne, declared the bulk of his discourses on that occasion to be the most old-fashioned semi-revivalist type, galvanised by strong avowals of supernaturalism which could with difficulty be distinguished from fanaticism.

LESSING'S STORY OF THE THREE RINGS.

IF we agree with so excellent a critic as the late Professor Henry Morley, when he asserts that *Nathan the Wise* is the noblest of Lessing's plays, it is not so much from admiration of the incidents or characters of the work as of the beautiful lesson of love and charity which runs through it like a vein of purest gold. In no part is this more admirably illustrated than in the striking scene where Saladin asks Nathan to tell him frankly which of the three religions represented at Jerusalem he holds to be the true one. Nathan's reply takes the form of a suggestive adaptation of Boccaccio's ingenious fable of the *Three Rings*. This adaptation loses little, if any, of its graceful impressiveness when read apart from the play. In the following version the story is presented as a continuous whole, and it has been the more easy to preserve this, as the thoughtful fancy is in no way bound up with any action of the drama, but belongs directly to its ethical teaching. A recollection of Shakespeare's introduction of the three caskets in the *Merchant of Venice* suggests not so much comparison as the great difference between the manner in which these serve the purpose of the English dramatist and that in which the three rings are utilised by the German moralist. It would be difficult to detach the episode of the caskets in the Elizabethan play from its context without the significance of the legend being lost. With the *Three Rings* of Lessing, it is, however, different.

Nathan the Wise is not a drama, the chief merit of which lies in action; it is, as Lessing himself intended, a play with an ethical rather than a dramatic purpose. We may then feel justified in seizing upon and rendering separately the most charming and suggestive passage of the work, without any apprehension that we are doing it an injustice. If, however, critics are discerning in their opinion that *Nathan* does not attain to the vividness or transparency of either of Lessing's other plays, *Emilia Galotti* and *Minna von Barnhelm*, it should not be forgotten that, owing to its ethical impulse and purpose, it has put both these pieces into the shade. The eminently practical side of Lessing's mind prevented him from yielding to the mystical significance which, without the aid of Fichte's transcendental philosophy, might have been elaborated from

the parable. As it is, friends of tolerance and enlightened liberal persuasion with regard to religion will hail the lesson of the piece with kindly if not grateful welcome, as meant on Lessing's part, to deal the forces on the opposite side a decisive and final blow. To those fluently inclined it would no doubt afford a suggestive text for a didactic discourse upon what constitutes the true, and noble, and abiding in all creeds; but perhaps Mr. T. W. Rolleston's summary, in his admirable biographical study of Lessing, expresses all that is essential, when he says that the famous parable of the *Three Rings* goes rather to show how well a man may serve God in any religion, than how little he can place his faith in one. The grand significance of the adaptation is, however, lucidly evolved in the closing words of the judge; and a nobler application it would be difficult to suggest.

“ In Eastern clime, 'mid the grey years of old,
There liv'd a man, owning a priceless ring,
By a lov'd hand bestowed. Its opal stone
Was lit with myriad iridescent hues,
And mystically, withal, the charm possess'd
Of rendering him who wore it in this faith
Belov'd of God and man. What wonder, then,
That he who owned the ring ne'er let it pass
From off his finger; and as an heirloom he
Forever to his house secured it thus:
First, he the ring bequeath'd unto the son
Most lov'd by him, and then that it should pass
In the same way to this son's best belov'd;
And that by virtue of the ring alone,
Without regard to birth, the favour'd son
Should always hold the lordship of the house.

“ Thus passed the mystic ring from son to son,
Until at last a father bless'd with three--
Three sons, and all three dutiful alike,
And all three therefore equally belov'd,
As needs must be. Yet still from time to time
To the kind parent first one son appear'd,
Another next, and then, perchance, the third
Worthy the ring—according as alone
With each he found himself, and his heart's love
O'erflowing, of the absent ones ne'er thought.
Thus by his ever-kindly fondness led,
Had he the ring now promised unto each:
So matters stood until his end drew near,
And the good father's mind was sore distress'd
Whene'er he thought how two sons, well-belov'd,
And in his word confiding, must be grieved.
What should he do? A worker in fine gold
He sends for secretly, and bids him make
Forthwith two rings, in shape and size, all ways,
Like to the priceless one as pattern lent,
Nor cost nor trouble spare, so that all three
Be perfectly alike. The artist this
So cunningly effects that when the rings

Close 'neath the father's eyes are lain, ev'n he
Fails to distinguish which his pattern one.
Glad and relieved, he calls to him his sons,
And when alone with each, on each bestows
His blessing and a ring: then passes hence.

"Scarce is the father dead when haste the sons,
Each with his ring, eager to claim as well
The lordship of the house. Then they dispute
And quarrel and complain; in vain th' attempt
To find which the true ring—'til in despair
They fly to law, and each before the judge
Swears solemnly that he received his ring
Straight from his father's hand—as was quite true;
And this had taken place—some while between—
After his father's word he should enjoy
In good time all the blessings of the ring—
As no less true. Their father, each asserts,
Could not have been thus false; and before he
So lov'd a parent can suspect of fraud
Must first his brothers e'en accuse, of whom
'Till now only the noblest thoughts; but yet
Would he the traitor find, and be avenged.

"Then the judge spake: 'Since now ye summon not
Your father here, before this judgment seat,
Sentence I cannot give. Think ye, 'tis mine
Such riddles to unfold? Or yours to wait
'Til the true ring its genuineness assert
By some miraculous speech? But stay—'tis said
That the true ring possesses some rare power
Of rendering him who wears it well-belov'd
Of God and man. That at once should decide!
Say, which of you is best lov'd by his brothers?
Ah! you are silent— is it that your rings
Work only inwardly, and have no might
To manifest their influence outwardly?
Or is it each best loves himself? Ah, then,
You're but deceived deceivers! All your rings
Are counterfeit. Perchance the genuine ring
Was lost, and to conceal, supply this loss
Three had your father made in place o' it.

"And now,' the judge continued, 'should it be
You care not for my counsel in the place
Of any judgment—then, you're free to go!
However, this my counsel: that you take
The matter as it stands—in few words, thus:
Each from his father has received a ring—
Let each believe his ring the genuine one,
For it may be your father could no longer
The tyranny of that one ring endure
Towards his race! And certainly he lov'd
All three of you, and lov'd you all alike, —
So dearly, too, he could not bear the thought
Of grieving two of you, favour'd he one.
Well then, strive each of you to emulate

Your father's tenderly impartial love ;
And also, here each vying with his brothers,
To show his ring's peculiar charm at work ;
And aid its power with gentleness and love,
Wise tolerance, and submissiveness to God.
Then if the wondrous virtues of the gem
Shall in your children's children's children's lives
Still show their beauty : lo ! before this seat,
Although it be a thousand years to come,
I summon you again. Upon it then
A wiser far than I shall sit and judge.
Go now in peace.'"

THOMAS BRADFIELD.

EVENING CONTINUATION SCHOOLS :

HOW TO MAKE THEM SUCCEED.

THE old-fashioned night school is a thing of the past. It has been replaced by the Evening Continuation School. The alteration is not merely nominal. It is a revolution in the spirit of the management, no less than in the methods and subjects of instruction. While acknowledging to the fullest extent the rare enthusiasm and the real love for education that animated the teachers, it must be admitted that the old night schools were little better than duller day schools. This defect was not the fault of the promoters. It was due to the rigid regulations, that permitted only a limited range of subjects—reading, writing, and arithmetic, in accordance with the day school standards, being essential. The scholars were not long in being bored with the wearisome iteration inseparable from a system demanding unbending mechanical accuracy. The principle was wrong. It required unending repetition of old tasks, instead of a continuation of the studies on the foundation of previous acquirements. The old night schools, in fact, supplemented the work of the day schools, and were, indeed, intended by the Education Department to supply the deficiencies resulting from a loose application of the compulsory clauses of the Act ; and the leakage of the scholars who, through the low standards of exemption originally sanctioned, had left school with scarcely a smattering of the rudiments. Thus the system was an admitted confession of the partial failure of the compromise with the popular opinion in many places opposed to the idea of public elementary education. The work was carried on upon rigid lines, and there was no attempt to guide the spontaneous desire for knowledge. No scope was afforded, nor was encouragement offered to instruction in the scientific principles underlying local industries, or to general knowledge beyond the range of the elementary subjects.

With the coming winter hundreds of Evening Continuation Schools will be opened in towns and villages. It will be wise to consider how best to promote the success and usefulness of these institutions, and how best to render them attractive. As it is quite voluntary on the part of the youth of both sexes to attend, the question of attractiveness deserves prime consideration.

The first requisite is a cheerful, warm, well-lighted room. It is useless to expect students, who have been hard at work all day in shop, factory, or field, to sit for two hours in a cold, dimly illuminated, comfortless room. They have already had their full measure of discomfort. They are physically tired, and they look for something pleasant and stimulating. They require a good fire in a cheerful room, and, unless they can have this, no amount of excellent teaching, or kind words, or promises of reward, will induce them to attend. They are not particular as to the height of the thermometer, so long as it is high. They are radiantly happy under a degree of heat that would make an ordinary Briton faint.

Next, the teaching must be attractive, practical, and such as is suited to the needs of the pupils. It may safely be assumed that those who, after a hard day's toil, present themselves of their own free will for instruction, have in view their advancement in life. Education, for them, is not a dilettante theoretical consideration. It is a means to an end, and that end is the form of progress known as getting-on. Young men want something that will help them to gain a better insight into the science and principles of their daily occupation. In the towns mechanical science, drawing, the theory of various manufacturing processes, shorthand, business correspondence, are among the subjects which many will desire to study and to study thoroughly. In the country agricultural science, botany and chemistry, as illustrating the life-history of the cereals and common plants of the farm, will be among the popular subjects. Girls will require to learn something of cutting-out, cookery, domestic economy, and perhaps fancy needlework. Other subjects, of course, will be included in the curriculum of a nature to stimulate a love for good literature, or to impart useful and general knowledge. The new Evening Continuation School Code frankly recognises this need for a practical, yet generous range of subjects. Since it has come into operation, the number of these schools has more than doubled. The continuance of this gratifying improvement, however, will, in a large degree, depend upon the attractiveness of the teaching. The dry-as-dust mechanical method will be fatal.

Instruction must be practical, and, wherever the subject admits, it should be illustrated by experiment. Pedantic, pedagogic, bookish lectures will rapidly empty the benches. The teaching must be live, human, apt, clear, informing, and bright. To sustain the students' interest, and to keep a healthy grip of their goodwill, it is necessary to encourage and develop the social and recreative element in these schools. Excellent work has been effected in this direction by the efforts of the Recreative Evening Schools' Association; but there is still a vast and fertile field for their enterprise. Their work deserves the fullest recognition and the unstinted support of Continuation School committees. Another admirable inducement to secure the

attendance of young people has been adopted by the Evening Schools Committee of the Nottingham School Board, in the way of reading circles, or advanced reading classes. One half the time devoted to this subject is spent in reading the book selected by the class, and the other half in corrections, explanations, and illustrations of the reading done at home or in the class. These classes have proved very popular, though some difficulty has been experienced in inducing the members to purchase the books. The books in use are Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* certain of Shakespeare's plays, Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*, *Oliver Twist*, *The Old Curiosity Shop*, *Cannibal Islands*, Lady Brassey's *Voyages*, *Guy Mannering*, &c. These circles can be made very attractive by combining lantern lecturettes, friendly competitions, and the like, with the literary element.

There is another reason, however, for this improvement, and that is the substitution of intermittent inspection for individual examination. The prospect of being subjected to the inspector's scrutiny had previously exercised a deterrent and damping effect. While the work now being done is not one whit less thorough than in the old schools, yet it is performed under far more satisfactory conditions. The Inspector, who may visit the school at any time without notice, comes as a guide, a counsellor, and a friend. His scrutiny is rigid, but his manner is sympathetic, so that his visit is coming to be looked forward to as a pleasure. In many districts the kindly encouragement of the Inspector has been an important factor in promoting the work. The Stamford (Kesteven) Division of Lincolnshire affords a good illustration of this. Here the movement has been heartily encouraged by Mr. Oliver, H.M. Inspector, and his assistant Mr. Lovett, with the result that whereas before there were not half a dozen night schools in the district, and probably not more than two hundred students, there are now fifty schools established, and these had last year 1212 scholars enrolled on their registers. Other districts, with precisely the same stimulus in the way of supplementary aid from the County Council, but under different inspectors, show a lack of spirit, and the attendance is poor and fluctuating. The local committees and teachers have an idea apparently that the liberty conceded by the Department is not approved by the Inspector, whose faith in the dull old-fashioned system is unshaken. The consequence is that not only has the attendance diminished, but some of the schools have been closed altogether. We would commend these contrasted facts to the consideration of the authorities at Whitehall.

Though we have just cited instances where even the stimulus of a local technical grant supplementing Government aid has, owing to the apathy of the Inspector, failed to galvanise the local committees and teachers into resolute activity, yet, other things being equal, this additional grant from the Technical Committee is indispensable

for the due maintenance of the school. It would be well if every Technical Committee in the country were to recognise the Evening Continuation Schools as part of their work. We would go further, and maintain that every Technical Education Committee that does not organise, as an integral part of its work, a complete system of Evening Continuation Schools, is shirking an essential part of its duty. It is neglecting the foundation. To confine its efforts to the employment of peripatetic lecturers is building from the roof downwards. Able lectures should be the ornamental crown of their work; the intellectual luxuries fitly and pleasantly following the more necessary and substantial educational fare. To secure enduring results they must begin with the young. *Maxima debetur pueris reverentia*. No effort ought to be grudged to promote their welfare. Without Continuation Schools much of the instruction they have received in the elementary schools is thrown away. If we would maintain our commercial supremacy, and encourage the study of the technique of our industries, as well as foster habits of intellectual industry and self-respect—without which even the most zealous workman is little more than an easily impressionable human machine—we must offer every inducement to our young people to attend these schools, and to stimulate them to continued educational and technical effort. An energetic committee, whole-hearted in the cause; a warm, bright room; attractive lessons, combined with tact, consideration, and sympathy on the part of the teacher; generous and general support by the Technical Committee; and a kindly inspector—these will work wonders. It is a happy ideal, that needs but a little trouble on the part of those interested to realise. Let the work be only heartily taken up, the schools widely advertised, and success is almost a foregone conclusion. Generous support and cordial co-operation in promoting the progress of these unpretentious but useful institutions would, without doubt, prove, socially, educationally, and commercially, a splendid investment.

JOSEPH J. DAVIES.

ISLAM AND SOOFEEISM.

THE belief in the Deity, whether crude or refined, seems to have ever been the central doctrine of every religion. Whether Theism had, like all other known ideas and things, an exceedingly humble origin or not, it has been established beyond doubt that the idea of God had attracted the attention of a very large portion of mankind, in the history of man's existence.

The rival claims of *faith* and *reason*, no less on this point than any other, had had their struggle in all times. Hence, every religion worthy of the name, forces us to rise to a sort of bilateral conception of it. One form has the appearance of a cut-and-dry formula to be accepted by those who are content with faith and credence.

But this conception does not attain the summit of the philosophical ideal. The other form, therefore, is necessarily philosophical—a system which tends to get at the bottom of the mysteries of the faith, and reason away its dogmas.

Islam in this respect has not been an exception to the rule. It has its articles of faith as well as its higher philosophy for reasoning them out. The quintessence of religious wisdom is contained in one of the shortest suras or chapters of the Quran. It is 112th in order, and goes by the name of the True Faith—"Say (O Mohammad) verily God is one, the eternal God; He begetteth not, neither is He begotten, and there is no one like unto Him." This is the Alpha and Omega of the Quranic teaching. It offers a belief in a God who is one eternal; the sustainer of everything that is changeable. It further denies the existence of God the Father in the sense that Christians teach saying, "He begetteth not," and has done away with the idea of God the Son, because "neither is He begotten." There is no room left now to believe in God the Holy Ghost, for "there is no one like unto Him." To a Muslim the question of the unity of God is all-important. It is the very fulcrum of his faith on which the lever of his salvation rests. There is no wonder, then, if Muslims in palmy days employed their whole energy in demonstrating this first article of their faith.

It was the Abbaside Caliphs (Almamoon, whose reign extended from 198 to 218 Hegira, being conspicuous amongst them) who inaugurated a new era of light and learning in the history of Islamic civilisation. The treasures of wisdom belonging to ancient Greece

and India were brought to Bagdad, the then centre of the civilised world, and the two streams of the Eastern and Western philosophies found a confluence on the bank of the Tigris. Sciences and arts received Caliphial patronage. The four sons of Moosa Astronomer, after proving the globular form of the earth, found out the distance round the globe. Two parties started in straight lines southward and northward from one point, measuring the elevation of the polar star, till each of them covered the area of one degree; they stopped and measured the two distances from the common starting-point and found them equal. By knowing the length in miles of one degree, the length of the whole circumference of the earth was found to be 24,000 miles. These experiments were made on the plains of Koofa and Sunjer, according to the desire of the Caliph Almamoon. Geometry and mathematics found great favour with him. The fifth proposition of Euclid still bears his name, for he got that figure formed on the arm of his imperial coat as an insignia of his uniform.

At the time when Islamic conquest was extended to India, a theosophic Brahman, Bhojar of Benares (the ancient seat of Brahmic learning), started for the city of Akfoot, to hold philosophic discussions with Kadi Ruknudeen of Samarkand during the reign of the Sultan Ali Mard. After arriving there he changed his mind, commenced to study Arabic, and presented to the Kadi a book called *Ambrat Cand*. The Kadi became eager to know its contents in the original language, and commenced to learn Sanskrit from him. After becoming acquainted with the language, the Kadi translated the book, first into Persian, and then into Arabic. There remained still in the book some points which required further solution. By chance a pupil of Bhojar, called Ambhowanath, happened to travel in Muslim countries. A Muslim Sanskrit scholar read the book with Ambhowanath, made a splendid translation into Arabic, and gave it the name of *The Mirror of Thoughts for the Observation of Mankind*.¹ Thus the Orient and Occident kissed each other in mediæval ages.

When the two opposing currents of Indian and Grecian philosophies collided there ensued a great confusion of thoughts, which created a wide scepticism amongst the erstwhile believers of a simple faith. Experts were not wanting. They came single and in crowds. It was Ghazalee who first launched his lifeboat of Tehafatulfalasefa to rescue the drowning people. But Imam Razee proved to be the real pilot who steered the nation's ship clear off the rock. They were the founders of that celebrated branch of philosophy which is called "Ilme-calam," the philosophy of the Logos. Its object is to prove the existence of God, and demonstrate His attributes consistently with logic and religion.

¹ Shibli's *Treatise on the Educational Methods of the Ancient Muslims*, p. 15.

There was also another class of people who claimed to be the guardians of the secret treasures of wisdom, and to have received spiritual instruction from the Prophet through Ali—"the door of the spiritual knowledge, of which the Prophet was the town." They were called Soofees, either because they had their raiment of (soof) camel's-hair, or because they used to lie down on the soffa—viz., raised ground—being exiled from their native lands in the time of the Prophet, or because of (safā) the enlightenment of their minds. They pondered over the great problems of the universe in solitude. Their hearts long filled with the Divine Idea of the world which lies at the bottom of *appearance*, brooding over it in speechless thought and awe, they burst forth at length into mystic, unfathomable songs, which will ever remain monumental evidences of the great past.

The Soofees, as well as the Mutakallemeen, are agreed on this point, that the source of multiplicity in the universe is but unity—a primordial mind existing from all eternity. They denied point-blank the materialistic theory of the universe which teaches that the ultimate in analysis of things is but lifeless matter devoid of consciousness, and that the protoplasms combining together progress from stage to stage till matter attains life and consciousness, which are its properties, merely accidental and peculiar to a certain stage in its evolution. The Mutakallemeen and Soofees believed in the evolution of mind rather than in the evolution of matter. They defined the universe as the realisation of the thought of God. Here these two schools were in perfect harmony with Plato and the later Alexandrian theosophists who subscribed to the doctrine of Logos. Nay, the very name Mutakallemeen signifies *the believers in the Logos*, for Kalam in Arabic denotes just what Logos does in Greek.

It is our purpose now to deal with the reason why Logos, which is sometimes used to denote thought and other times to denote speech, has been selected to signify the Consciousness of the Absolute—the Divine Wisdom. We have just pointed out that the materialists taught that the combination of protoplasms first developed into lifeless organic compounds and then into complex and complete living creatures in Nature, all out of chaos and by dint of chance. But the Soofees and Mutakallemeen taught that the universe was an ordered whole, united and held together in one coherent structure under the stress of Reason. Here a difficulty stared them in the face. If the Absolute was a real unity, surely it must be devoid of consciousness, or else it was no unity, but multiplicity. These bold spirits met the difficulty manfully, and offered a solution which will occupy our attention in the following pages.

The knowledge of everything that is other than *the thinker in man* is a negative, so to speak, of the known object, impressed on our mental plate through the camera of our senses. This impression is called either thought, idea, or logos, and it can be copied out on

other minds without eradicating its impress from the original plate, simply by exposing it to the articulate sound—speech. The speech, therefore, corresponds to body, and the idea to soul. The idea which resides in the bosom of our mind manifests itself through the words that we utter. Hence the usage of *logos*, sometimes for ideas, sometimes for words. There is, moreover, interdependence in existence between mind, ideas, and words, the words resting on the ideas, and the ideas on the mind, or ego. Nevertheless each of these three has its separate individuality.

But knowledge, when directed towards ego itself, assumes a totally different aspect. There is no impression made ON your mind OF your mind. The very being of your ego is identical with its own consciousness. Here the knower, the known, and the knowledge are one and the same. For you must know your "I" before you say I know this, or I know that. Imagine the Absolute in the place of your ego, and you will find a clue to the solution of the problem of unity in multiplicity, and multiplicity in unity. Transient beings and shifting phenomena are no less manifestation of the eternal thought of the Absolute than the momentary words are of the ideas of our mind. Here the analogy between the microcosm and the macrocosm—man and God—is complete. The lawgiver was not without reason when he paid the compliment to our race, saying: "God created man in His own image."¹ On the other hand, the ego is not less self-evident in its existence than the Absolute in its own, for "I am that I am"² is sufficient proof for both. There is found here also a key to the enigma of Trinity in unity and unity in Trinity, which seems to have been too deep for the Christian theologians to fathom. The Absolute, its consciousness, and this universe as a realisation of the Divine Thought, are one, just as our dying words, their prototypes in our minds, and our ego are one. The author of the Fourth Gospel, drawing upon Plato and the Gnostics, and breaking with the materialists—who were numerous in his time—commences his book, saying: "In the beginning was the *logos* (mind, not matter), and the *logos* was with God (though the Absolute was conscious, yet there existed complete unity). The same was in the beginning with God (the Absolute and its consciousness were co-eternal). All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made. (The whole universe was His manifestation.) In Him was life, and the life was the light of man. (This grand superstructure of the Cosmos is not the result of a mere chance, but it is the work of living intelligence, of which there exists an analogy in man.) The light shineth in darkness, but the darkness comprehended it not; (even beneath these changeable and material objects there is traceable some real immutable subject, but there are few who observe it)."³

¹ Gen. i. 27.² Ex. iii. 14.³ John. i. 1-6.

At this juncture there arose divergence of opinion between the Mutakallemeen and the Soofees. The question was whether the phenomena and the transient beings were a reality or a mere illusion. The Mutakallemeen believed that this universe, with all the changes and decay in it notwithstanding, was a reality ; while the Soofees joined with Gautama Buddha, and boldly declared that the Absolute alone—out of which all things come and to which they return—is, and all else is maya (illusion). The utterances of the Soofees, though mystical and confusing to common intellects, have become the stock-in-trade of Islamic literature. They are associated with gloomy recollections, and their history is stained with blood. It was not the Carpenter of Nazareth only who suffered on the cross for saying, “I am the Son of God,” but Mansoor the cotton-teazer, and many others met the same fate when they said, “I am the truth,” “My garment contains none but Him,” “Holy is my essence and great is my majesty,” “Everything is He,” “Thou art the pot, the potter, and the potter’s clay,” and so on.

As regards good and evil, the Mutakallemeen and the Soofees thought that they were opposite terms when used in an abstract sense, but relative when applied in individual concrete cases. A certain thing may be good to a certain individual, but the same thing may be evil to another individual. But what is good ? That which is useful. What is useful ? That which tends to promote life ; the life being the end and aim, is therefore real good. And all that which tends to destroy life is evil ; death is real evil. But life and death have limited meanings. So, philosophically speaking, existence is good and non-existence is evil. Hence it is true, “Whatever is, is good.”

As regards the doctrine of either transmigration or re-incarnation there is no explicit exposition of it in Soofeeic literature, though one may meet with expressions that give countenance to it. A man of first magnitude amongst them says, “Many a time have I grown like grass ; seven hundred and seventy bodies have I seen.”

The Soofees have three principal doctrines to guide their lives with. *Tasleem*, or submission, is the first letter in the Soofeeic alphabet ; *Sulhulkul*, universal peace and goodwill to all, is the second commandment of their religion ; *Mahabbatulkul*, to love all, is the final but strict injunction to be carried out. In fact, the very essence of their creed is Love.

MOHAMMAD BARAKATULLAH.

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

[Under the above title a limited portion of THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW is occasionally set apart for the reception of able Articles, which, though harmonising with the general spirit and aims of the Review, may contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object of the Editors in introducing this department is to facilitate the expression of opinion by writers of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editors and from each other.]

KING DEMOS.

I.

WHETHER Demos is or is not King of Great Britain and Ireland is probably open to doubt, notwithstanding the assurances of political sycophants who flatter him by appealing to his regal position. We are, however, assured by a recent writer¹ that, of all the infallible signs enumerated by the father of political science, not one is wanting to mark the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland as the kingdom of Demos. Mr. Robinson's article is so able and temperate a statement of present conditions and prospects that we regret he does not more explicitly define what he means by this kingship. Does he mean by it merely sovereignty, that is, the "general will" of Rousseau, or does he include in it the executive and magisterial authority—the principedom? The ambiguity of thought on this point which characterises his paper may, perhaps, be excusable, since a similar indefiniteness pursued even Jean Jacques in some of his reasoning.

Demos has not read Aristotle, and probably would not understand his subtlety of distinctions if he had; but it is flattering to his vanity to be told that a great philosopher with an imposing name wrote learned treatises about him 1900 years ago. We question whether Aristotle ever had any conception of democracy as we understand it in these days, or could ever divest his ideas of the environment of domestic slavery in which he lived. His works were written for the perusal of Greeks, a race described by a recent writer as superior to the average Englishman of to-day, and the personal liberty, arith-

¹ Mr. William Hammond Robinson, on "The Opportunity of Democracy," in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW of August 1895.

metrical equality, and blurring of departmental lines must be understood as they would be interpreted by those Greeks; and they would hardly understand personal liberty to apply to slaves, or arithmetical equality to comprise their enfranchisement. The infallible signs by which we are to distinguish the kingdom of Demos may, indeed, be seen in England, but they are under very different conditions to any anticipated by Aristotle or his scholars; and could he have foreseen and comprehended the present age, he would surely have coined another term for the democracy which gives equality to all the inhabitants of the land without providing slaves to till it, or helots to supply the equal citizens' wants. There is always danger of misleading the average citizen by quoting old authors writing under conditions so different to our own, more especially when their sayings may be construed to flatter his prejudices, and it would have been well to place alongside of Aristotle's hypothetic democracy the actual one of Agoracritus: "In the first place, whenever any one said in the assembly 'Demos, I am your lover, and I love you, and care for you, and alone provide for you'; whenever any one used these preambles, you used to clap your wings and crow, and hold your head high; and then, in return for this, he cheated you, and went off." We are inclined to think this avaricious craving after flattery and imbecile liability to delusion is more truly an "infallible sign" of Demos than the liberty, equality, and administrative disorder of Aristotle, and we are confirmed in this opinion by the attitude of astute present-day politicians, who, like the Paphlagonian and sausage-seller of old, implore him to wipe his dirty fingers on their shock heads when they seek his votes. Nor are these signs of democracy without importance in determining the question of his kingship, whether that kingship be merely legislative power, or both legislative supremacy and administrative control. James I. was accorded the regal title and dignity by law, but the real supremacy rested on "dear Steenie," who, in any sense in which Mr. Robinson uses the term, was more truly sovereign of England than its nominal one. The mayors of the palace in France, the rajahs, nabobs, and nizams in India, are examples which every reader will recall of real power divorced from nominal authority, and of ostentatious deference and ceremony, which is flattery, without semblance of obedience.

We are quite prepared to admit the growth of licence among women—the playwrights of to-day eagerly use it for their most striking dramas, and novelists employ it to picture their higher morality; but such licence, and greater, was characteristic of the Restoration, and no one will claim that as a democratic age. The poems of Ovid and the epistles of Saint Paul tell us of equal or greater licence, just a generation after democracy had been crushed, and when a military satrap reigned supreme. Licence is the out-

come rather of animal desires and social habits than of political efforts and aspirations ; and the "new woman" of to-day is more the product of the lawn-tennis ground and stout boots than of the platform orator or women's rights advocate. Free exercise, healthier clothing, and propinquity to men in their sports have developed physically stronger women, from whom we have removed Puritanical restraint, and they have not yet sufficiently established other habits of self-control by which to govern their newly found strength. That this conclusion is reasonable we may infer from an examination of the various classes of society, for we shall then find that licence has not increased among the working-class population, among the women whose physical strength has always been developed by hard work, but in those women chiefly who have obtained the racket and the bicycle in exchange for the backboard and stays under which their mothers groaned.

In dealing with the freedom of children from control we again notice a singular ambiguity of expression. Mr. Matthew Arnold speaks of the lower middle-class children being in 1852 without habits of respect, exact obedience, and self-control, and we can readily understand what kind of urchins, and of what parentage he speaks ; but we are utterly unable to comprehend what persons are comprised in Mr. Robinson's "upper middle-classes," of whom it is equally characteristic owing to their mutual intercourse under the shadow of Board school walls. The children of professional men, of clergymen, military and naval officers, doctors, and lawyers, do not generally attend Board schools, even of the higher grade, nor have our merchants, engineers, ship-owners yet removed their sons from Harrow and Eton to place them at County Council or Municipal schools. Even the larger shopkeepers, who would not be classed by Matthew Arnold as of the "upper middle," prefer to send their children to decent grammar or high schools than entrust them to the tender mercies of certificated elementary teachers. Nor must we imagine our present educational system to be an establishment beloved of Demos, although he tolerates it now that the cost has been skilfully disguised under a happy confusion of precepts on rates and grants from the Imperial Exchequer. When Board schools were first founded the difficulty in obtaining the attendance of the children, notwithstanding the compulsory clause and an army of attendance officers, was so great that inspectors, Boards, and school-masters continued to implore the legislative Jove for some relief, until they obtained the boon of free education. Even with this free luxury placed within reach of his children, Demos has no assured conviction of its utility, and considers any household message or domestic drudgery of greater importance than regular attendance at school. Learned professors and far-seeing politicians appreciate the value of education, both to the individual man and to the society of

which he forms a member ; but by Demos it is merely tolerated as an overlauded ordeal through which his children have to pass, and which is not worthy the trouble of opposition because, as he fondly imagines, it costs him nothing.

The most forcible and instructive example we have recently had of the blurring of the lines of demarcation between the Judicial and Executive Departments is the Bankruptcy Act, 1883, 46 & 47 Vict. c. 52. This, however, cannot be deemed a legislative act of King Demos, nor a response to any demand from him. For if Demos has any entity it consists in the absolute voice of the majority ; Aristotle says the State is not a unity, but is essentially a manifold of smaller communities and individuals, from which we may conclude that the father of political science would not regard the demand of any section of the community as the demand of the State, but only as that of one of its component parts. Now, Demos cannot see that he has any direct interest in the stability of manufacturers or traders, or that the insolvency of capitalists involves a diminution of the wage fund. An appreciation of such results would require some acquaintance with the dismal science, and this acquaintance would involve considerable mental effort and sacrifice of flattering preconceptions. But traders and merchants (a section of the manifold), who had groaned under the extortions of Bankruptcy trustees, urgently demanded some amendment of the Bankruptcy laws. They were not Demos, but only a portion of Demos, and appealed to his representatives for relief. The amendment of this particular abuse seemed to be one of the duties of the Board of Trade, whose President was then an unusually powerful and energetic statesman, strongly inclined to the extension of State official control over all the various modes of commercial life. The secret history of the Bill may perhaps never be written, but we know that when presented to Parliament it embodied that statesman's predilection for State control, and the natural desire of the permanent officials of his department for the extension of their sphere of influence and employment. Demos certainly did not demand it ; the commercial classes did not ask for it in the shape it was presented to them, nor they knew not exactly what they wanted, although they were aware of the evils under which they suffered ; and the delegates of Demos passed it because they were bidden to do so by a powerful Minister, fortified by statistics prepared by the very officials who benefited by the passing of the Bill into law.

Overlapping there certainly is, and a most unfortunate blurring of the lines ; but the overlapping is not that of Demos, nor is the interference of the Executive with the action of the Judicature the result of any act or initiation of his.

II.

Is Demos king? Has he entered upon a sovereignty, "unalienable, indivisible, and unerring"? We can readily believe that he will lay "sacrilegious hand upon the ark of the Constitution," but he must prove his kingship by something more than mere destruction; he must build a grander temple than the ark he would destroy; he must replace the representatives who have befooled him by legislators who will discover and legalise his unerring will. Mere alteration of the procedure of the House of Commons, mere abolition of the privileges of the House of Lords, will not suffice, unless he proceeds to the construction of a method of delegation which will ensure the laws being a reflex of his will, and of his will alone. Of course we are assuming that Demos has a "general will," an extremely problematical assumption, with which we must, for the present, be content. Our modern political philosophers pay more attention to destruction of present institutions, or their modification to meet party requirements, than to instructing their *clientèle* in the objects and purposes of State association. The reason for this is obvious, though it is derogatory to Demos. It is as true to-day as in 1825 that "the multitude is more easily interested for the most unnecessary badge, or the most insignificant name, than for the most important principle." It is this which makes party catchwords so valuable—Abolition of the House of Lords, Local Veto, One Man one Vote, Home Rule, and Disestablishment are not understood by the colliers and bricklayers and labourers, the "horny-handed sons of toil," who decide our polls; but they are easily remembered words, and convenient for maundering repetition over pots of small beer.

Let us follow this second section of Mr. Robinson's paper, and see if we can find in the programme he sketches any indication of achieved monarchy. We have already pointed out that the present system of national education, whether we consider it good, bad, or indifferent, is not the work of Demos at all, but of learned professors, politicians, scientists, and schoolmasters, who, more far-seeing than he, desired to open to the coming generation the garnered stores of past ages: Demos merely tolerates it, and in some of his moods the toleration is not very kindly. Nor can we wonder at this, when we consider his constitution. Swayed as he is by mere numbers ("Arithmetical equality is Aristotle's second criterion"), his mental capacity must always be that of his lower members, of those who are uneducated, emotional, or brutish. Progressive education can therefore be no initiation of his own, though he may accept it on the recommendation of fluent orators and interested placemen, so long as it can be disguised under enforced contributions from the rich. That education will, for a considerable period, advance, both

in method and breadth of culture, and that it will more and more fall into the hands of the State, we do not for a moment venture to doubt; the National Society of Teachers, the clerks of the Education Department, and the secretaries, messengers, and other barnacles thereof, the science and art officials and teachers, and all the clerks to School Boards, attendance officers, and caretakers are interested in the preservation and extension of the present system, and will use their utmost efforts for its success, but the efforts will be those of more or less permanent officials, and not of Demos, and the success will be theirs, not his, though he may finally adopt it. There is no kingship in this: it is merely a variation of the mayor of the palace rule, and though Demos may be strong enough to break his bonds by destroying them, he is not able to replace his educational masters by educational servants; his own ignorance prevents him. The petition to bring the children under discipline, and train them in habits of obedience, of temperance, and of restraint, should therefore be addressed to the officials, who at present are masters of the situation, and not to Demos, who is powerless to direct or amend it. It is undoubtedly time the Act of 1870 was revised, and many of the most earnest thinkers in the country are hoping to see this revision so taken in hand that equal justice may be done to other methods of education than that of the State; but the hope will probably prove futile, and the army of Whitehall inspectors and clerks, and School Board chairmen and scribes, which will be summoned as witnesses, will convince the delegates of Demos that nothing can so well suit his condition as an extension of the present method, and further restriction of all competing efforts. We already have technical schools instructing boys to become mechanics without soiling their hands, and girls to be dress-makers without pricking their fingers, which probably are most desirable consummations; but where is Demos to find the helots to do the work?

However, this question of placing the children under discipline, and training their thoughts and habits, involves an issue which, in the near future, will be pressed forward for decision with as much pertinacity as "women's rights" are now, and which Draconic restrictions of juvenile smoking and reading will the more speedily bring into the region of practical politics. The age of twenty-one years for attainment of majority is merely a survival from mediæval times, when the period of infancy was arbitrarily fixed with a view to the interest of the guardian, who ruled and enjoyed the estate, rather than that of the ward, who inherited it. Although much can be said in favour of this period of probation, we can imagine that a future tribune of the infants will readily induce his fellows to believe that their tutelage and debarment from full political and social rights and privileges are offences against that spirit

of equality which is the root of all democracy. Liberty is not a privilege, but a right, according to the creed of Demos; equality of opportunity the inalienable due of every human being: why should the liberty of the child be curtailed, and his opportunity be deferred, that his elders may have the greater enjoyment? Assuredly the care of the children is a serious charge for Demos, and the care will not be lightened when they employ their quickened brains to examine their political and social condition and environment. It is doubtless good to prevent mere boys from frequenting the haunts of the strange woman, but the boys in their lust after equality of speech and criticism may reply that the prohibition is equally valuable to men, since "*none* that go unto her return again." The children's curfew, and the children's censor, may be very useful, but their coming advocate will easily show reason for the extension of the bell and scissors into the lives of older men. The revolt of the daughters is in progress, and it will extend to the sons, and also to younger daughters, but it will be no more democratic than is the rule and censorship of Demos *père*: it will be revolt under the direction of juvenile leaders and demagogues, the future officials and politicians of their age.

The undermining of respect for authority has, we are told, been "accelerated by the exclusion from the sphere of influence of the parish priest or other minister of religion, of two-fifths of the children who are being educated under the Act of 1870," and it follows as a corollary that "before all things it is necessary that Demos bind up the wounds that have been dealt in the Civil war between Church and Dissent." Now, before Demos will undertake this duty it will be necessary to convince him that it is desirable to have any religious observances or teaching, and his conviction seems at present tending in the contrary direction. The late Dr. Pearson, who was a keen observer, says: "If the churches lose their hold upon society, as they seem to be doing in certain directions, because the State has appropriated many of their functions and is discharging them better, the change will be very momentous." The danger of the Established Church is not the war with Dissent, but one by which Dissenting Churches are equally threatened, the growing Agnosticism or hostility of the educated classes, and indifference of the uneducated masses. The clergy have let the world slip out of their hands by ignoring their proper mission, and flattering their congregations by fulsome prophecies of the future of humanity. The new style is not so well suited to their pulpits, or their education, as the thunders of Sinai; and Socialist leaders, and Hyde Park orators appeal more effectively to the mob when bidding them take that which is their right, than reverend pastors can in preaching patient hope of a material millennium. They have thrown away their most powerful weapon in exchanging the majestic warn-

ings of the Deity for appeals to the appetites of mankind: "Only the sense of obligation, of duty to God, of living forward into Eternity, has disappeared. When all is said, the man who orders his life as if it were to end with the grave, or as if his thoughts and works here would not follow him beyond the grave, can hardly fail to live more in the present than in the future. He can have wider perceptions, and sympathies, and enjoyments than the Puritan, but he will have less restraint and will. He will clutch with a fierce avidity at power or wealth, or at the pleasures which are purchased by the possession of power or wealth." The clergy of all denominations have ceased to preach righteousness and repentance; they speak smooth words to their hearers, and Demos in return laughs them to scorn. Until they can convince him of the truth and infinite significance of a future life, it will be little use for them to cease their internecine quarrels, or hope for his help in binding up their mutual wounds.

The continuance of the Established Church and of other religious denominations undoubtedly depends ultimately on the decision of Demos, for his destructive power, when he chooses to exert it, is as irresistible as the stampede of a herd of bison, or the charge of a hunted rogue elephant; but we must not misunderstand his power nor imagine that it will be exercised on his own initiative. In these, as in Athenian days, Cleon and Agoracritus are out-bidding each other for his favour, and though he may have little gratitude for past services he has a keen appreciation of future promises. By these promises he is deluded into believing that the notions of his stewards are his own notions, that their desires are his desires, and that the prospect they hold forth to him is rightfully his. They still steal the hares' flesh from each other, and Demos complacently awards the thanks to him who serves it up. Thus unwittingly he is the servant of his own stewards, of the representatives, the under secretaries, the commissioners, and permanent officials, who profess to obey him. He has no mind of his own, no "general will," but only the will and mind of his master for the moment predominant. Truly does Rousseau say, "If there were a nation of gods it would be governed democratically. So perfect a government is unsuited to men."

III

Has Demos an opportunity? We have seen that the father of modern democracy declares such a form of government unsuited to men, and we have also seen that much of the vaunted march of democracy is the extension of officialism and State control. Demos has not obtained his opportunity unless he is king, and he has not yet entered upon his inheritance unless he has made a riddance of

his masters. To exchange the baron for the under-secretary and chief commissioner, or the earl for the postmaster-general or County Councillor is merely the exchange of the sausage-seller for the tanner over again. Mr. Robinson tells us that "three strong checks upon the power of the sovereign already exist, and they will not cease to operate, because Demos has the sovereign power;" but, unfortunately, in stating these checks he fails to grasp their altered conditions under a democracy. The first of these is the system of local government; but a very little consideration will show us that this must disappear under the altered conditions. If the "general will" is supreme, then to say that it will be controlled and limited by a local will is to say that it will not be supreme; and it is absurd to argue that a thing is and is not at the same moment. The second check is the permanent official system, which, though the examples given refer to the central executive, also extends its power over the local authorities, and even has its type in the wire-pullers who control the selection of our Town and County Councillors and Parliamentary representatives. The third and most effectual restraint is said to be the official opposition, "whose task will be to keep watch and ward over Demos." Mr. Robinson has carefully studied the history of the official opposition, and ably described its rise and duties in a former paper in the *WESTMINSTER REVIEW*,¹ but he now fails to grasp its altered position in the kingdom he anticipates. In its inception, and generally throughout its progress, it was the champion of Demos in the battle he waged against the king, the nobles, and the executive; now it is to be his opponent, and to carry the opposition so far as to control his actions. But Demos occasionally has Berserk fits, and when they come upon him he is irresistible in his destructiveness. We are warned that he will lay sacrilegious hands on the ark of the Constitution; but if he tears that down, if he finds out his ability to sweep away the restraints sanctified by religion, by custom, and the history of glorious ages, is he likely to permit heavier burdens to be newly imposed upon him? Probably he may do so when the Berserk fit has passed, and his flatterers once more gain his ear; for Demos is easily persuaded to follow those who assure him they have no higher political aim than a mandate from him, nor seek higher political guidance than the knowledge of his will; but in so doing he will once again show his want of sovereign power and ability.

Yet Demos has an opportunity, and a great one, though it is not such as has been promised him. His chief and first opportunity is to learn his own deficiencies; to ascertain how little he really can do, and how continuously his masters keep him under servitude. His ministers, representatives, and civil and military servants combine to restrain his liberty under profession of extending it, and only

¹ April 1893.

permit him to select which of them shall be master for the time being. And it is ever thus. Demos had a violent Berserk fit at the first French Revolution, yet to this day he is in bureaucratic bondage in France. His ignorance prevents him from being progressive or constructive, and he must ascertain the extent and character of this ignorance. Until he knows more than the dry bones of history and science ; until he rises beyond mere dates, and names, and succession of strata, human, biological, and geological, he will be unable properly to choose his leaders or wisely to select his masters. The passage through the Valley of Humiliation is the most trying of all ordeals, as poor Christian found in his pilgrimage, but it is needful for those who would reach the glorious Land of Beulah. Even the latest admirer of Demos recommends to him humility when he bids him "ponder the Scriptural injunction to beware when all men speak well of you," though we are at a loss to conceive what good the pondering can do him until he is convinced of the authority of Scripture.

His greatest opportunity, however, is one for which his destructiveness eminently qualifies him, although to embrace it will be a reversal of his attitude during the last twenty years. We refer to his opportunity of delivering himself from thralldom to those who profess to speak in his name, and of abolishing the professional and class distinctions which, under guise of educational proficiency, are springing up around him. Not only are the older professions and State service generally closed against his children unless they enter upon them in their early youth, but medicine compounders, pipelayers, tooth-drawers, scientific bookkeepers, and a host of others have either fenced themselves round with restrictive charters and legislation, or are seeking to do so. Every professional trade union which seeks to limit the number of its members and provide them with advantageous or exclusive opportunities is an offence against the equality which Demos demands. Will he sweep them away ? We fear not ; for though he has the power of annihilation he seldom uses it wisely.

We have endeavoured to follow Mr. Robinson's example of judicial equity, and feel that we have failed. The subject is too tremendous for exact impartiality, and whoever studies it must be influenced by temperament and preconceived ideas. But the touch of partisanship will be useful if it impresses more forcibly on Demos the lessons it is so needful for him to learn, and opens his understanding to the selfish character of his parasites' flattery. We are, at least, honestly his admirers, though we see his follies, and sincere enough to expound them, though we shall receive contumely for doing so.

FRANCIS G. BURTON.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

SCIENCE.

OF all the sciences which have fascinated the human intellect, astronomy was probably the earliest, and will no doubt afford abundant mental exercise so long as man exists. Until the last century, astronomers were content to observe the heavenly bodies as they are, or to investigate the laws which govern their movements. Of late years, however, there has been a growing tendency to speculate, not only upon the origin of all solid matter and its distribution through space, but also upon the probable future of the planetary bodies, especially of our earth. An interesting contribution to the former subject from the pen of Mr. W. F. Stanley has just reached us.¹ Although in the main following the Laplace nebular theory, the author introduces several important modifications. Starting with an original, highly attenuated form of gaseous matter termed *pneuma*, the condensation was supposed to have taken place in the first instance by radiation of heat, the result being visible nebula. Of course we are met in this as in other systems of the genesis of worlds, by the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of forming any conception of unlimited space, nor does it appear clear to us how heat could radiate without some material substance, however attenuated, to serve as a medium. The *pneuma*, on its contraction, formed *pneumites*, themselves much smaller than the chemical atoms, and presumably corresponding to the "protyle" of Crookes. The *pneuma* is supposed to have been in a highly heated state; but we think the bulk of the evidence is in favour of, at any rate, a moderate degree of heat and a subsequent further heating by contraction. Another assumption which is difficult to accept is that the action of gravitation is unlimited in space. The first solid products of condensation are supposed to have been smooth, bright, metallic or vitreous spheres. Judging from the structure of meteorites, these first aggregations of solid matter may be supposed to have assumed a crystalline form; besides, a vitreous state would have necessitated the presence of several oxides, which would hardly have been the case at that stage. With regard to the centre of the earth, Mr. Stanley inclines to the opinion that it is

¹ *Notes on the Nebular Theory in Relation to Stellar, Solar, Planetary, Cometary, and Geological Phenomena*, by W. F. Stanley. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. 1895.

largely composed of nickeliferous iron in a stiff, plastic state, the heat not being sufficient to fuse it. In view of the facility with which even pure nickel can be fused in the electric furnace it seems somewhat hazardous to assume that so enormous a mass should be precisely within those narrow limits of temperature in which it assumes a plastic state. There is no necessity to suppose that metallic veins have been caused by the evaporation of metals from the heated interior. That interior cannot have condensed in a state of absolute purity, and a portion of it must have remained disseminated throughout the oxidised crust. The subsequent segregation of the metals thus dispersed would more than suffice to form any metallic or rather mineral veins with which we are acquainted. Even so heavy a metal as gold is very widely distributed, being present in solution in all sea-water. In fact, a sanguine inventor has recently patented a method of extracting it from the waters of the ocean.

It is frequently assumed by writers on the early history of our globe, and Mr. Stanley adopts the same view, that there was an "enormous nebulous atmospheric pressure" upon the original consolidated nucleus. But weight is simply the attraction of two bodies to each other, and one of these, the earth, was at that period smaller in proportion as its atmosphere was greater in bulk. The attraction of our present globe cannot, therefore, be taken as a standard for those far-off, misty times. Mr. Stanley does not commit himself to any definite statement as to the probable duration of life on the surface of our globe; but he draws a gloomy picture of the sun shrunk to a dull red disc and the last individual of the latest evolved form of humanity dying of hunger at the bottom of some fissure in what is now the deepest bed of the Pacific. But is it necessary to assume that the earth is so entirely dependent upon the sun for its heat? We would suggest as a possible and perhaps more cheerful alternative that the tidal friction of a liquid nucleus against the solid crust may be productive of much of the heat which undoubtedly exists within the earth. This subterranean heat will be tapped and utilised long ere the heat of the sun has sensibly diminished. With regard to the starvation theory, we are even now within measurable distance of the production of food direct from the elements, and when man has learnt to apply the principle of evolution to himself it is quite possible that a future race may be able to subsist on food very different from that which we have become accustomed to consider necessary. On the whole, Mr. Stanley's work contains many original theories, and although we cannot agree with all of them, yet some, no doubt, will contribute materially to our knowledge of the universe.

Enormous as is the amount of Darwinian literature now existing, there seems little diminution of the flow. The great majority of

writers accept Darwin's principles in the main ; but we have now an author who, under the curious title of *Nature versus Natural Selection*,¹ emphatically denies the theory first laid down in the *Origin of Species*. The book is a large one ; but, like many geological formations, it is mainly composed of pre-existing materials. That a controversial work of this kind should abound in quotations is perhaps inevitable ; but are we to regard writers such as Shakespeare, Molière, Wordsworth, Cowper, Tennyson, and Browning as authorities on "natural selection" ? Had the argument been condensed into one-fourth the space it would have gained much in lucidity. Mr. Coe's belief is, we understand, that organic evolution took place without natural selection, and in confirmation of this belief numerous quotations are adduced, some of which, however, do not quite bear the meaning which the author appears to attach to them. Because, in the struggle for existence, a few of the best and fittest individuals may succumb in company with their weaker comrades, this is surely no justification for denying the existence of the general law of the survival of the fittest, or for assigning to "blindfold death" the chief rôle as selecting agent. It would be as rational to deny that the tide was rising because an individual wave might attain a less height than most of its predecessors. Although Mr. Coe has shown marvellous industry in collecting extracts from various authors which bear upon his subject, yet we think something more than a mere collection of quotations will be required to reverse the verdict of such laborious workers as Darwin and Huxley.

Of a very different type is the next book which we have received. Although thoroughly familiar with the work of other observers in that department of botany which he has made peculiarly his own, Mr. Henslow does not quote from their works without adding numerous observations of his own which throw much light upon the somewhat obscure causes that influence the growth of plants. Many of these observations are of great practical importance ; they indicate a remarkable amount of plasticity and adaptive power in plants, and show the way for agriculturists to improve the species now under cultivation, or to develop new varieties from wild species. How an annual may be converted into a biennial or even a perennial is fully described, and the origin of many of our cultivated vegetables explained. The carrot, for instance, in its wild state is an annual with a very slender root, but this was converted into a biennial with a large fleshy root in four generations of cultivation. Three distinct types of parsnips were evolved from wild seed in three years, and one of these varieties is now in use for commercial purposes.

¹ *Nature versus Natural Selection: An Essay on Organic Evolution.* By C. C. Coe. London : Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. 1895.

² *The Origin of Plant Structures by Self Adaption to the Environment*. By the Rev. G. Henslow. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. 1895.

Upon the origin of the structural peculiarities of Alpine, Arctic, and desert plants Mr. Henslow gives much information, while roots, climbing stems, and the structure of leaves are discussed at length. Most lovers of plants will read Mr. Henslow's book with interest.

How many of the thousands of annual visitors to our coasts give more than a passing thought to the lovely flora of the ocean, the seaweeds? Some piece of exceptionally brilliant hue may for the moment attract attention ; but few indeed are those who make the collection and preservation of seaweeds a study. It will surprise many to learn, as we are informed by Mr. Murray,¹ that some species of seaweed far exceed in linear dimensions any terrestrial vegetable product. *Wellingtonia gigantea* is but a pigmy compared with *macrocystis*, and few forests represent such a mass of vegetation as the Sargasso sea, with its impenetrable accumulations of marine plants. Probably one of the reasons why there are so few collectors of seaweeds is the difficulty of preserving them ; and Mr. Murray might with advantage have devoted more than two pages to this subject. The methods described would hardly suffice for the preservation of specimens of such varieties as *laminaria*, for instance. Although the work claims to be only an introduction to the study of seaweeds, some of the species are described in considerable detail, and the numerous illustrations are of great assistance in the work of identification.

We are reminded of the rapid progress made by science within the last quarter of a century by the publication of a new edition of Sir John Herschel's *Popular Lectures on Scientific Subjects*.² At the time they were delivered these Lectures were undoubtedly up to date and presented, in a peculiarly lucid and popular form, the then state of science on a variety of subjects. In 1861, for instance, spectrum analysis, as applied to the heavenly bodies, was referred to as a possibility ; now it is not only an accomplished fact, but the analysis of the gases contained in the sun has led to the discovery of one of them, helium, upon the earth. In meteorology, again, enormous strides have been made since Sir John Herschel delivered his lecture on the weather in 1863. The forecasts of our own Meteorological Office are, it is true, not invariably correct, nor would it be reasonable to expect absolute accuracy in view of our isolated, insular position ; but in several continental countries great precision is the rule rather than the exception. With more numerous observatories at high altitudes we shall, no doubt, learn even more about the weather than we know at present. Some of the lectures, such as that on light, are practically popular treatises on the particular subject to which

¹ *An Introduction to the Study of Seaweeds*. By G. Murray. London : Macmillan and Co. 1895.

² *Popular Lectures on Scientific Subjects*. By Sir John F. W. Herschel, Bart. London : W. H. Allen & Co. Ltd. 1895.

- they refer, and can be read with advantage even by advanced students; but they would have gained greatly by the addition of an appendix, referring briefly to the progress made since the lectures were delivered.

PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

*The History of Modern Philosophy*¹ by Professor Falckenberg of Erlangen is a fairly successful attempt to supply a want that is often felt by students. The author's aim was to supply a text book on the subject more thorough than the sketches of Schwegler, and which should stand somewhere between the detailed work of Windelband, and what the author describes as the rather dry outline of Ueberweg. Apart from the correctness or otherwise of this comparison, of which Professors will be better judges than students, we can say that the author has succeeded in his design so far as to give a readable, though necessarily compressed, history of modern philosophy. His aim, which was purely didactic, has not required the introduction of much original criticism, which, in a measure, detracts from the value of the book; for the student of philosophy needs something besides information, however well arranged; the training of the exercise of his judgment is of far greater importance, and the historical review would be more useful if supplemented by judicious criticism. The first chapter of the work describes the period of transition, from Nicolas of Cusa to Descartes; the substance of the book which follows is in two parts—from Descartes to Kant; and from Kant to the present time. If there is any further complaint to make it is that in this last section of over three hundred pages less than forty are devoted to philosophy out of Germany, and these few pages include all the author has to say about Comte, J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer, and T. H. Green.

Mr. Hiram M. Stanley in his preface to his *Studies in the Evolutionary Psychology of Feeling*,² confesses that the work is not a treatise on the subject, but merely a series of studies, and "rather tentative ones at that." This somewhat flippant appreciation of his own work prepares us to expect a certain superficiality in his treatment of the subject, and we are not disappointed. As far as we can gather, the author's theory is, though he says he has no theory to defend, that all emotions have their origin in preservative,

¹ *History of Modern Philosophy from Nicolas of Cusa to the Present Time.* By Richard Falckenberg. Translated by A. C. Armstrong. London: George Bell & Sons. 1895.

² *Studies in the Evolutionary Psychology of Feeling.* By Hiram M. Stanley. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1895.

protective, or defensive needs; that consciousness first arises from the struggle and effort to escape from blind, formless pain; "that pleasure is excluded from playing any rôle in absolutely primitive consciousness." Notwithstanding this definite assertion, a few pages further on, in replying to a criticism of Mr. H. R. Marshall, Mr. Stanley says that he lays no great emphasis on either pain or pleasure being the first fact of consciousness. It appears as if he was not prepared to defend his own theory. We have also the apparently irreconcilable statements that "the pleasurable act is frequently the most disadvantageous to the interests of the organism, and the most advantageous—progressive effortful volition—is invariably most painful." How does this agree with the statement on the very next page that "the general law that pleasure denotes favouring organic conditions; pain, unfavourable, may be assumed?" We are surprised to find our author including "surprise, disappointment, and novelty" among the emotions. These are facts of consciousness which produce emotions, but are not emotions in themselves. Take the last, "novelty." The sense of novelty is often painful, but to some minds just as often pleasurable. Dull people dislike novelty, while excitable people go in search of it. But that which is capable of producing two diverse emotions cannot itself properly be classed among the emotions. So with familiarity, it may induce a state of pleasurable repose or of painful weariness.

An instance of what appears to us to be carelessness in writing, or an oversight, occurs in the concluding paragraph of these studies: "Must we not suppose that feeling and emotion is destined to be an evanescent form in the evolution of mind?" The insertion of the negative would lead us to infer that the author had arrived at the conclusion implied in the question; but the case, as we learn a few sentences further on, is exactly the reverse; and, if feeling and emotion are distinct things (which, of course, they are not), why is the verb which follows in the singular? The conclusion we have come to is that Mr. Stanley has not yet fully qualified himself for the task he has undertaken. We may also call attention to the fact that something appears to have gone wrong with the indexing or paging of this book; at least half a dozen subjects that we have looked up from the index are not to be found referred to upon the page given—in several cases the error is one of four pages, which looks as though the paging of the book had been altered after the index was in type.

There is always an advantage in looking at a familiar subject from a new point of view, and this is one recommendation of Dr. Giles's *Moral Pathology*.¹ Looking upon what theologians call "sin" as a moral disorder, it becomes somewhat less difficult to trace

¹ *Moral Pathology*. By Arthur E. Giles, M.D., B.Sc. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1895.

some forms of it, at least, to their cause, to identify the conditions which are favourable to them, and thus find a way to a method of treatment which may lead to a cure. This is the purpose of Mr. Giles's work, and, if it is not exhaustive, it is very suggestive. One useful suggestion, among others, is that general preaching against moral disorders is ineffective, and that each "case" needs to be taken separately, and treated sympathetically. Much more good is likely to result by saying to a delinquent, "I am sorry for you," than "You are very wicked," or using any condemnatory formula. The author has hit upon a good subject, and has treated it with much ability.

Dr. Watson does not appear to us to be a very powerful antagonist of *Hedonistic Theories*,¹ and his expositions leave something to be desired. The most important part of the book is very properly devoted to Herbert Spencer as the philosopher who has attempted to find a scientific basis of ethics. Whether it is fair to class Mr. Spencer with the Hedonists is another question. An Hedonist is generally regarded as an egoist pure and simple; but Mr. Spencer has clearly demonstrated that altruism is an essential factor in scientific morality. There is a sense in which it still seems to us true, in spite of Dr. Watson, that pleasure is the end of life. Of what value is life in itself apart from the satisfaction that it brings? Whether we call the end completeness, well-being, or anything else, the result is much the same, though the meaning of the terms is now extended, and we realise that they must embrace not only the individual but society and, in the end, all humanity. Even if the end, as the old theologians used to say, is "to glorify God," what does this mean but to attain to the most complete satisfaction imaginable? Immediate personal pleasure is not the end, but a universal well-being, in which the satisfaction of the individual is permanently secured.

The principal essay in Mr. Whittaker's² book is a critical one on the philosophy of history; nearly all the other papers are in the nature of reviews, most of which have appeared in *Mind*. Some of them are very short, but all afford interesting reading. A striking paper on the psychology of stimulants is relegated to the Appendix. The essay on the philosophy of history, though slight, is an interesting one, and the progress from the "intolerant uniformity" of the Mediaeval Church to modern intellectual freedom is very clearly traced. We are reminded how the severance of Catholic unity and the struggles of religious sects have contributed to the attainment of political freedom.

There appears no special reason for the title Dr. Bateson Wright

¹ *Hedonistic Theories*. From Aristippus to Spencer. By John Watson, LL.D. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1895.

² *Essays, Notes, Philosophical and Psychological*. By Thomas Whittaker, B.A. (Oxon). London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1895.

has chosen for his book, *Was Israel ever in Egypt?*¹ as little space is devoted to this particular question. The scope of the work is much wider, for the author collects into a focus much of the results of modern criticism and archæology, &c., on the Old Testament, especially the Pentateuch. Dr. Wright puts no restraint upon his pen, but boldly sets forth the fullest arguments and evidences against the authenticity and veracity of the Hebrew writings, that is as they are commonly understood; but not, of course, in any spirit of antagonism to religion. Dr. Wright among other things brings out the curious habit of the Hebrew writers for making a mere play upon words the foundation for many of their stories, and the perversion of language is shown to be responsible for much that purports to be history. The book displays not only sound learning and critical insight, but a freedom from theological bias which is almost unique amongst doctors of divinity. We give it a most cordial welcome.

*An Introduction to the Articles of the Church of England*² contains a brief but trustworthy account of the way in which the 39 Articles took their present form, and shows the variations through which they passed before they reached their final shape. A somewhat full exposition of the Articles follows—the texts of 1563 (Latin) 1571 (English) being adopted.

Fred. C. Roberts of Tientsin; or, for Christ and China (H. R. Allenson, London) is a most interesting narrative by Mrs. Bryson of the life of a medical missionary. His lofty character and self-denying labours compel our admiration, and if all missionaries were as wise and good as Mr. Roberts they would be above criticism.

The English Bible, a sketch of its history by the Rev. George Miligan, B.D. (London: Adam and Charles Black), is one of the series of Guild Text Books. The title sufficiently denotes its object, and its execution is excellent.

Samson ("Clarion" Library) by M. McMillan, is a novelette of a striking character. The principal episode is connected with the "miracles" of St. Winifred's Well, Holywell. The writer impresses us with the belief that some of the reported miracles are true, but that they may be accounted for on physiological or psychological grounds. There are some Socialists in the story but little Socialism.

¹ *Was Israel ever in Egypt? Or a Lost Tradition.* By G. H. Bateson Wright, D.D. London: Williams & Norgate. 1895.

² *An Introduction to the Articles of the Church of England.* By the Rev. G. F. Maclear, D.D., and the Rev. W. W. Williams M.A. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

IN his *Economics and Socialism*¹ Mr. Laycock claims to have made some original contributions to the science of economics. There may be differences of opinion as to the justness of this claim, but there can be no question that Mr. Laycock has succeeded in presenting many of the vexed problems of modern society from a new standpoint, and in throwing fresh light upon many of the dark spots of the "dreary science," as it has been called.

Mr. Laycock's original idea was to discountenance "the socialism which is at present exerting so great an influence for evil," and to advocate the method of taxation suggested by Mr. Henry George.

The former, we are told, was practically abandoned, but it is this idea, nevertheless, which is most prominent throughout the book, and it is, therefore, the more to be regretted that Mr. Laycock did not see fit to define exactly what he meant by the term "Socialism." For, as we have frequently pointed out, there is all the difference in the world between the crude socialism of the Hyde Park tub-thumper and the scientific socialism advocated, for instance, by such a writer as Professor Ely.

Mr. Laycock arrives at the same conclusion as Mr. Henry George—viz., that the taxation of ground values is the only just and natural system of taxation, but he does so by a very different path. And, whereas the latter conceived the present system of land tenure to be the sole cause of poverty, Mr. Laycock regards it as only one out of many. In this connection Mr. Laycock seems to us to considerably confuse the issue by discussing at length "natural rights." "Natural justice," says Mr. Laycock, "would certainly accord his own self to any man. The inherent powers of his body and mind are his own." Upon this structure Mr. Laycock builds up the principle that labour must be exempt from taxation, and, since the land of this country belongs to the whole people, it is land alone which ought to be taxed. Now, in some States every male is compelled to devote certain years of his life to military services, and in others he is compelled to commute his personal services by a money payment. The fact of the matter is, the State knows nothing of "natural rights." It only recognises "legal rights." This confusion of "natural rights" with "legal rights" belongs to an individualistic type of thinking, and gives rise to all those extreme views on the liberty of the subject, freedom of contract, and unrestricted competition.

¹ *Economics and Socialism. A Demonstration of the Cause and Cure of Trade Depressions and National Poverty.* By F. V. Laycock, LL.B. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1895.

The following appears to us a much simpler solution. The State is strictly the supreme landlord. All hold of the State. Therefore the State is entitled to exact, by way of rent from the tenants, whatever sums it requires for the necessities of government. That the modern democratic State is entitled to impose whatever taxes and to exact whatever services it chooses we had thought self-evident, but Mr. Laycock thinks it necessary, in the interests of the liberty of the subject, to build up a theory based upon "natural rights" which admits the one and denies the other.

Of what a ground value exactly consists, how to levy the tax thereon, and by what means to prevent the burden from being shifted from the original tax-payers' shoulders to those of the general consumer, are questions which Mr. Laycock declines to discuss.

Mr. Henry George may be all wrong, but Mr. Laycock seems to be no nearer the practical solution of the problem than any one else, in fact, not so near as some writers we could name.

Mr. Laycock contends that the operation of trade unionism is to raise prices all round, and thereby to reduce the real wages of the trade-unionist. "The truth is," he says, "that combinations cannot better the lot of their members, but can and do make it materially worse. This does not appear ever to have been definitely proved."

Mr. Laycock appears to us to misconceive the nature of trade-unionism. The primary object of a trade union is to prevent a combination of masters, or even one master, from unfairly reducing wages. A strike is only a weapon of the last resource.

Mr. Laycock adduces, as a proof of his assertion, the coal war of 1893. If we recollect aright, this arose not from an attempt of the miners to raise wages, but from the reduction by the masters, rendered necessary by their absurdly low quotations to some of the largest railway companies.

Of course, the effect of the strike, or lock-out, as it really was, was to limit the supply, and the effect of this was to raise coal to something like double its ordinary price.

But this was only temporary. A very large proportion of our coal is exported, and the price depends to a large extent on foreign competition. Other things remaining *in statu quo*, Mr. Laycock's argument holds good, but, supposing from some cause, say foreign competition, prices do not rise, but wages do, then the difference will be paid not by the labourer, but by the capitalist, who will receive less interest, or by the landlord, who will receive less rent. Whether trade-unionism has conferred material benefits upon its followers we admit is a highly controversial question, but that it has created out of a degraded and semi-civilised proletariat a body of working-men imbued with a feeling of independence, and with a

sense of responsibility to others, is beyond dispute. Mr. Laycock, in our opinion, has still to prove the former, and to learn what the latter change means, not only to the moral, but to the material and economic prosperity of this country.

• Mr. Laycock sums up his ideas in the following statement: "The arrangements must be such as to encourage and secure free trade in wealth—the object desired; free trade in land, from which it must be drawn; free trade in labour, by which it must be produced; and free trade in money, by means of which it must be measured and exchanged." Whether we agree with these principles or not, Mr. Laycock's book is well worth serious attention.

Although Mr. Laycock does not say so, he seems to have some dim conception of Mr. J. A. Hobson's theory, that it is not over-supply which is responsible for the present depression, but under-consumption, the result of a low standard of life. The chapters entitled "Collection of Results" and "Application" are exceptionally well written, the latter containing a rapid survey of the history of nineteenth century economics.

We are glad to see that Mr. Geoffrey Drage, the new member for Derby, has, in his latest work, *The Problem of the Aged Poor*,¹ eschewed the sins of omission and commission of which he was guilty in his previous attempt, *The Unemployed*, published by Macmillan & Co. last year. In the present case Mr. Drage does not profess that his book is any more than an epitome of the evidence laid before the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, together with a slight sketch of Mr. Charles Booth's scheme for old age pensions.

If the Report of the Royal Commission has any value at all, then Mr. Drage's compilation may be useful enough. As a compilation it is well done, and to this extent we can thoroughly recommend the book as an alternative to those who shrink from wading through the Blue-books. But since the Commissioners, in taking the evidence, seemed to be imbued rather with the idea of bolstering up each their own particular fads and fancies than with the object of eliciting the real facts, and since the majority recommended a further inquiry, we have grave doubts as to the value of dishing up an apparently useless mass of material.

¹ *The Problem of the Aged Poor*. By Geoffrey Drage. London: Adam and Charles Black. 1895.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

South Africa,¹ by Mr. Worsfold, is not strictly a book of travel so much as a story of Colonial expansion ; but since the author resided for nearly two years in the Cape Colony and Natal, and since much that he has to tell us is evidently derived from information obtained on the spot or from personal observation, we have ventured to notice the book under the above heading.

Without implicitly accepting Mr. Worsfold's opinion that the identification of Mashonaland with the "Ophir" of antiquity "is practically established by Mr. Theodore Burt," we may still find the early history of South Africa of absorbing interest.

Its modern history commences with the Dutch occupation at Table Bay in 1652, when Van Riebeck established there a small station of call for the merchantmen of the Dutch East India Company. Mr. Worsfold combats the idea that South Africa was acquired by force of arms from its original and rightful inhabitants. At this period it was practically an uninhabited country, the Hottentots and Bushmen only amounting to about 150,000, scattered along the southern and western coasts and the banks of the Orange River. The Bantus, with whom the Dutch and their successors, ourselves, contested the country, came from the north, and were no more aboriginal inhabitants than we were.

But whatever may be the title of England to this immense tract of country, what, asks Mr. Worsfold, are our responsibilities and what are our duties to the preponderating native population? In Natal alone there are 500,000 Kaffirs to 15,000 Europeans, and the former are increasing very rapidly.

Admitting that new checks are coming into force to this native increase, and that the growth of the white population is in greater proportion, "the broad fact remains," says Mr. Worsfold, "that in South Africa the European must be prepared to share the country with the coloured races instead of exclusively occupying it, as they have done in North America and Australia."

The native then must be educated for his partnership with the European. In the Cape Colony alone, says Mr. Worsfold, has any serious attempt been made. Of the remarkable success that has attended this attempt, Mr. Worsfold furnishes some important evidence.

Mr. Worsfold has gathered together the tangled threads of South African history in a skillful manner, and has presented an account at once accurate, concise, and consecutive, and in which the interest is

¹ *South Africa: A Study in Colonial Administration and Development.* By W. Basil Worsfold, M.A., of Oxford University, and of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. London: Methuen & Co. 1895.

maintained throughout. Special chapters are devoted to the account of the agricultural and pastoral resources, in which, by the way, the Boer farmers are the subject of some strong criticisms for their "unprogressiveness"; the diamond and gold-mining industries, South African literature, and the Chartered Company and Mr. Cecil Rhodes.

Some explanatory notes, an historical summary, some tables of statistics, the text of the Convention of London, together with a good map, complete a highly useful and interesting volume.

Matabeleland,¹ by Captain Norris Newman, forms a special chapter in the history of British extension in South Africa, and is told by one who, through twenty years' residence and journalistic wanderings in the country, had exceptional opportunities of ascertaining the actual state of affairs, and of describing the events which have led up to our most recent acquisition of territory. The introductory sketch of South African history is very slight, but the account of the Matabele nation, although, in the main, the same as Mr. Worsfold's, is given in greater detail. The chief value of the book is to be found in the description of the campaign undertaken by the British South African Company in concert with the Imperial Government against Lo Bengula, king of the Matabeles. This contains little that had not appeared in the English Press at the time; but since Captain Newman arrived at the scene of operations as Reuter's Special Commissioner for Matabeleland, in time to wire the first authentic news of the failure and retreat of the pursuit column and Major Wilson's gallant death, the disbandment of the forces, the establishment of civil government by the Company, and the death of Lobengula, he is entitled to claim these accounts as his own. Captain Newman was especially requisitioned to inquire into the alleged *atrocities* committed by the European forces, the shooting of the King's envoys, and the alleged disagreements between the various commanding officers. His explanations of the former are entirely satisfactory and more than clear our good name of any ill-treatment of Matabele prisoners, wounded or otherwise. The disagreements between the officers, however, seem to be only too well founded, and arose, according to Captain Newman, from the ill-considered policy of placing Imperial officers over the heads of men who had had more experience in native warfare.

The only fault we have to find is with the style. The sentences are frequently long and involved, and the meaning not always clear at first sight.

*Glimpses of Africa*² is not merely an interesting record of travel,

¹ *Matabeleland and How we Got It*: With Notes on the Occupation of Mashonaland and an Account of the 1893 Campaign by the British South Africa Company, the adjoining British Territories and Protectorates. By Capt. Charles L. Norris Newman. With Sketch Map and Plans of the Fights. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1895.

² *Glimpses of Africa, West and South-West Coast*, containing the author's impressions and observations during a voyage of six thousand miles, from Sierra Leone to

but a valuable treatise. Its author, the Rev. C. S. Smith, M.D., D.D., of African descent, is an American citizen and politician, a minister of religion, and a highly-educated man. He is a man, too, with the courage of his opinions, and he does not hesitate to say exactly what he thinks, however unpalatable it may be to his co-religionists or compatriots. Dr. Smith's objects in visiting Africa were: "First, to gratify a long-cherished desire to see that country; second, to see what the European is doing there; third, to see what the African himself is doing; fourth, to gain a knowledge of the operations of missionary efforts; fifth, to study the effect of the climate upon the human constitution; sixth, to see if there are any openings for the employment of the skill and energy of intelligent and industrious young Americans of African descent."

The Europeans, Dr. Smith thinks, have come to Africa to stay and to rule, and they may be divided into two classes—Propagationists and Exterminationists. The former recognise the natives as aids and allies in developing the resources of the country; the latter wish to displace the natives with European colonists. Under the head of the former, Dr. Smith places the British and French; under the head of the latter, the Germans and Belgians.

To the British, however, on the West Coast, Dr. Smith gives the palm as the Power which most conserves the native interests, and which gives the greatest promise of redeeming West Africa from the grasp of barbarism, and of lifting the long-benighted masses into the light of civilisation and progress. Of the future of the native, Dr. Smith has high hopes. He is docile, intelligent, and a keen observer. He has, it is true, imbibed the vices of civilisation; but for this the early white traders must be held responsible. Until organised government is established, neither the civilised nor the uncivilised native can make much progress; and Dr. Smith considers that the efforts of missionary enterprises have proved exceedingly barren of satisfactory results, and any attempt to Christianise the people before civilising them is utterly hopeless. The two great obstacles to the progress of the natives are the power of the chiefs and the medicine men, and the indolence of the people, and nothing but organised government will break through these hindrances to civilisation, and consequently to Christianity. According to Dr. Smith, the climate of the West Coast has been cruelly maligned. The horrible stories told about Africa are, he believes, circulated for the purpose of keeping certain classes away. It is no more unfriendly to Europeans than portions of

St. Paul de Loanda, and return. Including the Rio del Ray and Cameroons Rivers, and the Congo River, from its mouth to Matadi. By C. S. Smith. Introduction by Bishop H. M. Turner, D.D., LL.D. With Maps and many Illustrations. Nashville, Tenn. Publishing House, A. M. E. Church School Union. 1895.

India. For instance, at Kinsembo there were fourteen Europeans, and no deaths had occurred for fourteen years. At Ambrizette were twenty Europeans, and only one death in twenty years.

There are, says Dr. Smith, no special inducements to young, intelligent, and industrious Americans of African descent to emigrate to Africa. The supply of intelligent natives, fitted for professional and clerical service, and for the skilled industries, is greater than the demand. This is due to the fact that the uncivilised native can fully supply his own wants, which are exceedingly few. It is only by the spread of civilisation that its accessories create a demand.

The book is particularly well illustrated from photographs.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

A WORK by Mr. Brooks Adams, entitled *The Law of Civilization and Decay*,¹ endeavours to prove that the movement which led to the Reformation, and which culminated in our present condition of material prosperity, was rather economic than spiritual. Having discussed Roman and Mediæval civilisation, the author in a curious chapter on "The English Reformation" cites a passage from the late Thorold Rogers's *History of Agriculture and Prices*, showing that the spread of Lollardy was "at once the cause and effect of progressive opulence." It would seem that the English Lollards had their stronghold in Norfolk, the principal manufacturing county. The Lollards denounced the worldliness of the prelates because they wished to get rid of the expensiveness of the hierarchy and the exactions of the priesthood. According to Mr. Adams, the Protestant deification of the Bible is explained by the fact that in this way, for "the innumerable costly fetishes of the imagination were substituted certain writings which could be consulted without a fee." Here is a remarkable passage in the chapter which will astonish some persons of the evangelical school:

"In Great Britain the agitation for reform appears to have been practical from the outset. There was no impatience with dogmas simply because they were incomprehensible: the Trinity and the Double Procession were always accepted. Formulas of faith were resisted because they involved a payment of money, and foremost amongst these were masses and penances." The chapters on "The Suppression of the Convents" and "The Eviction of the Yeomen"

¹ *The Law of Civilization and Decay. An Essay on History.* By Brooks Adams. London: Swan Sonnenschein.

will be read with deep interest. The closing chapter has some weighty remarks on modern civilisation: "As the twentieth century approaches, the salient characteristic of the age is the ascendancy of the economic type of man, for that ascendancy is complete. Although the conventions of popular government are preserved, capital is at least as absolute as under the Cæsars, and, among capitalists, the money-lenders form an aristocracy. Debtors are in reality powerless, because of the extension of that very system of credit which they invented to satisfy their needs. Although the volume of credit is gigantic, the basis on which it rests is so narrow that it may be manipulated by a handful of men. That basis is gold; in gold debts must be paid; therefore, when gold is withdrawn, the debtor is helpless, and becomes the servant of his master. The elasticity of the age of expansion is gone." There is truth in the author's view that both architecture and painting have suffered by the existing economic system. The livelihood of the monks was assured, and accordingly "they pandered to no market, for they cared for no patron." Nowadays portrait painting is a profitable branch of art cultivated on purely commercial principles. There is much depth and originality in some of Mr. Adams's views. We commend his book to the attention of every thoughtful reader.

La Campagne Monarque,¹ by M. Charles Chesnelong, is the work of a political theorist who believes that if the monarchy had been restored after the Franco-German war, his country would have been raised to a higher rank among the nations of Europe. His account of the Comte de Chambord shows how unfit that amiable dreamer was to sway the destinies of modern France. To denounce the Republic as atheistical and revolutionary in its tendencies is the favourite device of the *laudator temporis acti*. But M. Chesnelong is at least a century behind the time. We cannot put back the hands of the clock.

In a volume entitled *Essais Diplomatiques*,² covering just 400 pages, M. C. Benedetti discusses "The Emperor William I. and Prince Bismarck," "The Triple Alliance," "The Armed Peace and its Consequences," and lastly an account of his "Mission to Ems." M. Benedetti played an important part in politics, and in this volume he gives us the result of his "study of events of which he has been the victim." It is unnecessary to add that the author takes a favourable view of his own conduct, and attributes by no means lofty motives to the great German statesman, Prince Bismarck. No doubt every experienced reader will take everything in the book referring to M. Benedetti himself with a grain of salt. The late Oliver Wendell Holmes in one of his amusing books has formulated

¹ *La Campagne Monarque d'Octobre 1878*. Par Charles Chesnelong. Paris: Librairie Plon.

² *Essais Diplomatiques*. Par C. Benedetti. Paris: Librairie Plon.

A clever epigram to the effect that "apology is only egotism wrong side out." In like manner, egotism is often only the mask which covers a course of conduct calling for apology; this may be the case with M. Benedetti.

BELLES LETTRES.

MESSRS. MACMILLAN & Co. have brought out a charming edition of the works of the great Latin poet Virgil,¹ and an equally delightful edition of the chief work of that still greater Greek poet—Homer—who disputes with our own Shakespeare the right to be ranked highest amongst the makers of immortal verse.²

Mr. Page has done his work in a scholarly manner, and in his interesting introduction has given an admirable account of the Latin poet. Virgil—the name in strict accuracy should be spelt "Vergil"—was the son of a yeoman, and was born at Andes, a little village near Mantua, in Cisalpine Gaul, on October 15, B.C. 70. He received a good education, having been taught Greek by Parthenius of Bythinia. He may justly lay claim to the epithet of *dortus*, to which all the poets of the age aspired. That inimitable passage, containing the well-known line,

"O felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,"

in the second book of the *Georgics*, shows his profound admiration for scientific and philosophic study. As a thinker he is inferior to Lucretius, and he lacks that great poet's imagination, but as a master of poetic form Virgil is unequalled. He well merits the praise bestowed on him by Tennyson :

"I salute thee, Montovano, I that loved thee since my days began,
Wieler of the stateliest measure ever moulded by the lips of man."

In the present edition of Virgil the text has been beautifully printed, and the various readings have been given, with great care, at the end of each page in which they occur.

Mr. Leaf's edition of the *Iliad*³ is one which Homeric scholars will appreciate. The text is, as the learned editor points out, "an endeavour to get the best that can be got from the MSS., including MSS. variants attested by ancient authorities." Mr. Leaf would seem, from his prefatory remarks, to entertain doubts as to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* being the work of one individual. We belong to the unregenerate readers of Greek, who believe from intrinsic evidence that there was, and could have been, only one Homer, and

¹ *Vergili Opera*. Edited by T. E. Page, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co.

² *Homeri Ilias*. Edited by Walter Leaf, D.Litt. London: Macmillan & Co.

³ *Homer's Iliad*. Edited by Walter Leaf, LL.D. London: Macmillan & Co.

that to his genius alone we owe the two greatest epics of antiquity.

We have also received the admirable little edition of the first twelve books of the *Iliad*¹ prepared by Mr. M. A. Bayfield, headmaster of Eastbourne College, with the assistance of the notes to Dr. Leaf's edition. The grammatical portion of the work is excellent, and the general introduction and the appendices exhibit much scholarship and classical research.

If the quantity of new books and new editions which are flooding the reviewer's table this autumn may be taken as a test, neither author nor publisher need raise any complaint as to slackness of trade or lack of purchasing power on the part of the reading public. We could wish that quality bore a larger proportion to quantity than is shown in the volumes received by us this month. The battle of the publishers and the librarians on the Three Volume question has apparently ended in a decisive victory for the latter, if we may judge from the fact of the few that appear to have been issued in the old-fashioned way this autumn.

Whether the attraction of Miss Braddon's name for the public will enable her to hold her own in this respect against the fiat of Smith and Mudie remains to be seen, but something better than her *Sons of Fire*² will have to be produced if the author of *Lady Audley's Secret* wishes to keep her hold on the reading community. There is little originality either in the conception of the central idea of the rivalry between the hero and his double or in the treatment of the incidents which attend their competition for the hand of the fair Suzette, while the recital of their adventures in Africa with one Cecil Patrington (who boasts in Cockney phraseology "I ain't a geographer, I ain't a missionary, I ain't a trader ;" but mercifully refrains from speaking of Hafrica) is a sadly uninteresting hash-up of second-hand material. The whole narrative, moreover, is weighted and handicapped by the evident necessity under which the author labours of spinning out her tale to the conventional three volume length, three whole chapters in the second volume being devoted to an interpolation, which might better have been made in three pages, in so far as it bears on the main development of the story.

Seldom have we passed a more enjoyable evening than that which we lately spent in company with Veronica, Lamia, the poet and the gardener, who, notwithstanding the nuptials of Veronica and the Poet, has not been exiled from *The Garden that I Love*, to which *In Veronica's Garden*³ forms a companion volume. To all who have passed their apprenticeship in the same school the trials

¹ *The Iliad of Homer* (I.-XII.). Edited by Walter Leaf, LL.D., and M. A. Bayfield, M.A. Vol. I. London: Macmillan & Co.

² *Sons of Fire*. By Miss Braddon. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.

³ *In Veronica's Garden*. By Alfred Austin. London: Macmillan & Co.

the triumphs of the anonymous amateur 'head-gardener' will appeal with special force. We lived over again with him our daily struggle in June of this year against the demon Drought and with him tasted again the joys of the ultimate success which crowned our efforts. The sage sayings of serious Veronica, the irreverent banter of sprightly Lamia, and the lyrical effusions of the Poet breathe the very spirit of the philosophy of repose and content, as refreshing as it is rare in the pages of modern literature.

"Death duties, indeed!" said Veronica, severely. I think it would be well if we heard less about death duties, and more about life duties. There never was the estate that could not be pulled round by its owners with thought, labour, and thrift. There are very few landed properties—and for my part I care not how few they are—that can be kept clear from encumbrance, embarrassment, and finally, from transfer to others, if they are regarded as milch cows, to support a house in town, to maintain a stable at Newmarket, and to pay for a yacht at Cowes. I wish to heaven every land-owner in the country was so poor that he had no option but to live all the year round on his own property."

There is a good deal to be said for Veronica's argument.

In *Holdenhurst Hall*¹ we have a story based on the loss and recovery of a family treasure, which, in spite of a very limp hero and a halting plot, whose promise of an interesting development is belied by a common-place conclusion, succeeds in rousing and sustaining the reader's interest. Where did Mr. Bloomfield hear a grown up son (the hero aforesaid) and his father indulge in such dialogue as "Ah, I have much to tell you . . . but you are so good and gentle with your foolish boy," &c.? "My Ernest would have to act very differently," &c. . . . declared his "best of fathers." Uncle Sam, the one strong character in the story, is a well-drawn type of the successful American man of business, only less realistic than the picture of Luke Edgumbe, the successful jam manufacturer in Joseph Hocking's remarkable *All Men are Liars*.² The title sums up Luke Edgumbe's valuation of his fellowmen as he has found them in the fierce competition of modern commercial life. He seeks to instil into his nephew's open-hearted, buoyant nature the pessimistic doctrines taught him by bitter experience; but it is not until the lessons of an equally bitter experience are taught his pupil at the hands of a faithless wife, that Stephen Edgumbe loses faith both in himself and others, and in sheer despair "lets himself go" and plunges into a life of reckless dissipation, wherefrom he is in the end saved by the help of his chum (who tells the story), aided by the loving devotion of one whom he had in his early days saved from the doom of a life of prostitution. In order to thoroughly disillusion his

¹ *Holdenhurst Hall*. By Walter Bloomfield. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

² *All Men are Liars*. By Joseph Hocking. London: Ward, Lock, & Bowden.

hero from his simple belief in the goodness of others, the creed with which he enters on the battle of life, the author has exceeded the limits of probability (even as they exist in fiction), in piling on the agony of unmerited disaster on poor Stephen's head. He would point as the moral of his tale the unreliability of a sceptical philosophy of life as an armour of protection against the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, and the need of a positive belief in a Divine order of things, whereby "somehow good will be the final goal of ill," as the only anchor which will enable a man to ride safely through the storms of adversity. But such a positive belief had been firmly implanted in the young man's mind by his father, a clergyman, and the sceptic might urge, not without some show of reason, that the inference to be drawn from Stephen's unfortunate career is the insufficiency of the religious theories on which his early training had been based, for the moral guidance of his life. Mr. Hocking is deeply impressed with the shortcomings of our present social system, as revealed in the poor and middle-class quarters of London, and the book would deserve to be read, quite apart from its very high merits as a work of fiction, if only for the sake of the vivid and realistic pictures of London life which it contains.

Dr. Wright's *Palmyra and Zenobia*,¹ is an interesting record of travel and exploration in one of the most interesting parts of the near East. The life and times of this famous Queen of the East are succinctly and graphically described, and the Doctor's own experiences and perils by the road from the attacks of the Bedouin of the desert add a spice of adventure to the record of archaeological investigation. The volume is profusely illustrated, the reproduction of the old ornamental designs from tomb and temple being especially good.

Miss Everett Green has added one more to the many romances founded on the Duke of Monmouth's disastrous rising in 1685. *In Taunton Town*² is characterised by a well-marked sense of historical proportion in the portrayal of the famous characters of that eventful time, and the author very rightly lays great stress on the swift retribution which fell on James for the ferocity with which he punished the adherents of the Duke, in the welcome extended by all classes of his subjects, three years later, to William, Prince of Orange. The handsome get-up of the volume makes it a capital book for prize or presentation.

An equally suitable book for this purpose is H. H. Boyesen's *Norseland Tales*,³ which tell of the adventures of the present-day descendants of the Vikings, both at home and abroad. We are

¹ *Palmyra and Zenobia*. By W. Wright, D.D. London: Nelson & Sons.

² *In Taunton Town*. By E. Everett Green. London: Nelson & Sons.

³ *Norseland Tales*. By H. H. Boyesen. London: Nelson & Sons.

ended of Bret Harte in the thrilling tale, entitled *A Born Chief-tain*, wherein a Norse boy's heroism and resource rescues a band of fellow emigrants from the death-trap in Mexico to which they had been lured by the machinations of an unscrupulous Yankee emigration agent.

* Professor Flinders Petrie has issued a second series of *Egyptian Tales*,¹ translations from papyri, which bring vividly before us the men and women as they lived in the Nile Valley 4000 years ago—their passions, “their foibles, their beliefs, their follies.” It is with this object in view, and not “for pure amusement, to fill an idle hour and be forgotten,” as the Professor points out, that these specimens of the earliest fiction in the literature of the world should be read; and the running commentary which he appends to each tale enables anyone, whether versed in Egyptological lore or not, to thoroughly enjoy the treat of “seeing with the eyes, feeling with the thoughts, and reasoning with the minds of a people” who were writers and readers of fiction a thousand years before Homer.

*Grania Waile*² (which, being interpreted, is Grace O'Malley, “often referred to in the State papers of Queen Elizabeth”) is the heroine of Fulmar Petrel's tale of the west coast of Ireland in the last half of the sixteenth century. The fierce jealousies and plundering propensities of the chiefs in those days kept the coast line in a chronic state of conflict, and if there is but little honour or glory in the motives which actuated these battles “of the kites and crows,” they at any rate gave scope for the display of acts of individual courage and devotion. Fulmar Petrel may be congratulated on the skill with which he has woven a stirring story of romance on and into a well-defined background of historical truth. A rough outline map of the coast is given, and is of much service in following out the details of the story. We wish that all writers of historical romances would do likewise.

In *A Hasty Marriage*,³ Sir Randal Roberts tells how a woman's selfishness ruined a good man's life and career, but the few pages of concise narrative which describes the true tale of the kidnapping of a Rajah in 1858 (conducted by the author himself in command of a detachment of the 33rd) show conclusively that the true bent of the writer's literary powers lies rather in the dramatic recital of fact than in the invention of plots and delineation of character.

Miss Florence Marryatt brings her heaviest guns to bear against the follies of the extreme type of New Woman. The arguments on both sides of this vexed question are well and strongly put, and the conclusions arrived at doubtless reflect the average opinion of the majority of women of the present day, whose motto is “Forward,

¹ *Egyptian Tales*. By W. M. Flinders Petrie. London: Methuen & Co.

² *Grania Waile*. By Fulmar Petrel. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

³ *A Hasty Marriage*. By Sir Randal Roberts. London: Routledge & Co.

but not too fast." But, apart from all "problems," we may commend the perusal of *At Heart a Rake*¹ to all who appreciate smart dialogue and clever characterisation.

Two other volumes received this month take woman and her development as their text. Mr. Frederick Gant's *Perfect Womanhood*² shows that the "late lecturer in clinical surgery," &c., whatever his qualifications are as a medical man, has certainly not found his true *metier* in literature, if we may judge from the chaotic bundle of tract-like disquisitions strung together under the above title; while Mr. Henry Maurice Harding's *What We Are Coming To*³ is chiefly remarkable for the grossness of the thinly-veiled caricatures and the coarseness with which the writer uses immorality to point his moral and adorn his tale.

With a wicked trustee keeping in duress, as a dangerous lunatic, his deaf and helpless ward as First Villain, the lunatic's attendant as Second ditto, and a heroine who falls in love with the handsome lunatic, and finally, by the help of astute Villain No. 2, restores him to health and wealth—they, of course, marry and live happily ever after—with such raw materials to work upon, it may be imagined that Miss Florence Warden has not failed, by making the most of the situations incident to the plotting and counter-plotting of her conventional stage characters, to evolve a melodramatic narrative which will call forth the usual plaudits from her friends in the gallery, with whom the stalls will, at any rate, agree that the heroine was not such *A Perfect Fool*⁴ as her friends would have made her out in the First Act.

The best of the recent additions to Mr. Fisher Unwin's familiar yellow and terra-cotta series is Mr. Scully's *Kaffir Stories*.⁵ A long and intimate acquaintance with the history, habits, and feelings of the natives is evidenced by the firmness of touch with which the subjects are handled, and the grim reality which pervades the stories of tragedy and pathos.

From the same publisher we receive two volumes, entitled *A Matter of Angles*⁶ and *Wilmot's Child*,⁷ both more striking from the character of their up-to-date pictorial wrappings than from any remarkable display of literary qualities in the contents. Life is too short to enjoy the elaborate analysis of the trivial and common-place which appear to be the chief stock-in-trade of too many who cater for the prevailing taste for short stories.

¹ *At Heart a Rake*. By Florence Marryatt. London: Horace Cox.

² *Perfect Womanhood*. By F. J. Gant. London: Digby, Long & Co.

³ *What We Are Coming To*. By Henry Maurice Harding. London Digby, Long & Co.

⁴ *A Perfect Fool*. By Florence Warden. London: F. V. White & Co.

⁵ *Kaffir Stories*. By S. Scully. London: Fisher Unwin & Co.

⁶ *A Matter of Angles*. By Everard North. London: T. Fisher Unwin & Co.

⁷ *Wilmot's Child*. By Atey Nine. London: Fisher Unwin & Co.

Miss Ethel Turner, in *The Story of a Baby*,¹ has not disdained to make use of the old, old device of re-uniting parted lovers by means of "the baby"; but the husband, the wife, the baby, the domestic, and even the mother-in-law, are drawn so "kindly," the whole group is so real and lovable, and the dialogue is so natural and spontaneous that we follow with almost a personal interest the course of this "lovers' quarrel, feeling sure, however, all through that such a couple must "make it up again" in the end.

Messrs. Macmillan have issued the ninth volume of the library edition of their *English Men of Letters*² series. This includes Austin Dobson's "Fielding," Anthony Trollope's "Thackeray," and A. W. Ward's "Dickens." For handiness of reference and convenience in reading we cannot pretend that these composite volumes please us as much as the original single issues, although they look more imposing on the bookshelf. But when the matter is so good, the shape and form are, after all, quite secondary.

Two notable additions to their successful and meritorious Greenback Series have been made by Messrs. Jarrold, in the shape of *A Garrison Romance*,³ by Mrs. Leith Adams, and Helen Mathers' *Found Out*,⁴ of which this makes the 103rd thousand issued, a testimony to its popularity which needs no comment.

ART.

PROFESSOR FLINDERS PETRIE has published, in a small book of 128 pages, a course of lectures, delivered at the Royal Institution, on *Egyptian Decorative Art*.⁵ There was never a book so little like a bundle of lectures; it is without the odious talk and doubtful philosophising with which so many English art writers eke out their subject, to the obscuring of all definite information they may have to give. Perhaps, too, there was never a more perfect work for introducing the reader to the consideration of the historic styles in decorative art. The author's reputation would guarantee the exactness of his details; but he has also classified them in the order of learning, and explains with absolute lucidity the origin of Egyptian ornament, its progressive development, and its relations with Asiatic design and the Mykenæan art of early Greece. After a preliminary chapter on Sources of Decoration, he treats successively and completely of geo-

¹ *The Story of a Baby*. By Ethel Turner. London: Ward, Lock, & Bowden.

² *English Men of Letters*, Vol. IX. London: Macmillan & Co.

³ *A Garrison Romance*. By Mrs. Leith Adams. London: Jarrold & Sons.

⁴ *Found Out*. By Helen Mathers. London: Jarrold & Sons.

⁵ *Egyptian Decorative Art*. By W. M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L. London: Methuen and Co. 1895.

metrical, natural, structural, and symbolic decoration. On page he shows the true temper of the student of comparative art, keenly alive to the least point of contact with other styles. The development of the spiral and of the lotus design, both so difficult to follow in the ordinary technical treatises, here become simple and easy. The designs set in the text are clear and may be understood at a glance. Perhaps a chronological table of the dynasties which mark the art epochs might have been added usefully for the many who do not know their Pharaohs, or Ramessus, and Amenhotep as Macaulay knew his Archbishops of Canterbury.

It is very many years since Mr. Birket Foster's pictures began charming every lover of English landscape in its secluded nooks and homely *plaisance*. It is very few years since the lovers of English song have awakened to qualities somewhat similar in Mr. John Davidson's poems, under the richness of life which bubbles over in them. In a book published by Mr. Nimmo, well printed and bound as for presentation, the artist now gives us thirty-one full-page engravings, "to escort" which the poet has selected passages of prose and verse, all under the proper title of *Pictures of Rustic Landscape*.¹ Considerable ingenuity and a familiarity with the literature of rural England were needed to suit selections of this kind to the pictures. The result is most happy. In some cases, e.g., "At the Brookside," the artist seems to have had in mind the very passage of Richard Jefferies chosen as text for his design. The subjects and authors range from "The Little Anglers" (Izaak Walton), "The Village Church" (Gilbert White of Selborne), "The Stepping Stones" (James Thomson), and "The Market Cart" (William Wordsworth) to "The Gleaners at the Stile" (Robert Louis Stevenson), and "Building the Hayrick" (Mr Davidson himself). It was a happy thought to seek passages for some of the more characteristic designs from American authors like Emerson and John Burroughs. They come to the "old country" with minds undulled by use, and receive impressions all the more vivid and exact.

We have received a large, wide atlas of reproductions from photographs, illustrating each part of *The Houses of Parliament*.² It is a good example of process engraving applied to satisfy the desire of mankind to possess showy books which give visual information concerning objects of universal curiosity. The introduction on "The Palace of Westminster," and the page of text accompanying each separate view, are all that could be wished. Such a book, by its exactness of detail, is also a useful supplement to the remembrances of those already familiar with this shrine of our "free Constitution."

¹ *Pictures of Rustic Landscape*. By Birket Foster. With passages in prose and verse, selected by John Davidson. London: John C. Nimmo. 1896.

² *The Houses of Parliament*. From photographs taken expressly by Horatio Nelson King. London: Marion & Co.

essrs. Bell and Sons have added another guinea volume to their uniform editions of illustrated art works. It gives 43 plates (from photographs) of the *Masterpieces of the Great Artists*, A.D. 1400–1700.¹ Of these, eight are Vienna photogravures, admitting a considerable attention to details of form instead of the black and white flatness of ordinary processwork. The result is a handsome book on specimen work of the “old masters.” The selections are well chosen, with special reference to pictures of which every one should know something. For the merely popular purposes of such a volume the text of Mrs. Bell is also adequate and even interesting. A careful reader of art history, however, would need to make many reserves. This is less owing to the author’s fault than to the intensely insular and Protestant character of all our English literature (Browning and Symonds included) wherever it touches on the ideas and sentiments underlying Catholic art. It is a perfect example of what Goethe wisely criticised:

“Shrewd Sir Philistine sees things so,
Who all his life on the outside passes.”

Thus, in the present volume, the meaning assigned to the various representations of the Madonna is far from exact (as, for instance, Murillo’s Immaculate Conception), and sometimes erroneous (Fra Angelico’s Annunciation), such words as “symbol” are applied inexactly; and names and things still in use in Italy and other Catholic countries (Angelus, Pietà, Holy Family, &c.) are evidently misunderstood. Naturally there are historical confusions, as the reason for which Fra Angelico is called Beato, and the mistaking of Pope Sixtus IV. for San Sisto.

The single chapter on “Archæology,” 18 large quarto pages out of 478, is a sufficient excuse for noticing here the valuable and altogether interesting book written by the Settlement Commissioner, Kashmir and Jammu State, on *The Valley of Kashmir*.² It is an instance of a volume, without pretension, containing the most thorough information concerning every side of its subject, descriptive, geological, flora and fauna, political and physical history, with statistics, and the details of its social life, religions, races, and tribes, agriculture, industries and trade, old administration and new settlement, and even its language. There are 17 plates excellently reproduced from photographs, a detailed map and charts of the most interesting mountain passes. The author modestly calls his work a “report . . . written on the lines of the Punjab gazetteers.” In reality it is much more, being an entertaining volume of that scientific travel which is to the mere travel of amusement and adventure

¹ *Masterpieces of the Great Artists*, A.D. 1400–1700. Reproduced from the original paintings. With introduction and descriptions by Mrs. Arthur Bell (N. D’Anvers). London: George Bell & Sons. 1895.

² *The Valley of Kashmir*. By Walter R. Lawrence, I.C.S., C.I.E. London: Henry Frowde. 1895.

what history is to story-telling. Even the superficial have gained their knowledge of the romantic "Vale of Cashmere" from Thomas Moore's "Lalla Rookh" with the haphazard erudition of its notes, may find pleasure in this book.

The special value of the chapter on the archaeology of this "holy land" of the Hindus is twofold: First, the author tells from his own complete knowledge of the places what still remains to do in the way of exploration and excavation, and of preservation of edifices worth preserving: "While the old Hindu buildings defy time and weather, the Mussulman shrines and mosques crumble away. . . . Unless money is spent quickly and judiciously there will be little left, save the wild roses of the valley, to remind posterity of the pleasure haunts of Selim and Naurmahal. . . . If Martand—'precious specimen of ancient art, deserving a foremost place among the remains of antiquity'—is to be preserved, not only money, but artistic skill would be required. . . . Any one with money and leisure might find profitable employment in tracing the old cities on the hill slopes and karewas of Kashmir."

Second, we have here together general remarks on the architectural remains of Kashmir from "the greatest of Indian antiquarians," the late Sir Alexander Cunningham, and the detailed description of each temple from the notes contained in Bates's *Gazetteer*. Cunningham was so impressed by the Kashmirian fanes that he felt inclined "to call the style of architecture used by the Aryas of Kashmir the 'Aryan Order.' . . . This name it fully merits, for it is as much a distinct order of architecture as any one of the more celebrated classic orders." "The characteristic features of the Kashmirian architecture are its lofty pyramidal roofs, its trefoiled doorways covered by pyramidal pediments, and the great width of its intercolumniations." The latter, which is the most distinctive mark of the Kashmirian style, was (Cunningham thinks) well known to the Greeks, "for an intercolumniation of four diameters, an interval seldom, if ever, used by themselves, was called *Araïostyle*," a name which may be referred to the Hindus, or Eastern Aryas, the *'Apeioi* of Herodotus.

THE DRAMA.

IN *Romeo and Juliet* one has no plot to lay bare ; there are no new doctrines to be preached, no surprise blandishments by means of which it is hoped to gain the popular ear and score a success. Shakespeare is the immortal dramatist whose plots and scenes are always known in advance to audience and critics alike, and whose words require no prompting for the majority of us. The revival at the Lyceum is well calculated to afford scenic delight, but it is not an ideal presentment of the play. Mr. Forbes Robertson, with all his accomplished histrionic gifts, is not Romeo in form nor feature, neither is Mrs. Patrick Campbell the Juliet of our fancy. Their art is great ; their fidelity to detail in the setting most commendable ; yet one sees that they are acting a part where portraiture is only absolutely real as far as the properties and stage accessories are concerned. Where, in the ball scene, is the youthful buoyancy we invest Juliet with when we know " a fortnight and odd days, come Lammas Eve at night, shall she be fourteen " ? We see a beautiful woman, but one upon whose face there rests a world of woe, as if in anticipation of the tragedy unborn ; eyes unutterably sad ; wan face and melancholy smile, even in the dance where all is gay revelry at Capulet's house. This is more fitting for the grief that arrives after than for the careless, happy time when Romeo had not come, and with himself kindled the flame doomed to burn to tragic issue. Where Mrs. Patrick Campbell really does look and act as Juliet is in the later scenes with Romeo, notably in the banishment scene, where her immense power in emotional acting stands her in good stead. For the rest, she speaks her verse with exquisite intonation and effect, though at times the too deliberate enunciation of each syllable of a word is a little jarring. Mr. Forbes Robertson's Romeo is an artistic creation, praiseworthy for its technique, but, alack-a-day ! not Shakespeare's Romeo. He does not suggest the hot-blooded, beautiful youth, whose countenance, in one look, inspired the fatal passion within Juliet's breast. This Romeo is too sombre ; he carries the flavour of his love-sick, languishing airs when dreaming of Rosalind, even unto Juliet's bower, where his supplication should be ringing with intensity of love, not pitched in a tone that suggests his lament of Rosalind's invulnerability. The setting of the play has many charming features to beguile us into renewing acquaintance with the dainty and fancifully poetic strains of Shakespeare's muse. The scene in the vault, with Juliet in her tomb, is very beautiful. Friar Laurence and Peter are especially well played ; the interpretation of these parts affords real enjoyment.

The Rise of Dick Halward at the Garrick Theatre de-
temptation, fall, and repentance of its hero, and with the ma-
material restitution he makes with the avowal of his fault after a
suffering period of self-abasement. Dick Halward, a young barrister,
waiting for briefs that never come, is in love with a girl far above
him in riches and extravagant tastes. After a scene with her, in
which, while confessing her love for him, she tells him, as a her-
sical cure for his folly, that she cannot marry any one who has not
an income of five thousand a year, Dick has, all at once, temptation
placed in his path by an old friend, who, dying in Mexico, leaves
him a large fortune unconditionally by will, the legal document
being accompanied by a letter explaining that the money is left in
this way to his old chum in trust for a son who has been lost sight
of by the defunct, and whose legal name he is uncertain about. Dick,
pondering over his troubles, and in despair of ever making the
colossal income that Madge exacts, becomes a pro- to the idea of
retaining the fortune as his own, while destroyi g the letter, the
only evidence of his dead friend's wishes and intentions. By an
original device, which we think made its first appearance on any
stage, Dick is in danger of being found out; and here we witness
the moral triumph, the ascendancy of conscience over concealment,
for when the possible discovery has been evaded by new hypocrisy,
Dick, driven to the last moral extremity, listens to the promptings of
his nature wrestling with indignity, and realising all the horror and
shame of his deceit, in one supreme effort, makes his confession to
those whom he has wronged, amongst whom is the woman pledged
to marry him. She, recognisig the baneful influence she exercised
upon the man, playing upon his passion for her, and pandering to
her love of worldly luxury, although her affection had waned with
his accession to riches now awakens to the touch of her finer
nature, and finds that in his downfall and humiliation she loves
him. The play as a dramatic structure suffers from lack of secondary
interest; everything revolves a little too dependently around the
central figure of Dick. The weakest point is Dick's intended expi-
ation by suicide, and his failure to recognis any nobler means of
making amends until the woman, with her love, as saviour, shows
him the more heroic path. Dick certainly affords a study of a high
type; the various phases of temptation; the plausible sophistries,
pitiful in their power, which even great natures have yielded to
before now, bringing calamity in the wake of transitory fascination,
are very finely brought out, as are the inward influences of con-
science, which, after the temptation, fall, repentance, and renunciation
of things evil by Dick, finally achieve victory. Mr. Willard, in the
title rôle, added another triumph of art to his laurels; and Miss
Marion Terry, as Madge, played with all her accustomed ability and
charm.

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